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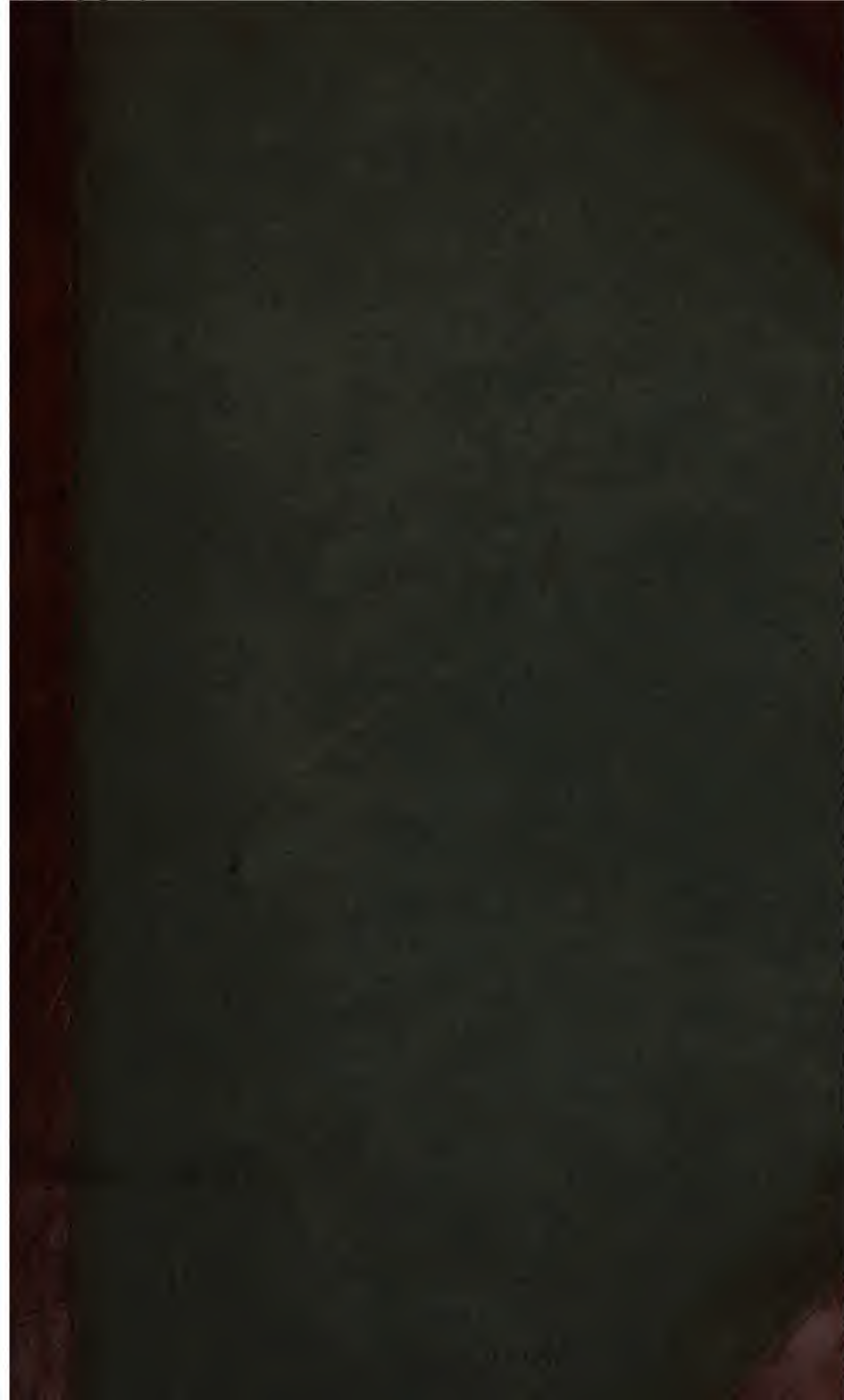
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FLOWER'S
POLITICAL REVIEW,

AND

MONTHLY REGISTER.

VOL. IV.

FROM JULY TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE,

1808.

OUR COUNTRY CLAIMS OUR ACTIVE AID:
THAT LET US ROAM; AND WHERE WE FIND A SPARK
OF PUBLIC VIRTUE, BLOW IT INTO FLAME!

THOMPSON.

HARLOW:

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UNITED KINGDOM.

1808.

P R E F A C E.

WE have to acknowledge our obligations to the public for the encouragement given to this work, and to assure them that we shall endeavour to persevere in inculcating those principles of POLITICAL, CIVIL, and RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, which we are more and more convinced are of the utmost importance to the welfare of society in general, and of our country in particular.

Our present Volume has unavoidably proved of a less miscellaneous cast than the preceding Volumes, on account of the number of important documents necessary to be preserved as containing an history of the great events now passing in Europe; and which documents will be found valuable by those who wish to form an accurate judgment of the important revolutions which are taking place in the world.

The increasing power of France, and the accumulation of evils, the natural consequence of that fatal system which distinguished the PITT administration, and marks the present, formed of the same principles, although destitute of the abilities of their grand exemplar, imperiously demand the serious attention of the public. The experience of the present reign affords demonstrative evidence, that it is not a change of ministers which will produce any effectual relief: nothing but a total change of system; a radical reform in every department of government; and more especially A REFORM IN PARLIAMENT, by which the

PREFACE.

people may be restored to their indubitable rights, and the frequent exercise of them ;—nothing short of such a reform can afford us a rational prospect that our crying grievances will be redressed, our oppressive burdens lightened, and our deplorable situation ameliorated.

Any administration, whose system may be founded on these grand and essential principles of REFORM, we shall consider as composed of true patriots; and as to any other, whatever may be their professions, if they are the enemies, or even the lukewarm friends of such reform, they will never deserve the confidence, or the support of the people. These are principles which we deem of the last importance, and which we are determined constantly to enforce on the most serious consideration of our countrymen.

Harlow, Dec. 29, 1808.

B. F.

THE POLITICAL REVIEW.

No. XIX.]

FOR JULY, 1808.

[Vol IV.]

REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

REVOLUTIONS IN SPAIN.

OUR readers, we doubt not, have observed, that on this most important subject, we have exercised that caution in expressing our opinions, as it is our wish to do, on all subjects of similar importance. Political writers in general, and periodical writers in particular, should be wary in pronouncing hasty judgments, lest they should thereby not only render their speculations unworthy of attention, but even subjects of ridicule.

The Revolutions in Spain present, even in their commencement, a spectacle to the world, the most interesting, perhaps, which has been presented since the commencement of the Revolution in France. A kingdom containing a population of twelve millions, the third maritime power in Europe, possessing rich and extensive foreign dominions; the government formed and supported by a powerful alliance between the church and the state, in which the former constantly predominated over the latter:—a Revolution in such an empire, in the present circumstances of Europe, is calculated to awaken the hopes and the fears of both the friends and the enemies of the human race. On this subject we shall endeavour to present to our readers an impartial statement of facts, with reflections naturally arising therefrom; and our *Register* will contain the principal documents published by the respective parties in this interesting business.

In the month of October last, symptoms of disorder were first discovered in the Spanish court; a letter was published by the King in which he informed his subjects, who, his Majesty observed, “all loved him, and from whom he had received such constant proofs of their veneration, that an unknown hand had discovered to him “the most unheard of conspiracy, which was carried on in his own “palace against his person:” his Majesty proceeded to fix this design on his son, the Prince of Asturias, at the same time ordering the necessary measures to be taken for his own security.* As soon

* Pol. Rev. Vol. II. p. 393.

as this intelligence arrived in this country, most of our journalists, and political writers expressed it as their firm opinion, that this was a scheme of the French Emperor, by his agent the prime minister, the Prince of the Peace, to sacrifice the Prince of Asturias, whose murder, together with that of the principal grandees, &c. was sure to follow: the usual execrations vented against NAPOLEON, for much of his former conduct, accompanied these statements. Some of our readers may perhaps recollect the censures cast upon us for not, at once, joining in these reflections. A fortnight, however, had not transpired, before all these confident opinions and speculations were proved to be erroneous. The cause of the Prince of Asturias was so far taken up by the French Emperor, that the former, after some acknowledgments made to his royal father and mother of his having "failed in his duty," was restored to their favour, and appointed to an important military post. What part was taken by the Emperor of France, either directly or indirectly, in these proceedings, it is impossible to say. The whole affair is yet enveloped in mystery.

About the same period, it is however evident, that NAPOLEON was forming his projects respecting the government of Spain: this we have on his own authority. In his letter to the Prince of Asturias, he thus expresses himself—"I wished by my [proposed] journey to Madrid to draw over my illustrious friend (the King of Spain) to some necessary ameliorations of his states, and also to "give a certain satisfaction to the public feelings."* In the mean time Napoleon, had under various plausible pretences, with the approbation of the Spanish court, and without any resistance or expressed dissatisfaction on the part of the people, sent his troops to the capital, as well as to different parts of the kingdom.

In the month of March last some disturbances took place at Madrid, in which the popular indignation discovered itself against the Prince of Peace, who had for many years been the court favourite, and who it was generally understood had hoarded a mass of wealth out of the public property. The Prince retired to Aranjuez a few miles distant, one of the palaces of the royal family. A considerable ferment had been excited at Aranjuez under the idea that the King and the prime minister intended leaving the country, and the council of Castille met to deliberate on the subject. To the question which the King had sent to his council—"Whether he should leave the kingdom,"—the reply was—"That he ought not, nor would they allow him to do so." In the mean time a letter was received from NAPOLEON, who was then projecting a journey to Madrid, assuring the Spanish Monarch that he was approaching the kingdom with pacific dispositions. The Prince of the Peace thought

* Pol. Rev. Vol. III. p. 308.

it prudent to effect his escape, and order was shortly restored. Proclamations were issued at Aranjuez and Madrid, exhorting the people to a peaceable demeanour, and assuring them that it never was "the intention of their Majesties to leave the country." Shortly after, in consequence of the popular disquiet, and the proceedings of the council of Castille, the King thought proper to sign a decree in which he stated, "that his habitual infirmities not permitting him "to support any longer the important burden of the government of "the kingdom, he had determined, after mature deliberation, to abdicate his crown in favour of his heir the Prince of Asturias." The Prince was accordingly proclaimed King by the constituted authorities, and this change in the government appears to have been received with satisfaction throughout the kingdom.

The abdication of CHARLES IV. was, however, soon discovered to be involuntary, as he in the course of one week, took care to have letters conveyed to the Emperor of France in which he protested against all that had taken place at Aranjuez, and expressed his resolution to resign himself into the hands of "that great man "who had at all times declared himself his friend." The old King with his Queen shortly after departed from Aranjuez, left the kingdom, and arrived at Bayonne.

Soon after FERDINAND was proclaimed King, an account was sent to the French Emperor, in which an assurance was given him that this event would prove the means of drawing still more close the relations which had so long subsisted between the two empires: but the recent proceedings do not appear to have met his approbation; and whether they were the effects of his intrigues, cannot easily be determined. The general opinion of our journalists appeared to be at that time, that this part of the revolution was effected by the most ancient and patriotic of the *grandees*, and by the most respectable classes of the people.

The partial and ill judged insurrection of the populace at Madrid on the 2d. of May, was productive of the slaughter of both the French troops and the inhabitants, and tended to shew the weakness of the new government.

The designs of NAPOLEON began now to be unfolded: by his persuasion, both the old and the new King agreed to submit their claims to his decision, and the weak Prince, after the example of his weak father, left his kingdom for Bayonne, and submitted his claims to the decision of the French Emperor. We cannot help expressing our surprise at the indifference the Spaniards discovered on FERDINAND's leaving the kingdom. As to the old King he seems to have been universally despised; and no one has been found to regret his abdication; the old gentleman himself is said to be contented and happy in partaking of the pleasures of the chace, and in

following his other favourite amusements which have been liberally provided for him. We give his late Spanish Majesty full credit when he declares—"My habitual infirmities permit me no longer to support the important burden of the government of my kingdom;" and we wish all other Kings of the *same capacity* for government, would so far consult the happiness of their subjects as to adopt the language, and follow the example of their royal brother CHARLES IV. But with respect to his son FERDINAND, if credit is to be given to the various proclamations of the Spanish insurgents, or patriots (we sincerely hope their principles and conduct will prove their full claim to the latter title) he seems to have been the King of their choice: they all profess to be taking up arms in *his* cause; how they could suffer him, without any opposition or remonstrance to leave the kingdom, and throw himself into the arms of the French Emperor, is a question not easily to be solved. The disadvantages they must labour under in having their King a prisoner, the danger to be apprehended to the royal captive, must have been so evident, that it is impossible to account for their conduct. As to the stratagem reported in some of the public prints to have been practised by the French troops sent to escort him, it was too weak for people of common sense to fall into, and is therefore undeserving of notice. If the Prince possessed the hearts of the people of Spain, if the latter were determined to support the claims of the sovereign of their choice by the sword, the conduct of both King and People on this occasion is unaccountable.-

As soon as the French Emperor had both the old and the new King in his power, he no longer concealed his ultimate views respecting the Spanish throne. A notice was shortly published, "That by a treaty concluded between the Emperor NAPOLEON, and King CHARLES, and which had been acceded to by the Prince of ASTURIAS, and the Infantas DON CARLOS, DON FRANCISCO, and DON ANTONIO, *who compose the whole of the house of Spain, all the existing differences have been adjusted.*" This notice was accompanied by various documents which very fully detailed the easy and expeditious mode of *adjusting all their differences*. These were nothing more than proclamations signed by the different branches of the royal family formally renouncing their rights to the throne, and recommending to the people of Spain to transfer their allegiance "to the *great Emperor*, in whose friendship consisted the national prosperity and safety." It is, however, evident, that this renunciation, on the part of the Prince of Asturias was by no means voluntary; but the conduct of FERDINAND from first to last, too plainly proves that he is lamentably deficient in those qualities which are indispensibly necessary in a prince, in such arduous and important circumstances. This

appears on the face of his various declarations. Last year, when he was first charged with a conspiracy by his father, he denied, and afterwards acknowledged his guilt; when he was three months since raised to the throne by the constituted authorities, he declares his sovereignty, and his determination to defend it; he then, on the invitation or the command of the French Emperor leaves his subjects, and his kingdom, and submits all his claims to the decision of a foreign power. Shortly afterwards, "in order to give a proof of love and obedience, and in fulfilment of his desire, he resigns his crown into the hands of his father, wishing he may enjoy it many years, and throws himself at the feet of his royal Majesty, the humblest of his sons!" In his final declaration he states "that he accepted the crown *only under the impression that the abdication of his royal father was voluntary*, and that when he was *unexpectedly* apprised to the contrary, his sense of filial duty determined him to give back the throne." Princes, as their stations are most elevated, and their persons most sacred, are allowed much greater liberty in their language and conduct than the common mass of mankind. In common life, however, we should pronounce the man who could thus say and unsay, a man thus destitute of resolution and courage, not very well qualified for a station of much less importance than that of a throne. His Royal Highness at length follows the example of his father, completely renounces his sovereignty, and "exhorts the Spaniards to consult the common interests of their country, by conducting themselves in a peaceable manner, and by looking for their happiness to the power and wise arrangements of the Emperor Napoleon!" Thus the whole royal family of Spain resigned all their rights of sovereignty into the hands of the French Emperor.

To sanction these proceedings with those which were shortly to follow, the grandees of Spain with the various constituted authorities were invited to assemble at Bayonne, and the assembly of the notables were summoned to meet there on the 15th of June, on which day the new constitution for Spain was to be prepared; previous to which, however, Napoleon had sent for his brother JOSEPH, King of NAPLES, who arrived on the 7th, and was immediately proclaimed King of SPAIN: addresses in the usual style were presented to his Majesty from the grandees, the deputation of the grand general junta, the deputies of the Council of the inquisition, and other public bodies, which were followed by various addresses from these bodies to the people of Spain, earnestly exhorting them to submission to the new government, and containing full assurances of a reformation of abuses, a restoration of their ancient privileges, and such a system as would insure them under "the countenance and protection of him in whose mighty hand their lot had fallen,

“ a continuance of the blessings enjoyed by their forefathers, with the redress of every thing of which they had cause to complain.” The new constitution was proclaimed at Bayonne, and thus the projects of the French Emperor were so far accomplished.

Whilst, however, matters were thus going on very peaceably at Bayonne, a flame burst forth in the kingdom of Spain, and spread from province to province, which threatens materially to disturb, if it does not entirely destroy this new and mighty scheme of boundless ambition. Our newspapers have for these six weeks past, been filled with the proclamations of the Spanish insurgents, with accounts of battles, and with columns after columns of warm reflections on this subject; much allowance must be made for the accounts of the various successes of the Spaniards against the French, more especially as the old practice is renewed by the ministerial clerks of office, of issuing bulletins on one day which they are obliged to contradict the next: but after making every allowance for exaggeration, the successes of the Spaniards have proved as important as they were unexpected. The surrender of the French fleet at Cadiz, the defeat of the French forces as recorded in our official Gazettes, plainly prove, that the French Emperor was not prepared for such a powerful resistance. Most certainly there is an ardour displayed not only in the proclamations, but in the actions of the Spaniards which has not been discovered in any of the nations conquered by the French. All Europe, yea the whole world must be attracted by such a spectacle, and the hopes and the fears of the friends and the enemies of the human race, as to the final result, must on such an interesting occasion be equally excited.

Such are the principal events which have attended this extraordinary Revolution. As to what may be the final consequences it is impossible with any degree of precision to conjecture. Men are generally guided by their wishes, and hazard their speculations accordingly.

In considering this subject we beg leave to lay it down as a truth, which however it may be reprobated by some or ridiculed by others, ought never to be lost sight of—That THE SOVEREIGNTY OF A NATION ESSENTIALLY RESIDES IN THE PEOPLE, and that the sense of the people, when it can be fairly collected, ought to be obeyed. No individuals have a right to tyrannize over the majority; and no foreign power has a right to overturn an old government, or to impose a new one without the consent of the people who constitute the governed.

The first inquiry therefore on this subject is—What share has the Spanish nation had in the late changes? The abdication of the old King, and the elevation of FERDINAND to the throne, are measures which were said to be brought about by the most respectable families, and by the principal grandees of the Spanish nation; and

as there were no commotions attending these events, we may suppose they were agreeable to the wishes of the people at large: at least it may be said they felt no interest in supporting their monarch who had so long reigned over them, and accordingly his abdication was to the nation a matter of indifference. Succeeding events, as we have already remarked, tend to prove the preference shewn by the people to the new over the old monarch.

The next inquiry is—How far the French Emperor in his project of placing his brother JOSEPH on the throne of Spain has been countenanced by the nation over which he has appointed him to reign? And here we cannot but deem it a singular circumstance, that the principal persons who brought about the abdication of CHALES IV. and the elevation of FERDINAND to the throne, should so shortly afterwards have left the kingdom for Bayonne, and have fallen in with the designs of the French Emperor. Not only the principal constituted authorities, but those grandees which the public prints had held up as the hopes of the Spanish nation, the Duke D'INFANTADO in particular, (whose praises resounded from all quarters,) assembled at Bayonne, and as it appears readily acquiesced in the abdication of the whole royal family of Spain, and in acknowledging JOSEPH BONAPARTE as their new sovereign. It is a very important question, and to which we feel incompetent to give an answer,—Were these bodies and individuals acting agreeably, or contrary to the wishes of the Spanish nation in general?

With respect to that large, and apparently respectable body of the Spanish nation who have so unexpectedly started from their lethargy, and expressed their determination to have no sovereign but of their own nation and choice; if this should appear to be the sense of the majority, they have a right to what they demand; and every consistent friend to the sovereignty of the people must wish them success against all the attempts of NAPOLEON to subdue them: but we are not yet prepared to adopt those opinions which have been so decidedly, eagerly, and warmly expressed by almost all our daily, and weekly, as well as other political writers on this interesting subject.

We have perused with some attention the numerous proclamations which have been issued by the popular leaders in Spain, in order that we might if possible discover their principles and their designs. As yet they afford us very scanty information on the subject. They proclaim FERDINAND VII. their king. They talk loudly of their laws, their liberties and their religion: but as to the two former they have hitherto possessed them in name only, and as to the latter the established religion of their country, it formed such an abominable mixture of superstition, corruption, and priestcraft, tending to enslave and impoverish the people, that the sooner such

systems are overturned either in Spain; or in any other country the better. It is impossible that a people can enjoy liberty, laws or religion, where such establishments predominate; they generate nothing but ignorance, slavery, and misery amongst the vast majority of a nation. Spain, one of the finest countries under heaven, has for centuries past proved a melancholy instance of the truth of these observations.

We cannot therefore but intimate our suspicions; when we see a people rising with the professed design to support an old fabric which is fallen in many, and tottering in almost every part of Europe,—when we see bishops and priests active in exciting insurrections, working telegraphs, and leading armies! Although it cannot be expected that a people so long depressed, should at once cast off their prejudices and break their chains, we must express our concern on observing ALL the different parties and ranks in Spain rivetted to the old abominable system of superstition and intolerance. It is to the honour of NAPOLEON, that he has uniformly proved the friend of religious toleration: the happy effects of his enlarged sentiments on this grand subject have in some degree compensated for those evils attending his ambitious conquests. We had indulged the hope that the same system of Toleration would have been extended to Spain: but unhappily, this is the first country in which that best friend to the human race—TOLERATION, must not be suffered to enter. Napoleon and the Patriots, all deem it necessary to declare, that the Roman Catholic Religion shall be, not only the established, but the SOLE religion of Spain. The nonsense, therefore, which abounds in the Spanish proclamations about the necessity of contending for their religion, their temples, their altars, their saints, &c. &c. is a disgrace to a people rising in the cause of liberty; and the encomiums passed on this nonsense by the political writers of this country, is equally disgraceful to their characters, as men of enlightened minds, as Britons and Protestants.

The public prints have been filled for weeks past from day to day with accounts of the rising of the Spanish people, and of their almost uniform success in defeating the French: and yet, to our surprise, the accounts from Bayonne are such, that one might almost suspect that there was not any very serious opposition to the views of BONAPARTE. The new King JOSEPH, has chosen his council, and nominated the members of various constituted authorities. Our political writers remark with concern, that in this choice he has selected some of the most respectable persons in the kingdom, who have all accepted their different appointments. His new-created Spanish Majesty has likewise set out on his journey to his capital, MADRID; and he has already made considerable progress in Spain without experiencing any opposition. As we have been deceived by

so many accounts of battles, &c. we hope so much blood has not yet been spilt in this strange revolution as has been represented. We are happy in particular to find, that one account in which 8000 Frenchmen were said to have been murdered after they had surrendered, in cold blood, by the knives of the peasantry, is entirely unfounded. The exultation which some of our ministerial prints expressed at the spirit of the Spaniards as displayed in such an exploit, would have disgraced even savages: but they happily, have no *Morning Post* editors amongst them.

The manner in which the public prints, the ministerial in particular, have treated this subject, may serve to display the force of popular prejudices, interested views, and inflamed passions. The Spanish patriots are contending we are told, "for all that is dear, their ancient monarchy, liberties, laws, &c." Now it is remarkable that amidst the contrariety of opinions which prevail between the different parties in Spain, there is one opinion in which all agree;—and which we have repeatedly enforced on our readers, namely,—*That the old Spanish government was so very bad, that any change must be for the better.*—What say the Spanish junta assembled at Bayonne? What say even the old Spanish courtiers on this subject? Their language is well deserving attention. "At the very moment when Spain, a country so greatly favoured by nature, but impoverished, exhausted, and debased before the eyes of all Europe, *by the defects and misrule of its own government, had arrived at the point of a complete annihilation*—when the very exertions which might have been employed to revive her exhausted strength would only have served to increase her suffering, and to plunge her into fresh calamities—when, in fine, all hope was extinguished, Providence has granted us the means not only of rescuing our country from certain ruin, but also of raising her to an height of happiness and splendour, which she has never yet attained even in the most glorious periods of her history. By one of those political revolutions, which astonish only those who disregard the events by which they have been prepared, the house of Bourbon, after having lost the other thrones which it possessed in Europe, resigned that of Spain, the only one on which it retained a seat. *After having brought the nation to the brink of ruin, deprived of the support hitherto granted by the remaining branches of their family, and unable to preserve the countries which had formerly united them with France;* the Bourbons found it impossible to keep a seat which all the changes that have occurred in the system of politics, compelled them to quit. The most powerful prince in Europe has accepted the resignation of the Bourbons, not to incorporate your territory in his already so extensive imperial dominions, *but to establish the Spanish monar-*

"*chy on renovated principles, to be subservient to his irresistible power, to the end that he may introduce all the salutary reforms we have so long fruitlessly hoped for.*" Several of the proclamations of the Insurgents adopt the same language; both parties promise the people the revival of their ancient popular assembly the *Cortes*; both promise **ESSENTIAL REFORMS**; both join in execrating the old government. What a farce is it therefore to be told of the glorious struggle which the Spaniards are engaged in for the defence of their former government, when the only thing in which all parties agree is—That the former government was too bad for endurance any longer!

Although we are by no means of opinion, that it may not be proper for one country to assist another in the maintaining its independence, or in recovering its liberties, yet we very much suspect whether our ministers, and their dependants, notwithstanding all their loud and pompous declamations, are influenced on the present occasion by any other than those prejudices and passions which have almost constantly been engaged in warfare against the liberties, both civil and religious, of the human race. A glance at the general system of politics adopted under most of the administrations during the present reign, will afford ample, although melancholy evidence, that a regard to the liberties of mankind has not been very predominant in the councils of this country.

In the early part of the present reign, the brave **CORSICANS** arose to assert their liberties against the old despotic government of France; and applied for assistance to this country: they not only met with a direct refusal, but were even in official documents pronounced *Rebels*. The war before last, which cost this country 150 millions, no one ever said, or ever will pretend to say was undertaken to secure the liberties and independence of **AMERICA**. The Revolution in **POLAND** presented the glorious spectacle of a King and people united in the grand project of annihilating long established abuses, and forming a free constitution. Even **MR. BURKE**, notwithstanding all his violent, deep rooted prejudices in favour of old systems, could not help expressing his admiration of such a Revolution. But what was the conduct of the British ministers? They remained calm, indifferent spectators of that most atrocious attempt of the three crowned ruffians, who entered, robbed, desolated, and at length divided that devoted country. When a public meeting of the citizens of London was called at the Mansion House, by the then Lord Mayor (**HOPKINS**) for the patriotic purpose of assisting the Poles, and a considerable subscription was entered into, the project was frowned upon by the cabinet, and the meeting was held up as an object of ridicule in the hireling prints of the day, under the name of the *Polish Diet*! The Revolution in France, in which a whole people majestically arose, "broke their chains

"over the heads of their oppressors," and established a government on the only just and solid foundation, the RIGHTS OF MAN:—this glorious Revolution afforded an admirable opportunity for Britons to display their regard to the liberties of Europe. Not only the liberties of France, but the safety of her monarch loudly called on this country to assist in bringing the great work to a happy conclusion. France turned with affection to England. "The minister of LOUIS XVI. at the British court stated, and he stated "with energy, that the French nation loved the people of England, "because they are free, and therefore they wished that his Majesty, "the King of England, or any commissioners by him appointed, "should settle the question in dispute between Austria and France." This golden opportunity for Britain to distinguish herself as a friend to the peace and the freedom of the human race, as a friend to the limited monarchy of France, which she might have established, and to the monarch whose crown and life she might have preserved, was lost. The British minister, following the councils of the evil "Angel he so long had served," joined that coalition whose unprincipled efforts to crush the rising liberties, and to re-establish the ancient despotism of France, met with the success they so richly merited.—The British ministry friends to the liberties of Europe! Men who had in the course of a few years, as Mr. FOX observed, "aim-
"ed at a greater number of innocent lives than the tyrant HENRY
"VIII. and destroyed more human beings in unjust wars than LOUIS
"XIV. who had added more to the burdens, and taken more from
"the liberties of their country, than all the preceding admini-
"strations united, from the Revolution to this day!" So far from the ministers of Great Britain being friends to the patriots, or the liberties of Spain, we are firmly persuaded, that should the Spaniards once attempt to form a government on the fundamental principles of Freedom; should they, following the example of France in the early stage of the Revolution, publish a declaration of the RIGHTS OF MEN, AND OF CITIZENS, establish UNLIMITED TOLERATION, overturn that fabric of superstition and wickedness the established church under which the nation has so long groaned,—we firmly believe our ministers would no longer be willing to afford them any assistance, but on the contrary, would deprecate their success.* They have no objection to assist the Spaniards with the

* Just as we had written the last paragraph, we received the *Morning Post* of July 28. The following extract will prove the justice of our conjectures.

"A brave and high-spirited nation, jealous of its honour, which it looks upon as interwoven with the preservation of its *national government and*
"*institutions, and determined to maintain both unimpaired,* exhibits a most
"animating spectacle to the degraded and depressed sovereigns and
"nations of the continent. *This is not the revolutionary madness that*
"*begins with the destruction of every thing ANCIENT, VENERABLE, and*

blood and treasure of this country : but for what purpose ? To get rid of King JOSEPH, and to re-establish King FERDINAND. The *Monarchy* of Spain, as appears by the answer to the city address, is the only object they care for.

But it is not only the liberties and independence of Spain, but that of all Europe which now, we are told, animates the breasts of our patriotic ministers, and their patriotic hirelings!—" We have " maintained single-handed (says the *Morning Post*) a most arduous " contest against France, and against the world, for the deliverance " of the universe ! That deliverance, we trust, is now at hand, " and every nation feels it is to Britain ALONE that the merit of " it is due ! Every where, indeed, is the name of Great Britain " worshipped with veneration and love, and the conduct of the " British ministry, in this crisis of the fate of Europe, will form the " brightest page of the splendid annals of Britain ! " A sympathy so decisive and sincere in the sufferings of oppressed " nations, on the part of the only people that have hitherto stood " between the infamous tyrant of the continent, and universal " despotism, will not be inoperative upon the intrepid spirit of the " other nations of the continent, at present subject to the galling " yoke of the base Corsican. The example of Spain, and the " gratuitous but unlimited assistance and co-operation of Great " Britain, will open the eyes of other nations to their present abase- " ment, and animate them to the generous resolution of emanci- " pating themselves by one simultaneous effort from a tyranny, " which is no less the offspring of their own pusillanimity and " distractions, than to the fortune of the vile upstart adventurer, " who lords it over them with such relentless, indiscriminate, and " undistinguishing fury."

We are not however so overpowered by these wonderful effusions of patriotic newspaper eloquence, as to be prevented from inquiring —Where are the nations which are the victims of the " galling yoke, " the relentless, indiscriminate and undistinguishing fury of the vile " upstart adventurer, the base Corsican," and who are sighing for a restoration of their old *free* and *happy* governments ? If we attend to plain truth, it will appear that there is scarcely a country which has been subjected to the arms of this " base upstart," in which the inhabitants are not at least as well off as they were under their former tyrants ; and the people will prove themselves besotted fools if they spill their blood merely to exchange one master for

" eminent in society, with a view to the elevation and power of its lowest " members. But the inferior part of the community, wedded to their old " establishments, and anxious to secure them from external violence or " internal treasons, give that support and nourishment to the higher " classes, and their government, which the nature of civil society and the " duties of their station require.

another. We should indeed be happy to find one grand insurrection take place, not only throughout the continent of EUROPE, but of ASIA likewise. Were the people every where to demand a free constitution, in which their property, their liberties, and their lives, were committed to the guardianship of free representative bodies; were those bands of military slaves, standing armies, annihilated; were the people themselves to be their own defenders; were they determined no longer to be treated "like silly sheep, first fleeced and then led forth to slaughter," in wars, if not just, yet *necessary* to the accomplishment of projects of ambition,—we should indeed hail such a glorious insurrection, and consider it as the happy forerunner of the deliverance of a blind, ignorant, and enslaved world! But of what consequence is it,—Who governs such an empire as RUSSIA, whose peasantry are transferred or sold, with the domains and the cattle from one lord or petty tyrant to another? The same may be said of various other empires: kings and ministers may quarrel and fight as long as they please; but till the people possess liberties worth fighting for, their wisdom is to remain quiet spectators of the turmoils of those who are called, not very correctly, their betters.

But, although the editors of our ministerial prints are expressing their sanguine hopes that a new war may be re-kindled throughout Europe, we rather hope and believe, that there will be no new wars of KINGS; no such wars as the continent has been too long accustomed to. We read a very fine sentiment, although on rather an awkward occasion; in the speech of a French senator, when presenting his project for the uniting of Tuscany with the French empire.—“The time indeed is passed in which it was believed that people were made for Kings, not Kings for the people.” If this should happily prove to be the case, the people will no longer fight for Kings; but for the maintenance of their own liberties and independence: but then they must be in the real enjoyment of those inestimable blessings. Let the sovereigns of Europe, therefore, act like wise men discerning the portentous signs of the times; and following their own duty and interest, impart to their people privileges worth preserving. Let the precious spark of freedom fanned into a flame, spread throughout Europe; and the name of NAPOLEON and the arms of France will cease to terrify.

The common council of the city of London have, with their usual zeal, addressed his Majesty, or rather his ministers, thanking them “for their great, decisive, and magnanimous measures adopted respecting the Spaniards.” These wise men of *Gotham* seldom meet without exposing themselves to ridicule. We lately had occasion to notice the contradictory proceedings in two successive meetings held within the course of a week, at one of which they voted an address to his Majesty, expressive of their felicity in enjoying the

British constitution *unimpaired*; and at the other, an address to the House of Lords complaining of the serious injuries which the constitution had received owing to the increased influence of the crown, &c. What are the "great, decisive, and magnanimous measures" alluded to, these city wise-acres have not condescended to state. The mover of the address Mr. Deputy QUIN, in his philippic against the French Emperor, discovered all the deep reading of a city orator. "The conduct of the French despot towards Spain, (he observed) was without example or record in the annals of the world. *He had explored the pages of ancient lore*, he had resorted to the history of the darker ages, when the traces of past civilization vanished before the desolating triumphs of cruel and ferocious and sanguinary barbarians; he had consulted the records of more recent revolutions and vicissitudes, but in *no case* was he able to find any transaction, which for fraud, perfidy, and atrocity, could bear comparison with the unprincipled and nefarious conduct of the French despot towards Spain!"—Although we cannot enter the lists with so learned a citizen, yet, without "exploring the pages of ancient lore, or searching the history of the darker ages," we suspect we may find instances in the history of more modern periods, which for "perfidy, fraud, and atrocity," almost equal any of those we find in the career of the "French despot." We have already had occasion to glance at the plunder and division of POLAND; in which so many thousands of men, women, and children, were (particularly at WARSAW and PRAGUE) massacred in cold blood. The Duke of BRUNSWICK's famous manifesto on entering France, in which he threatened to give up the inhabitants of Paris to military execution, and to destroy the city, not leaving one stone on another, will be had in everlasting remembrance. Was the Deputy so bewildered in "the pages of learned lore," as to have lost sight of the deeds recorded in the pages of British history during the past twelvemonth? Are the atrocities committed off COPENHAGEN—the proclamation threatening the innocent and unoffending inhabitants with, "every species of devastation"—the city in flames, the shouts of victors at the horrid crash of falling churches—the plunder of the arsenals, and the robbery of the fleet—Are the transactions in the EAST INDIES, in which so many provinces have been depopulated, and so many Princes deposed and murdered,—Are all traces of these "damned deeds" entirely erased from the brain of the deputy? Has he amidst all his vast reading, overlooked the remark of Mr. BURKE respecting the English:—"The moment they passed the Cape, they unbaptised themselves; and when they landed in India, they became something like the Upas tree that blasted and destroyed every thing that came within its pernicious influence?" No! Criminal as is the conduct of the French Emperor in many instances, there is a sort of climax in crime which

he has not yet reached. NAPOLEON has not, with unrelenting barbarity dragged from the death beds of their dearest relatives, neither CHARLES nor FERDINAND: those princes did not soon after their arrival at Bayonne "die of a dysentery!"* It is earnestly to be wished that our city orators, together with the writers in our ministerial prints, who have so profusely lavished on the French Emperor, the epithets of "base Corsican usurper,—most odious "monster,—blood thirsty despot,—hell born fiend,—greatest curse, "and scourge that ever plagued the world," &c. &c. &c. who are now expressing their ardent hopes that he and all his "monster "race, may be speedily EXTERMINATED,"—it is earnestly to be wished that these infuriated hirelings possessed some remains of conscience, and that they would recollect, that the man who can explore language for epithets to reprobate the vicious actions of some, and explore the same language for epithets to panegyrisé actions equally vicious of others, exhibits that most odious vice in the sight of God, HYPOCRISY, and proves that it is deeply engraven on his heart.

We for the present conclude our observations on this interesting subject. Whatever may be our wishes for the amelioration of the Spanish nation, we still maintain, that the will of the majority ought to prevail. If the insurrection should prove to be general, and if the people are even resolved to preserve what our ministerial writers appear to have so much at heart—"all their ancient institutions," or in plainer language, all that wretched mass of corruptions and abuses, that system of despotism and priestcraft, their "venerable constitution in church and state," still, no foreign power has a right by force to interfere, and every attempt so to do will be highly criminal.

ACTION FOR SLANDER.

THE EDITOR has that confidence in the respect which his readers entertain for his character, that he trusts he shall be excused for very briefly intruding on their notice an affair, in which his *dearest interests* are deeply involved. On Monday last, after a forbearance on his part of *four and twenty years*, he was at length by imperious necessity, compelled to bring an action against a relative, who with others of his family, were bound by all those ties which unite society together, to have been the *protectors* instead of the *assassins* of his character. In the Court of Common Pleas an action was brought by the Plaintiff, *Benjamin Flower*, against his Nephew the *Rev. John Clayton, jun.* for DEFAMATION. The charges were—That he had accused the plaintiff of having, twenty four years since, committed the crime of FORGERY, and his mother with having, for the purpose of saving his life, committed the crime of PER-

* See the speech of Sir T. Turton. Pol. Rev. Vol. III. p. lxxxvii.

JURY! The charges against the defendant were clearly proved by two respectable witnesses, Banister Flight, Esq. and the Rev. Samuel Palmer, both of Hackney, Middlesex. *No evidence* was called on the part of the Defendant; but his Counsel were instructed to plead—His *innocent* intention—the provocation he and his father had received by the criticisms of the Plaintiff in his *Memoirs of Mr. Robinson*, prefixed to a late edition of his works; and certain pecuniary transactions which occurred *twenty four years since!* Some of the falsehoods advanced on this occasion, and which have since appeared in several of the public prints, are only inferior in atrocity to those of which the Defendant stands publicly convicted. Chief Justice Mansfield in summing up the evidence, observed—That although the Plaintiff was entitled to a verdict, as the witnesses had not told the words to any other person, he could claim only slight damages. One of the jury asking his Lordship what damages would entitle the Plaintiff to costs, was informed 40s. on which a verdict was given for that sum.

The Readers of the *Political Review* have a right to be informed of the *motive* which induced the Reverend father of the Reverend slanderer to compel the latter to defend this action. This shall be given in his own words. When a respectable gentleman waited on the former, the day before the trial, informing him that he had reason to believe “that if Mr. Flower’s character were ex-culpated, and the law expences paid, the action would be dropped,” the Rev. *John Clayton*, sen. replied as follows:—“The affair had gone too far, and was not well understood. That it was not so much a contest between Mr. *Flower*, and his [Mr. Clayton’s] *Son*, as between DEMOCRACY and HERESY on the one side, and LOYALTY and ORTHODOXY on ‘the other!’” The Editor however, ventures to express his hopes, that notwithstanding the verdict was given against the Defendant, the *British Throne* still stands firm, and that the *Pillars of Orthodoxy* are not materially shaken!

The calumnies which have been widely circulated for four and twenty years past, first by a relative *who, at setting out in life was under peculiar obligations to the Editor*, the Rev. *John Clayton*, sen. and afterwards by two of his sons, the Rev. *William Clayton*, and the Rev. *John Clayton*, jun. some of which, although publicly refuted in a court of justice, have been accompanied by others, which equally call for refutation, have determined the Editor to publish the late proceedings. But he will not again intrude the subject on the readers of the *Review*. The trial as taken down in short-hand by Mr. *Gurney*, together with a STATEMENT OF FACTS, and observations on the speech of the Counsel for the Defendant, is preparing for the press, and will be shortly published.

Harlow, July 29.

R. F.

THE POLITICAL REVIEW.

No. XX.]

FOR AUGUST, 1808.

[Vol. IV.]

REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.

In our last Review we presented to our Readers an impartial statement of the principal occurrences which had taken place from the commencement of the recent Revolutions in Spain; and in tracing the progress of subsequent events, we shall endeavour to observe the same impartiality. Our readers may rest assured, that, as on the one hand we have no inclination to mislead them, so, on the other hand it is our earnest wish that they may not be misled by others. In this early stage of the business, we cannot but warn our countrymen against expressing an undefined or implicit confidence in ministers. We are somewhat mistaken if certain respectable statesmen, who wish well to their country, and certain editors of our public prints, who are not the hirelings of administration, do not ere long repent of their conduct in hurrying on their countrymen to unite in presenting adulatory addresses to the throne, expressive of their approbation of the conduct of ministers, with whose plans and views respecting the Spanish nation, they are yet but very superficially acquainted; and who are, judging from their past conduct, the enemies of the peace, and of the liberties of mankind both political and religious.

The information which the public receive of the state of affairs in Spain is derived from two sources:—The Paris Journals, and the Madrid Gazettes: the most important of the official accounts contained in the latter are transmitted by our naval officers stationed off the Spanish coast, and inserted in our court Gazette. Great caution, we have reason to believe is necessary in attending to the statements derived from each of these channels. In comparing the very different and often opposite accounts of the same events, it is not to be wondered at, if the majority should credit those statements which are the most agreeable to their wishes; and that those who desire to be rightly informed should be unable to form a competent judgment of passing events, till time shall afford them information more impartial and complete. As to the representations and comments of the great majority of our diurnal and weekly journalists,

they only serve to shew the force of hasty, ill-formed popular opinions, and violent national prejudices. Our ministerial hirelings in particular, are exerting all their efforts to spread the flames of war over Europe, and express their sanguine hopes and wishes that their masters may be able to form new coalitions of kings, and to hire the armies of Europe, which may, with the liberal assistance of this country, undo all that has been doing for these twenty years past: they hold out to us the expectation that the present French government will be annihilated; that not only the power, but the person of "the atrocious usurper of France" (so the Emperor is *now* styled in our official documents*) and all his "detested monster race" may be destroyed from the face of the earth. Ministers, in short, confidently hope, that by turning over a few leaves in the chapter of accidents, they shall find the accomplishment of the vast, the gigantic, the *glorious* projects, first planned by their master PITT, and obstinately persisted in to the close of his life;—project which they seem determined to accomplish, although they perish, or, to speak more correctly, although their country should perish in the attempt; for it will be generally found by referring to revolutionary periods, that cabinet councillors and courtiers are the first to secure themselves from the effects of those measures that end in the ruin of their deluded, and too-confiding countrymen.

In our last, we left the Emperor NAPOLEON, his brother JOSEPH (the newly-proclaimed King of Spain) and the principal grandees, and constituted authorities of the kingdom, at *Bayonne*.—After settling and publishing the new Constitution, his Spanish Majesty proceeded to make choice of his ministers, and to fill up the principal posts in the most important departments of the state, civil and military: these different officers were, it was acknowledged by all parties, selected from the most ancient and respectable families of the grandees; and there appears on their part to have been no unwillingness to accept the stations assigned them. His Majesty then proceeded to take possession of his kingdom; and to repair, without loss of time to his capital. On entering the Spanish territories he published a proclamation replete with royal professions of love, esteem, and regard, and descriptive of the happiness his subjects might expect to enjoy in consequence of their newly-formed Constitution. The Madrid Gazettes present us with the most flattering account of the reception which his Majesty and his court uniformly met with on their journey, and of their joyful entry into the capital; of the addresses from different bodies of the people, "the indubitable signs of affection, which the *whole nation* shewed

* See the letter of Mr. Secretary Canning to the Envoys of Asturias. Pol. Reg. P. 121.

"for his Majesty's person;" of his Majesty's most gracious and condescending behaviour to all ranks of his subjects, his luminous discourses on the affairs of his kingdom, and his foreign possessions. The listening auditors we are informed "were struck with admiration of his Majesty's eloquence, the suavity of his manner, the force of his reasoning, the extent of his knowledge and understanding, and his majestic attitudes!" We are farther informed, "that it was the supreme wish," of this enraptured assembly, "that the whole nation had had the pleasure and the advantage of being present on the occasion!"* Such is the picture of the new monarchy as drawn by court artists, and it must be acknowledged that they do not appear to be novices, but to be thoroughly acquainted with the style of colouring so well suited to courts in all countries. A few obscuring clouds may indeed be here and there discovered, which may tend to raise some suspicion, even in the minds of those who have no other representation before them; but we are assured that every cloud will be transient. "The turbulence which still prevails in some of the provinces will cease, as soon as the Spaniards shall have been apprised that their *religion*, the *integrity*, and *independence* of their country, and their *dearest rights* are secured; as soon as they shall discover the germs of their prosperity in the new institutions. Every honest Spaniard must then open his eyes, and all must then crowd round the throne."

The proclamation of the "illustrious Monarch as King of Spain and the Indies, took place on the 25th. ult. with great pomp and solemnity;" and all ranks and classes of the inhabitants of Madrid are represented as uniting in the demonstrations of joy common on such occasions.

We have thus laid before our readers the sum and substance of the intelligence which has since our last been published in the French papers, official as well as others, respecting the Spanish Revolution. From these sources we have yet no account of adverse events, such as the surrender of the French fleet at Cadiz, &c. which were published to the world in other countries, upwards of six weeks since. To what a state of degradation must the press be reduced in France! The inhabitants of that large, and in many respects enlightened empire, surely cannot long be contented at being thus deprived of that first blessing of a free country. However this inestimable privilege might have been occasionally struck at by different administrations in this country, and however it may be prostituted and abused by the hirelings of the present day,

* Pol. Reg. p. 123.

† Ibid, p. 79.

we feel most sensibly, the superiority, which as Britons we in this respect enjoy over the nations on the continent.

We now turn to another source of intelligence—The SPANISH Gazettes, published in those provinces where popular insurrection has proved triumphant. Although the accounts inserted from time to time of victories, the most brilliant, must be received with caution, and much allowance made for those partial statements and exaggerations which almost uniformly accompany military details in every country, yet it is evident that the successes of the Spanish PATRIOTS (the more we examine their cause, the more we find them deserving the name) have been signal and important. The principal of these victories are, those of General CASTANOS, and Major-General REDING over the forces of Generals DUPONT and WEDEL; in ANDALUSIA; and of Generals CREBELLON and CARO over the French army under General MONCEY in VALENCIA; the details of which appear in our *Register*. The account of the latter victory is contained in letters from Gibraltar, and appears to rest principally on the authority of a Spanish Captain; but the details of the former are from various quarters, have been transmitted by Lord COLLINGWOOD, and published in our official Gazette. Thus the principal armies of the French Emperor in Spain have been subdued, and that chiefly by men little used to arms, and to military discipline.

One important result, amongst others, of the victory of General CASTANOS, appears to have been the flight of the new King, whom we have just viewed in all his glory, proclaimed in his capital, and surrounded by his loving subjects! Our gazette informs us—“That on the 29th. ult. in the evening the French began the evacuation of Madrid; upon the 30th. the evacuation continued, and “upon the 31st. JOSEPH BONAPARTE with the remainder of his “troops quitted the capital for Segovia,” 45 miles distance from Madrid; from whence it is reported he has farther retreated to Burgos, in his way towards the borders of the kingdom: this retreat was effected within four days of his being proclaimed King. Some of the accounts state that he made his escape in disguise, wearing a patriotic cockade, and all represent the royal fugitive as stripping the palace and the churches, of the crown, the regalia, the plate, and every thing of value which he could possibly lay his hands on. His conduct, on this occasion has excited the indignant remarks of our journalists, who all seem to agree in representing the conduct of JOSEPH as mean, dishonest, and unkingly: but we cannot help suspecting that these reflections, all circumstances considered, border on rudeness towards Kings in general. King JOSEPH has only followed the example of the generality of his brother Kings in most ages of the world. Robbing by sea, as well as by land

has been, and is still we believe, judged by the majority in most countries to be a very honourable, a very kingly practice! The conversation which passed between ALEXANDER the great, and a famous pirate is well known. When the former reproached the latter with being a robber, the latter sternly, and very truly replied—"I am not so great a robber as thou art!" The conqueror felt so much of the remains of conscience, as silently to acquiesce in the justice of the recrimination, and the great robber not only dismissed the petty robber unpunished, but ordered him to be treated with respect. Dr. PORTEUS the present Bishop of London, published in his younger days, (that is before he was made a bishop,) an admirable poem, in which he expressed it as his opinion, that, with respect to the commission of the crime, not only of robbery, but of murder, PRINCES ARE PRIVILEGED! The history of what is called civilised society, too plainly demonstrates, that where the inhabitants of a country do not think it worth their while to watch the conduct of their kings, the latter seldom resist the great temptation they have to turn thieves; and it would be well if they contented themselves with stealing from their own subjects, and from neighbouring nations a little plate, or a few jewels! We sincerely hope that the Spanish patriots in their formation of a new constitution, should it be monarchical, will take the proper means to keep their kings honest: the very best, if not the only method of effecting this is, to place around them a free representative assembly, which may prove a safeguard against, not only a single thief on a throne, but what is infinitely worse, a gang of thieves in a cabinet, who may be careless how they rob their own country, or desolate a foreign country, and plunder or murder the inhabitants, if by such means they may but preserve their places; yea, who may arrive at that height of effrontery a common robber cannot reach, and plead not only necessity, but even a regard for the interests of social order and religion as the motives of their conduct!

The silence observed not only by the French Emperor, but by the grandees of the Spanish nation, (who effected the resignation or deposition of CHARLES IV. and transferred the crown to FERDINAND VII.) respecting the affairs of Spain, render it difficult to form a competent judgment as to the opinion of the majority of the Spanish people: this difficulty is increased by the remarks of the Editors of some of our London prints, "that the insurrection is not so general as was at first apprehended, and that in several provinces the patriotic ardour begins to cool." It is the custom of Sovereigns when they engage in war, whether just or unjust, to appeal to the world in their own justification: contemptible as these appeals usually are, and although they seldom afford any

decent excuse for kindling, or spreading the flames of war, their very publication discovers some degree of respect to the judgment of mankind. We have been looking for such a memorial from the French Emperor. His conduct respecting Spain most imperiously calls for an explanation. Have the grandees of Spain, who effected the first revolution, perceiving the state of parties, and apprehending a civil war in the kingdom between the father and the son, both of whom had by their recent conduct afforded manifest proof of their incapacity for the government of such an empire as Spain,—have they solicited the interference of NAPOLEON? Did they consider themselves as the representatives of the people and were they authorised to propose the abdication of the BOURBONS, and to offer the crown to BONAPARTE?

The grandees who elevated FERDINAND to the throne, in the room, and against the wishes of his father, who afterwards followed their new King to Bayonne, and there acquiesced in his abdication, and in that of the whole Royal family;—those grandees who accepted from NAPOLEON, his brother JOSEPH as their Sovereign, and were by him nominated to the most important offices in the state; who escorted him through the kingdom to the capital, and there proclaimed him King of SPAIN and of the INDIES, have not yet assigned the reasons for their conduct. Their characters however are at stake: their countrymen have a right to be informed of their motives, their views, their ultimate designs.

But whatever mystery may still envelope these transactions, it must be acknowledged, that appearances are at present against the French Emperor. Judging from the events which have taken place during the past three months, there is reason to conclude that the majority of the people of Spain are averse to the government of a foreign prince: their determined, and hitherto successful resistance, the defeat of the veteran troops of France by soldiers unused to discipline, who had but just entered the field of battle, afford presumptive evidence that INJUSTICE is on the side of NAPOLEON, and justice on the side of the PEOPLE OF SPAIN!

There are other considerations equally deserving notice, and which serve to strengthen this opinion. All the accounts hitherto received of the popular insurrections state them to be against the government of JOSEPH; but we read of no expression of the public voice in his favour, except on the very spot covered by his forces. As the French papers do not contradict this statement, it may fairly be presumed it cannot be contradicted. The Spaniards may in various places consider it as a matter of comparative indifference whether they are to be governed in future by the family of the BOURBONS or the BONAPARTES; and unless the new government should be formed on principles essentially different from that

which has existed for centuries past, one single drop of human blood is too valuable to be shed in favour of either the old or the new dynasty; and every Spaniard when he takes a retrospect of the intrigues and commotions which have already taken place, and the blood which has been already shed, may well exclaim with MERCUTIO when mortally wounded in an affray between the partisans of the *Montagues* and the *Capulets*,—"A plague o' both your houses!" Judging however from all the accounts hitherto received, the public opinion wherever it has been expressed is in favour of FERDINAND.

The disposition of the troops employed by Spain on foreign service by virtue of her treaties with France, affords additional evidence of the odium attached by the Spaniards to the government of the French. Of an army of 15,000 men commanded by the Marquis de la Romana, and stationed in Denmark and its dependencies, the major part in consequence of a concerted plan between the British commander in the Baltic, and the Spanish general, have willingly rescued themselves from the dominion of France, and are removed to a place of security until they can be conveyed to Spain to join their countrymen in arms. The Danes and the French being apprised of the scheme prevented it from being executed so completely as was originally intended. About one third of the army were surprised and disarmed. The disposition of the Spanish troops is by this occurrence pretty plainly discovered. Until therefore we have evidence to counterbalance that we have now stated, we cannot but be of opinion that the majority of the people of Spain are hostile to the government attempted to be imposed on them by France.

"What are the designs of the French Emperor?"—This is a question which in the present state of affairs must be the subject of anxious consideration in the minds of men of all descriptions. BONAPARTE has at length, after a long and uninterrupted career, met with a check to his ambitious pursuits from a quarter he least expected. From his not sending reinforcements to his armies in Spain, it is evident he deemed it unnecessary. His transfer of the kingdom of Naples from his brother JOSEPH to his relative MURAT, the Grand Duke of BERG, affords further evidence that he has a superior kingdom in prospect for the former. It is scarcely to be imagined that he will relinquish the crown of Spain without a struggle. Some of the Dutch papers inform us that NAPOLEON is collecting forces from different parts, for the purpose of forming an army of 150,000 men to be sent to Spain. Should this prove to be fact, or should the Emperor send an army of half that number, or indeed any army at all, to compel the Spaniards to submit to a government disapproved of by the majority of the people, there is not one of our

countrymen who wish more ardently than we do, that such a scheme of unprincipled ambition may be most completely frustrated. It is well for the Emperor if the very attempt to carry such a scheme into execution do not prove as impolitic as it is unjust. May success attend the exertions, not only of the Spaniards, but of every people under heaven in forming a government, or in defending the government of their choice against the attacks of a foreign invader.

The attention of all Europe is now fixed on the people of Spain; and we most sincerely hope that their conduct will afford a bright display of a people contending for a government founded on the principles of justice and freedom. At the same time, as our readers must have noticed, we have had our fears lest the late insurrections should have been merely the effect of the machinations of the swarm of priests which have so long infested that country, who have kept the people in ignorance, poverty, and slavery, the willing tools of a government too bad for longer endurance, while all the time they have themselves been wallowing in luxury and vice. One of our correspondents has in our following pages given us some account of the established church of Spain, and of the state of religion throughout the kingdom, and states it as "the opinion of all those who have had a favourable opportunity of estimating the characters and manners of the inhabitants, *that there is as little true moral religion in Spain, as in any country under heaven.*" The activity of the priests in stirring up and heading the late insurrections rendered us somewhat fearful, that the resistance was excited not so much against the dominion of JOSEPH, as against those dreaded reforms in the government, and more particularly in the ecclesiastical government, which have been introduced into almost every country subjugated by the French Emperor. The language in most of the Spanish proclamations on the subject of religion, (some of which we noticed in our last) is disgraceful, not only to christianity, but to common sense, and to humanity. One of the most commendable parts of NAPOLEON'S conduct, is that respecting religious liberty. He has lately added to the privileges he a few years since granted to a people, who for so many centuries past, have been the victims of oppression and persecution throughout the world. From the Dutch papers we learn, that by a decree dated June 2, the Jews in the depart-

* One of the latest writers on this subject gives the following account of the church of Spain.—

"The Roman catholic religion is the established religion. The number of the clergy exceeds 300,000; who are under 8 archbishops, 46 bishops, and 25 tribunals of inquisition, established for maintaining the catholic religion. Spain contains 117 cathedral churches, 1028 convents, 19,683 parishes, &c."

Clanchard's Statistical Tables of Europe.

ment of East Friesland were freed from "ALL those restrictions, by which they were separated from the other inhabitants. The prohibition to acquire and possess landed property has also been abrogated, and they are placed in the same situation with those of their people in other parts of the kingdom." An article from Cassel dated June 9, contains a proclamation of the prefect of the department of *Fulda*, declaring—"All distinction between the professors of judaism and christians, as to privileges, are at an end, and that they shall no longer be denominated TOLERATED JEWS," but shall be regarded as REAL CITIZENS and inhabitants; it being declared to be the duty of the government to remove as much as possible, *all marked distinctions between Jews and christians!*"—Now it is this just, wise, and humane conduct which has, to the disgrace of men claiming the name of patriot, been assigned as a cause for insurrection in one of the Spanish proclamations, in which the writers observe in terms of the most marked abhorrence, "the *atheism* of the French ruler, who has dared to tolerate the accursed race of the Jews!" Much allowance is to be made, we readily acknowledge for the gross ignorance, and deep rooted prejudices of the Spanish populace; and we are not without hopes that their leaders, (however, they might deem it prudent, for the moment, to accommodate their language to the ideas and conceptions of the lowest ranks,) still entertain those sentiments and views that are indispensibly requisite in men qualified to be the leaders and conductors of a revolution, and the regenerators of a long enslaved country. General CASTANOS who has so honourably distinguished himself by his victory over DUPONT, it is plain expects his countrymen to form a NEW constitution: he characterizes the late monarchy—"a feeble and cowardly government;" terms which very justly describe not only the Spanish monarchy in general, but more particularly that under the two last of its Kings, CHARLES IV. and FERDINAND VII. who by abdications, retractions, and re-abdications; who by stealing out of their kingdom, and throwing themselves into the arms of NAPOLEON, have demonstrated that they are utterly unfit to be placed at the head of a great people determined to be free. General CASTANOS appears likewise to have correct ideas respecting the sacrifices which the higher classes must make in such a cause as that in which the Spanish nation is professedly engaged. "Addressing the lower ranks he observes—"Fear not that the wealthy will spare their treasures: they will deposit all their services of plate in the hands of the government; and when they eat and drink out of wooden spoons and earthen vessels, they will enjoy the pleasing satisfaction that these instruments of mere luxury are destined to the defence

"of our religion, our King, our country, and our LIBERTY." From what follows in the same proclamation, we are not without hope, that what the General terms the "religion" of the country is somewhat different from the meaning commonly put on the term, by statesmen and churchmen. Addressing the Spanish clergy he adds,—*"Be persuaded that both ecclesiastical and civil laws admit of selling the property of the church in circumstances of such urgent necessity as the present. Convince the faithful that you are penetrated with this GENUINE DOCTRINE, which in times not so calamitous was taught by St. BERNARD, who observed, it was not conformable with our holy religion, that the church should flourish in its possessions whilst her poor were necessitous; that she should decorate her walls with gold, and abandon her children to nakedness."* The mind of the General must surely when he wrote this address, have been ruminating upon the revenues of the bishopric of Toledo, which amount to 120,000*l.* per annum, and which will afford fine food for good, sound, patriotic revolutionists!

What however is of the greatest importance to the cause of genuine patriotism in Spain, is the formation of a freely chosen representative body of the people, on whom may devolve the important work of framing a CONSTITUTION. It gives us pleasure therefore to read in the Spanish gazettes, that this subject has for sometime past employed the thoughts of the leaders in the revolution; that the Duke of MEDINA has been traversing Spain for the purpose of effecting this grand measure; that the different juntas have acceded to it, and that the CORTES is to meet in the ensuing month. May [this assembly emulate the virtues of those ancient assemblies whose name it adopts, which were once the glory of the kingdom, equal in respectability to a British senate in its best and purest days.

Every state in endeavouring to preserve its independence deserves the good wishes, and in certain cases the assistance of neighbouring states; and notwithstanding the burdens of the people of Great Britain are most enormously, and unnecessarily oppressive, we are by no means disposed to condemn the conduct of ministers in affording such assistance to the people of Spain as shall be requisite to enable them to conduct their REVOLUTION to a glorious issue:—the complete deliverance of their country from French invasion, or dictation, and [the formation and establishment of a free government: but from the language which has been held by our ministerial writers, as well as by ministers themselves, we firmly believe that the sole object proposed by the latter is, the re-establishment of the old, vile despotism of Spain in church and state. The

following extract from a government print, informs us of the views of ministers in language that cannot be mistaken.

“ Of all the absurdities which the rancour of party or the malevolence of faction has given birth to on this subject, that which represents the present noble efforts of the Spanish nation as revolutionary, is the most monstrous! Revolution is of the very essence of change: change of dynasty, or change of the form of government. The Spanish nation seeks no change, and therefore it is, that it has taken up arms to resist the ruffian invaders who would impose a change of dynasty and of government forcibly upon them. It is the grossest perversion of terms, therefore, to denominate that national ebullition a revolution, which rejecting innovation adheres to ESTABLISHED INSTITUTIONS, which seeks the re-establishment of a subverted government, not the subversion of an established one. In all this there is no symptom of revolution; nor in the uniform expression of love and loyalty to their King Ferdinand, and attachment to their religion and establishments, with which all their public instruments teem. The term revolution could only be applied properly to the overthrow of the French power in Spain; but as that had never been established, or acquiesced in throughout the country, the expulsion of such intruders cannot be considered as any revolution. The enemies of old governments, and turbulent incendiaries, who care not what mischief they do to society, provided they but gratify their capricious and malignant hostility against all that is great or eminent in it, may contemplate in this glorious struggle an exemplification of their principles of disorganization; yet whilst its object shall continue, what has been uniformly avowed by the patriots, it must be considered by every honest and honourable mind as a contest for national independence against foreign conquest and menaced revolution On the 19th of March, King Charles abdicated his crown in favour of his son Ferdinand. That was no revolution, nor did it produce any popular rising. The resignation of a parent in favour of his son is not without example in the annals of Spain.”

We have thus the open avowal that the re-establishment of the despotism of Spain is the sole wish of the ministers of Great Britain. The hireling writers we have quoted, although they have raised a flame in their own country to prevent the toleration of roman catholics, with effrontery and hypocrisy peculiar to men of this description, express their hope and belief that no innovation will be attempted in Spain; that the Spanish nation “ seeks no change;” that it adheres to ALL their established institutions (the twenty-five tribunals of inquisition for the preservation of the catholic religion, &c.) and consequently that no toleration will be allowed to protestants; that the very idea of change, innovation, or revolution in the government is “ most monstrous!” It affords us however pleasure to observe, that these most despicable sentiments are reprobated by ALL the parties in the Spanish revolution. The grandees commenced the work of revolutionizing by DEPOSING

against his will, (as he acknowledged; after he had sneaked out of the kingdom) their old, stupid tyrant CHARLES IV. The French Emperor was fully convinced, that a revolution not merely in the dynasty, but in the constitution of Spain was absolutely necessary; and accordingly *his* new constitution, notwithstanding its many defects, contained various provisions, which tended materially to ameliorate the condition of the people, and to restore them in some considerable degree to political and civil freedom. The junta assembled at Bayonne, in their address to the people describe the old government as too bad for amendment. The explicit opinion of General CASTANOS on this subject we have already quoted. The Spanish proclamations, although their language is not uniform, abound in declarations of the necessity of a new and regenerated government. Even "*the most illustrious Don Raphael Thomas Bishop of Santander, &c.*" in his letter to Lord CASTLEREAGH, although he, conscious how acceptable his language would be to his lordship, furiously reviles "Napoleon Bonaparte, as the infamous "chief of robbers, the monster of monsters;" (we are not much surprised at his being so termed by a bishop fattening on the spoils of the people) even this bishop terms the late government of Spain "our ancient *bad government*." Spaniards of all parties and descriptions appear to be longing for a complete revolution, and for a new government which shall be a contrast to that old despotism now destroyed, never, we hope, to be restored.

Although our ministers do not venture to speak out quite so plainly as their tools, whose language we have quoted, it is evident that they in the assistance afforded to the Spaniards, have nothing more in view than the restoration of the old monarchy. Indeed were they to discover any regard to the rights and privileges, civil or religious, of the people of Spain, they would act very inconsistently, as they have hitherto been the uniform opposers of both in their own country. The whole happiness of the people of Spain, in their opinion, is involved in the restoration of the monarchy. Thus in the speech from the throne we are informed—"That in contributing to this "great and glorious cause his Majesty has no other object than that "of preserving unimpaired the integrity and independence of the "Spanish monarchy." A dinner has been lately given to the Spanish deputies at the city of London Tavern, one might almost have imagined for the sole purpose of shewing the powers of the English at gormandizing: 2,500 lbs. weight of turtle, with every species of luxury in viands and liquors in the utmost profusion were provided for a company of about 400 persons. As the representatives of the people of Spain were present, one might have expected that the sentiments and wishes of the people of Great Britain, as friends to freedom, would have been displayed in speeches and toasts suited to

the occasion. But instead of the grand swelling sentiments of liberty, we hear scarcely any thing but the cuckoo note—*The monarchy! the monarchy!* The Spanish deputies no doubt fearing to offend ministers if they should give any toast relating to the general principles of liberty, thought it best to repeat that which had been already drank—*The King!* One toast of a complexion somewhat different was given by the chairman—Sir. F. BARING:—“The President and Government of the United States of America,” but which gave general disgust. Although the government of America is the most free government in the world, and the President as wise, virtuous, and patriotic an individual as is to be found in the executive of any existing government, yet truly, because America will not submit to the system of commercial despotism adopted with equal haughtiness and injustice by both Britain and France, we are to consider her as an enemy: but it is evident that the old governments of Spain, Portugal, the Sicilies, and Sweden, are more congenial in their principles and practice to the ideas of our ministers, than the government of America; the prosperity of these despotic governments was therefore drank at the above meeting, with enthusiasm.

GENERAL REFLECTIONS ON THE STATE OF EUROPE.

Although our ministers declared in the speech at the prorogation of parliament “that his Majesty in contributing to the cause of Spain, had no other object than that of preserving unimpaired the integrity and independence of the Spanish monarchy;” yet they immediately added: “but he trusts that the same efforts which are directed to that great object, may, under the blessing of Divine Providence lead in their effects and by their example, to the restoration of the liberties and peace of Europe.”

The meaning of this language cannot possibly be mistaken; if any doubt remained on the subject at the time it was first uttered, it must have been removed in the mind of every one who has since read our daily prints, particularly those which are known to be under the influence of government. The most sanguine hopes are held out to the public, that Austria is about to rush into a new war; that Russia will probably join her; nay it is hinted that Denmark has expressed her readiness to join in this new coalition to effect “the deliverance of Europe.” We are farther assured that *liberal assistance* will be afforded by this country, to the different powers on the continent who shall be engaged in so glorious a cause!

That it is the most ardent desire of our ministers that the flames of war may again spread throughout Europe, and that they are prepared to lavish the remaining resources of this country to bring about such an event, no one can doubt: but if the different powers

on the continent have learned wisdom from experience; if they are not given up to infatuation, they will be very cautious how they again repeat those blunders which have brought about an increase of the power of France, and a diminution of their own.

As to the professed object in view "the restoration of the liberties and the peace of Europe," we remark—*Europe has no liberties to be restored!* France, whatever may be said of her justice or injustice, we are persuaded, has not destroyed or even diminished the liberties of those countries which she has acquired by conquest or by treaty; ~~on the contrary~~ the inhabitants of most of these countries, have obtained some privileges, and more particularly that great privilege TOLERATION. What inducement therefore can the people of Europe possibly have to take up arms, to spill their blood, to risk the desolation of their country? What is the object? Why truly that their former despotic governments may be restored! Would to God that the people in all countries were seriously resolved! never to interfere in a mere war of Kings; that they would never shed their blood but in defending their own rights; that they would, instead of being led forth to slaughter, to gratify the interests or ambition of their rulers, demand a free constitution, such as they would feel an interest in preserving. By such means, and by such means only, will "the liberties and the peace of Europe be effectually restored."

But what ought to excite not only the alarm but the indignation of the people of this country, is—That at the very time our ministers are expressing their hopes that "the peace of Europe may be restored," they are reviving the principles of eternal war; principles so truly detestable as well as despicable, that we could scarcely have imagined that any statesman, after witnessing how completely their original author, Mr. PITT, had been baffled and defeated in his plans to enforce them, and the calamities which have been the consequence, would ever have dared to attempt their revival. We are now however informed from official authority, that the French government is no longer considered as legitimate; the Emperor is styled "the atrocious usurper of France."* This opinion is almost daily inculcated on the people of this country, not only by our ministerial prints, but by one which has generally been understood to be the mouth piece of the leaders of the opposition. It is not only in the *Morning Post* we are told that—"A more brazen villain than BONAPARTE never usurped the power of government," nor in which the wish is expressed, "that the world may ere long have the happiness to witness the utter destruction of the whole of his detested and in-

* Mr. Ganning's letter to the Envoy of Asturias.

famous race;" but in the *Morning Chronicle* we now read similar sentiments. We are encouraged to hope for another *La Vendé* civil war. The Editor after expressing it as his opinion, that the recent defeats of the French forces in the passes of *Sierra Morana* and at *Baylen*, when "circulated through the communes of *La Charente* and *La Vendé* will not facilitate the conscription of "1810," puts the question—"Who knows but the flame which "once burned so bright in these departments may be again kindled, "by the recital of the valorous and patriotic achievements of the "Spaniards, and that those provinces which were most steady in "maintaining their allegiance to their LEGITIMATE SOVEREIGN; "will be the first to throw off their USURPER!" After reading this paragraph, and others of a similar description, we cannot but express our hopes, that the paper containing them, which in the course of two or three years has so completely changed its principles, is no longer to be considered as the vehicle by which the leaders of the opposition convey their sentiments. It is impossible that THEY can approve of a war, the professed design of which is the overthrow of the French government.

But with what decency or good faith can the British government pronounce the French Emperor—"The atrocious usurper of "France? Has not this very government recognized his power as lawful, formed with him treaties of peace, sent an ambassador to reside at his court, and even prosecuted persons in this country for styling him "an usurper," and representing his government as lawless? Has not Lord HAWKESBURY, one of the colleagues of the right hon. secretary who has officially used this outrageous language, absolutely panegyricized the government of the "atrocious usurper," and demanded in the face of the British senate—"Who "can look at France, and not see that its *best years* since the "revolution are those in which it has been under its *present govern-* "ment?"† What faith can be placed in the declarations of a cabinet who can acknowledge a government to be legitimate, and afterwards declare that very government to be an atrocious usurpation?

Our ministers by their war-breathing speech at the prorogation of parliament, and by their rash, impolitic, and wicked declaration to the Spanish envoys, have at length completely unmasked their designs. Although, in their various intercourses with foreign powers on the subject of negotiation, we found ample evidence to convince us of a melancholy fact, which we have frequently endeavoured to press on the consideration of our countrymen, that ministers were

* *Morning Chronicle*, Aug. 22.

† Speech of Lord Hawkesbury on the Treaty of Amiens, Nov. 3, 1801.

totally averse to peace, and obstinately bent on a prosecution of the war, what were the precise objects they had in view it was impossible for us, or indeed any one else, not in their confidence, with any degree of precision to conjecture. Those objects are at length avowed. Our remaining resources are to be squandered, the blood of our countrymen is to be wasted in the abominable and desperate projects of spreading the flames of war throughout Europe, overturning the French government, and effecting the destruction of its head, the Emperor, "the atrocious usurper of France!"

Our ministers by this wretched act, have avowed a principle which if generally adopted would unloose the bands of social order and civilized society, and bring general destruction on states and governments. Should the French Emperor in the spirit of revenge, act upon such a principle; should he attempt the invasion of this country for the express purpose of annihilating our monarchy, he could not plead a better justification of his conduct than Mr. Secretary CANNING's letter to the envoys of Asturias! And it is at such a period as this, on the proclamation of ETERNAL WAR against NAPOLEON, that our countrymen are presenting addresses to the throne, expressive of their implicit confidence in ministers; when those who only a few months past, were heavily complaining of their burdens, and declaring the continuance of the war to be unjust, and unnecessary, are so anxious to express their approbation of the conduct of ministers, that an address in the common style of adulation is not thought sufficient, but must be withdrawn for one of a more glowing description.* Such conduct adds to the mass of evidence which has been accumulating for several years past of the melaucholy truth—THAT THE RULERS AND THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN APPEAR TO BE OBSTINATELY BENT ON PERSEVERING IN THAT INFATUATED CAREER WHICH MUST TERMINATE IN RUIN!

For the successful execution of the proposed plan of extended warfare, and of the destruction of the Emperor of France, we invoke "the divine blessing." Every consistent christian must be shocked at such prayers, which are truly "an abomination to the Lord." Hypocrisy is thus added to the rest of our crimes, and we all the time flatter ourselves, that in opposing the rights of conscience claimed by the catholics in this country, and in fighting for the preservation of catholic establishments, the sinks of priestcraft and statecraft in other countries, we are the champions of religion, and the favourites of Heaven!

Harlow, August 30.

B. F.

* See an account of the meeting at Leeds, in the *Leeds Mercury*, August 20.

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[Vol IV.]

REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

PORTUGAL.

HIS Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal has at length published a Manifesto, dated from the capital of his new government, *Rio Janeiro*, in which he details the occurrences which led to his removal from Lisbon to the Brazils. The Manifesto is drawn up with considerable ability; and the language is more moderate than that which generally characterises state papers on similar occasions. It however contains little new as to the causes of the war with France, nor is there any material difference, in this respect, between the statement of the Prince Regent, and the previous statement of the French Emperor which we noticed in a former number. The serious differences between the two courts appear to have arisen from the demands made by France shortly after the treaty of Tilsit. The Manifesto of the Prince Regent informs us,—“It was only “by concluding the peace of Tilsit, that the court of the Thuitleries in a dictatorial tone, such as might have become CHARLEMAGNE, addressing the princes, whose sovereign lord he was, “caused the strange demand to be made to the court of Portugal “—1st. To shut the ports of Portugal against England.—2d. To “detain all Englishmen who resided in Portugal; and 3d. To confiscate all English property.” From this statement it is evident, that the French Emperor, in his conduct towards Portugal, has followed the common practice of arbitrary monarchs, whose minds have been continually employed in the pursuits of ambition, and who, possessing great talents, and being placed in peculiar circumstances favourable to their views, have been the more easily enabled to bring about their accomplishment. CHARLEMAGNE is quoted as an example followed by NAPOLEON: the Prince Regent might have quoted other examples of princes of the Bourbon family, LEWIS XIV. in particular, whose treatment of surrounding states, whose aim at universal dominion was similar to that of NAPOLEON, but who in his general system of policy fell short of that pursued by the French Emperor, who has in most of the countries he has

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conquered, promoted the civilization of the inhabitants, shaken the pillars of superstition and priestcraft, and advanced the progress of Toleration. From the general conduct of arbitrary monarchs in all ages of the world, the people may learn this important lesson, that it is equally their duty and their interest to study their own rights, and the nature and end of government: they will find from the history of different states, that it is only in proportion to the share of power possessed by the people, that kings can be kept in due order. With whatever plans the world may be amused for the "deliverance of Europe," unless by such a phrase is meant (what many of those who have been in the habit of using it do *not* mean) the deliverance of the PEOPLE of Europe from that state of slavery in which they have been fettered for ages, there is no plan for effecting that deliverance, or, to use plainer language, for advancing the interest of one family, over that of another, or changing a dynasty, which ought materially to interest the feelings of the friends of mankind. Of what consequence is it to the people of Europe whether the house of BRAGANZA, the family of the BOURBONS, or of the NAPOLEONS bear the sway? As the latter can scarcely prove greater scourges to society than the former, so there is little reason to hope, unless the people will at least by degrees assert their own sovereignty, that they will find much difference. Happy would it be for society, if the people in all countries would leave the different houses, and races of the blood royal, with their cabinets and dependants to fight their own battles, and refuse to take up a single offensive weapon, or stir a foot but for the noble purpose of recovering their liberties from the grasp of their domestic tyrants, or of defending them from the attacks of foreign tyrants. Then would the "deliverance of Europe," in the genuine and best sense of the phrase, be speedily and gloriously accomplished.

Shortly after the communication of the unreasonable demands on the part of France, the Prince Regent began to adopt measures for his departure; at the same time he partially, though unwillingly, complied with some of those demands; but this not satisfying the French Emperor, an army was sent to take possession of Lisbon, on which the Prince assisted by the British fleet in the Tagus, proceeded to carry his scheme into execution, and transported himself, his court, dependents, property, &c. to the Brazils; his subjects making no effort to detain him, and regarding his departure as a matter of indifference. His royal highness with his fleet arrived safe at the place of his destination, and shortly after he published his manifesto.

There are some aggravating circumstances in the conduct of the French, which will doubtless excite the peculiar attention and reprobation of our countrymen. "The *good faith* of the French government," it is observed in the manifesto, "is no less remark-

“able with regard to the celerity with which, after having made
 “the above demands, and without waiting for the answer of
 “Portugal, it ordered all Portuguese merchant ships to be detained
 “in the ports of France; and by that means actually commencing
 “hostilities without any previous declaration of war; thus carrying
 “to a far greater length all the proceedings which formed its con-
 “tinued topic of reproach against England, which after such a
 “conduct will be justly valued The Emperor of the French
 “has not only invaded Portugal under the cloak of friendship,
 “but has even caused Portuguese merchant ships to be seized
 “which were in his ports without any previous declaration of
 “war?” Without critically examining the truth of the assertion,
 whether the proceedings of France were “carried to a greater
 “length” than the proceedings of England alluded to, we cannot
 but remark the severe reflections which are here thrown out against
 the ally, as well as against the enemy of Portugal. Who set France the
 example of such iniquitous “proceedings” as seizing the ships of a
 neutral and a friendly power, whilst sailing on the high seas without
 suspicion, or quietly laying at anchor in port? This “system of
 rascality,” as it was termed in the British senate by Lord
 STANHOPE; these nefarious acts, which Lord ELLENBOROUGH
 compared to those, for the commission of which he had pronounced
 on the perpetrators sentence of death in the hall of national
 justice at the Old Bailey, were committed by this country against
 Denmark. These horrible and unprovoked outrages, accompanied
 by outrages still more horrible, the plunder and conflagration of
 the Danish capital, and the destruction of the unoffending inhabi-
 tants, could not on this occasion but be recollected by the court of
 Portugal. The seizure of the Spanish plate ships and frigates
 “previous to a declaration of war,” could not likewise have been
 forgotten. Thus it appears that the French, in those parts of their
 conduct which were considered by the Prince Regent as peculiarly
 aggravating, were only feeble copyists of the precedents set them
 by England!

Although the Portuguese had suffered the Prince Regent,
 with their old, insane queen, and the court with its dependants
 quietly to depart, it since appears they were not satisfied with the
 government of their new masters the French. Partial insurrections
 have taken place in different parts of Portugal, the principal of
 which were at Oporto. The account of these events have been pub-
 lished “By authority of the partizans of the Prince Regent, now
 “calling themselves the government, consisting of the most excel-
 “lent and Reverend Don ANTONIO, bishop of the diocese,” a few
 other ecclesiastics, together with half a dozen officers who invested
 themselves with the supreme government. As there were no

French forces in the city, although a column of the French army was reported to be marching thither, the bishop, the "illustrious" dean, who commanded the city guard, the reverends, the different tribes of ecclesiastics, and their followers easily carried their design into execution; and have since kept possession of the city.

The documents published by the episcopal commander of Oporto, and by those holding their authority under him, we have already laid before our readers.* We are sorry to perceive by these documents, that the authors so far from endeavouring to awaken, and to animate the Portuguese by motives becoming men, determined to assert their liberties and independence, "to live free or die," make use of the most sordid and despicable language, suited only to the darkest ages of ignorance, superstition, and vice. The French Emperor is styled "the monster of iniquity vomited out of Hell; the villain, the chief of the numerous banditti spread over Europe." The priests who use this language, it should seem have obliterated from their memories all traces of the heinous, the complicated crimes of the established priesthood in all catholic countries, and which have stamped the sacred fraternity, when exercising their power in the zenith of their prosperity, the very worst description of men that the Almighty ever permitted to afflict, to trample upon, to pillage, and to massacre the human race. Portugal and Spain, where the priesthood have for ages reigned peculiarly triumphant, have the guilt of the blood of numerous millions of innocent victims yet to atone for. The language of the most reverend and right reverend leaders of the insurgents, affords a tolerable display of their disposition to *fill up the measure of their fathers*. "The most sacrilegious the most horrid of all atrocious crimes committed by the French," they inform their countrymen is,—What? Let the reader prepare for a tale of new, and unparalleled horrors! "The demolition of the sacred painting, which brings to memory the five fountains which issued on the heights of mount Calvary to cleanse and wash the sins of the world; the five wounds of our redeemer, offered on the plains of Ourique, to the first King of Portugal as emblems of honour to be blazoned on the standards." This complication of crimes calls for the utmost vengeance of the Portuguese! The holy zeal of the most reverend commander, and his reverend subalterns, "brought to resurrection the army of Braganza, which although they were demolished in the edifices, always existed untouched in the image of JESUS CHRIST, painted with his most precious blood;" which army "on the glorious 18th of June, displayed their standards, and like men converted into wild beasts, run

* Pol. Reg. for Aug. p. 79—84.

"towards the plain of St. Ovid, there to wait for the enemy, thus resembling hungry wolves who run towards lambs! Loved countrymen," adds his reverence,—"*Your hunger is not satiated; your rage increases, and you protest you'll feed on the blood of Frenchmen who infest august Lisbon.*" Such are the principal sentiments, and such are the grand motives urged by the leaders of the Portuguese insurgents to their countrymen to induce them to fight and devour the French. If however, their hearts are not accessible to sentiments and motives of a different, and an opposite kind, the result may be easily foretold. It is indeed much to be lamented that the debased state of the Portuguese under their late most execrable government of priestcraft in its most stupid and bigoted form, should have almost incapacitated them for the performance of actions becoming the citizen, the patriot, and the christian: but the melancholy fact is proclaimed by almost every traveller who has visited that degraded kingdom. Slavery, superstition, ignorance and vice, have rendered the mass of the people, with respect to morals and religion, a body corrupt and putrified.

Mr. Burke, when writing on the despotism of the Mamelukes of Egypt, remarked—"That when any of the European governments extirpated that wretched race, he should not *too nicely* inquire into the nature of the means made use of, to produce so desirable an end." Now, although we must ever stand aloof from the sentiment implied in this remark, and shall never attempt to justify any event in which the means used, are not pure as the end proposed, yet we must acknowledge, that almost any revolution which may produce the total destruction of the despotic government of Portugal, and more particularly of the worst part of that despotism, the established church, ought to be a matter of exultation to every friend to the freedom, the morals, and the welfare of society.

In the present state of Portugal we scarcely know what to wish: it is very evident the majority of the people were indifferent with respect to their old government, and there is every reason to believe that the late insurrection is to be attributed principally, if not exclusively, to the priests of the established church, who, judging by their manifestoes, have no wish for the restoration of their countrymen to a state of political and religious freedom, but whose grand aim seems to be, the preservation of the established church in all its despotism, superstition, luxury and vice.

It is melancholy to observe protestant British commanders assisting the Romish priests in their endeavours to enflame the passions of their ignorant devotees, already too much enflamed, on the misunderstood and abused subject of religion. What would our ancestors have said had they read the proclamations of Sir CHARLES COTTON, and Sir ARTHUR WELLESLEY exhorting a nation of

wretched fanatics to "take up arms for the preservation of their *"holy religion;"* a religion which these very commanders profess to abominate? Britons and protestants may find abundance of rational and honourable motives to urge to a people who are inclined to take up arms for the sake of their liberties and independence, without having recourse to the ignoble pretences of ignorance, fanaticism, and priestcraft.

With respect to Portugal, who to the last remained faithful to her alliance with England, there seems to have been adopted on the part of our ministers or their agents, a system weak in its formation, and fatal in its termination. The designs of the French towards that kingdom were apparent, long before they were ready to carry them into execution. England might, without violating any principle of justice have assisted the Prince Regent of Portugal to preserve his dominions; and if his people had retained a single spark of affection for the government, the powerful assistance of Britain would have raised it to a flame: but our rulers were too strongly bent on their scheme of robbery in the Baltic to attend to the timely preservation of Portugal; and they contrived to send a fleet just in time to assist in the transportation of the court of Lisbon, leaving the country in the possession of the French. How preferable, how much more politic is the endeavour, to defend a country from invasion, than after suffering it to be over run and plundered, to attempt to expel the invaders! The general resistance of the people of Spain to the designs of the French, and the partial insurrections of the people of Portugal since the departure of their old government, were inducements sufficient to this country, to send a considerable naval and military force for the purpose of securing the Russian fleet in the port of Lisbon, and capturing the French army, which had for nearly a twelvemonth been in possession of the country. The expectations of our countrymen, of complete success attending our arms, and of the complete discomfiture and conquest of the French, appear to have been wound up to the highest pitch by the letters of Sir ARTHUR WELLESLEY, the commander of the British forces in the late actions, and by the letter of Lord CASTLEREAGH to the Lord Mayor of London, announcing that in consequence of the brilliant victories obtained by his Majesty's arms, "the French General KELLERMANN arrived with a flag of truce at "head-quarters on the 22d. to treat for terms." Our journalists were not content with conveying to their readers the pompous boasts of Sir A. WELLESLEY in the extraordinary gazette, but their columns were filled with anecdotes concerning the British and French officers, and conversations that passed between them, some of which were so insulting to the latter that little doubt can be entertained of their having been manufactured in this country. Sir A.

WELLESLEY and the two knights who followed him, Sir HARRY BURRARD, and Sir HEW DALRYMPLE were already advanced, by these writers, to the peerage; and baronetages, stars and ribbons were lavished with an unsparing hand on our inferior officers. Reports were likewise circulated, that the terms proposed by General KELLERMANN were rejected as inadmissible, and "letters from "the continent assured us" that JUNOT had surrendered at discretion, but that such was the indignation and contempt in which this "robber" and his brother officers were held by our commanders, that so far from allowing them the honours of war, "they were "compelled to walk without their arms to Lisbon"!

On the first perusal of Sir ARTHUR's letters, we however, had our suspicions that these victories were not so great as was pretended. The severe loss on the side of the British, the complaint of the want of cavalry, the acknowledged bravery with which the French to the last contested the point, no return of prisoners made by the British,—these with other circumstances which are now of no consequence to the public, rendered it doubtful whether the French would not claim the victory on each day of battle: as to the first and second days we had little doubt on the subject: but whatever might have been our suspicions, we were as little prepared as our countrymen for the final consequence of these victories—A CONVENTION which has filled the country with one general sentiment of disappointment, regret, and indignation. When every one was momentarily expecting to hear of the unconditional surrender of the French army, and the Russian fleet; when we were all *sure* that this army was deprived of its arms and ammunition, of all its rich plunder, and rendered incapable, by the terms of capitulation, of serving during the present war against his Majesty and his allies,—Intelligence arrives that the robber JUNOT is transformed into "his excellency the Duke d'Abrantes," that the defeated French commander had obtained the terms due only to a conqueror, and that the British commander, with a victorious army double in number to that of the enemy, and flushed with success, had consented that the conquered should "in no case be considered prisoners of war;" that they should be conveyed to their own country in British ships, at the expence of Britain, with their horses, arms, ammunition, property public and private; including every species of plunder they had acquired in the country: and that the property which should be immoveable (some considerable estates *given* to JUNOT and his brother officers by NAPOLEON, or purchased by them, it is supposed are alluded to) may be disposed of, the British being the guarantees for the payment! Complete security is likewise to be given to every Frenchman who may choose to remain in or to quit the country, and to every Portuguese, whatever may have been his political con-

duct; and to crown the whole, "should there arise doubts as to the meaning of any article, it will be explained favourably to the French army!" The Russian fleet, (which with its officers and men, we were daily expecting to arrive in our ports) is indeed to be held in deposit till the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace; but, what the Russians are most in want of, the officers and men to the amount of nearly 6000, are to be conveyed to Russia without any condition or stipulation as to their future services at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.

The recognition of the title of the French Emperor as "his IMPERIAL and ROYAL MAJESTY NAPOLEON I." has added to the popular indignation. But, although, as it has been remarked by the editor of the *Times*, "Sir ARTHUR WELLESLEY is the first officer with a British uniform on his back, that has put his signature to the bottom of a treaty, at the head of which the title was recognised," we perceive no ground in this respect for censuring his conduct. The French Emperor possesses as legitimate a claim to his title, as any of the sovereigns of Europe to theirs. The British government has acknowledged his title as the head of the French government, and Sir A. WELLESLEY has done nothing more.

But what renders the conduct of Sir ARTHUR peculiarly galling to our ministers is, that the treaty which thus recognised the imperial title, was signed but a short time after the right hon. GEORGE CANNING, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, had, in an official dispatch to the Spanish Chiefs, styled the head of the French government, the ATROCIOUS USURPER OF FRANCE! The point therefore remains to be settled between the secretary of state and the British officer. We have no doubt how it *must* be settled. The right hon. secretary, although he has committed the honour of his country, must ere long retract his rash and foolish language. If ever he signs a treaty with France he must recognise the Emperor's title in precisely the same language as that adopted by Sir A. WELLESLEY. He *must* style the head of the French government, "His Imperial and Royal Majesty NAPOLEON I." or he must resign his place. Which of these alternatives he will, without any great degree of hesitation prefer, it requires but little sagacity to determine.

By the last advices from Portugal, it seems that the convention is as unpopular, almost, in the British and the Portuguese armies, as it is in this country. There are, as may naturally be supposed, a variety of reports, which so fruitful a subject has given rise to, many of which are not to be depended on; but we may form some opinion of the sentiments of the Portuguese army by a protest against several articles of the convention which has been published by the General; it is however somewhat remarkable that his most prominent objections are

not those which have so agitated the minds of our countrymen. Although he states "that the horses which our commanders have agreed to send to France, and the magazines are chiefly the property of the Portuguese, yet he protests generally on account of the treaty being wholly void of that deference due to his royal highness the Prince Regent, or the government that represents him . . . because the articles determine the surrender of Portuguese fortified places, stores, and ships to the English forces, without solemnly declaring that this surrender is momentary, and that it is intended they should be immediately restored to the Prince Regent of Portugal, or the government that may represent him, to whom they belong, and in whose aid the English forces came as auxiliaries". There appears to be reason in these objections: it will be matter for serious inquiry whether our officers in adopting such a line of policy, by which the suspicions and jealousies of the Portuguese against their ally has been excited, have followed their own inclinations or the instructions of ministers.

There seems to be a general disposition in our countrymen to divide the blame of the convention pretty equally between the three commanders, Sir H. DALRYMPLE, Sir H. BURRARD, and Sir A. WELLESLEY. A feeble attempt has been made by the editor of the *Morning Post*, whose paper it is generally understood has been for a considerable time under the powerful influence of the Welleseley family, to shield the character of Sir ARTHUR. The editor pleads in apology, "the workings of Sir ARTHUR'S *over delicate mind*, and his punctilious observance of the rigid injunctions of military subordination, which induced him, for a moment, to forget his country and himself." The same writer, in a day or two afterwards, assumes a somewhat bolder tone, and informs us, "that Sir ARTHUR, although he was compelled to sign the armistice, yet immediately protested against it, and declared his disapprobation of it publicly." From this circumstance the writer endeavours to impress it on the people, "that he (Sir ARTHUR) ought not to suffer blame; nor to be called to any account for his conduct; as he only acted as the mere instrument of Sir HEW, who as commander in chief must be the responsible person."

This pitiful apology made for the conduct of Sir ARTHUR, can answer no other purpose than to confirm every impartial person in the opinion that he is equally censurable with Sir HEW DALRYMPLE and Sir HARRY BURRARD, in this disgraceful business. To sign an armistice which he disapproved, "to forget his country and himself," and this out of deference to the commander in chief, and as soon as he had affixed his signature publicly to protest against his own act,—such a tale is utterly incredible; and indeed,

it is so absurd, that we now hear no more of "the protest," which it seems pretty generally understood never had an existence.

From the documents already published there is some reason to apprehend, that Sir ARTHUR WELLESLEY was the original adviser, or at least that he had the principal hand in settling the armistice, which contained the most offensive articles adopted in the definitive treaty. One article which Sir ARTHUR had agreed to, and which would have given up not only the officers and seamen but the Russian Fleet unconditionally, was objected to, and afterwards considerably altered by Sir CHARLES COTTON. After all the attempts made by the partisans of Sir ARTHUR to blacken the character of Sir HEW DALRYMPLE, it is scarcely credible that the latter should act in so important an affair without consulting the former. Sir HEW acknowledges that "he landed in Portugal entirely unacquainted with the actual state of the French army, and many circumstances of a local and incidental nature, which doubtless had great weight in deciding the question:" he therefore must have acted from the information and on the opinions of others who had been with the army from the commencement of its operations, of whom Sir ARTHUR WELLESLEY was the most conspicuous. But the letter of Sir ARTHUR "to the most excellent and Reverend, the Bishop, President, and governor of Oporto," puts this matter out of all doubt. Congratulating his military reverence on the "conclusion of the armistice," he observes—"This agreement contains *nothing remarkable*, with the exception of a provision for securing the neutrality of the port of Lisbon, and the Russian squadron." The articles to which Sir ARTHUR set his hand, stipulated—"That the French army shall in no case be considered as prisoners of war; that all those of whom it consists shall be conveyed to France, with arms and baggage, and all their private property of *every description*, no part of which shall be wrested from them." Now, although there appears "nothing remarkable" to Sir ARTHUR in these articles, his countrymen are of an opinion so diametrically opposite, that unless he can assign some very "remarkable" reasons for the justification of his conduct, such as shall satisfy a court martial, his character will be considered by his country and by Europe in such a "remarkable" point of view, as will by no means render him an object of envy even to the most insignificant subaltern, or the poorest soldier in the ranks.

But after all, the commanders of our forces have a right to a fair trial: their own characters, the character of the army, and the navy, the national character, the interests of our allies, all loudly demand a solemn and an impartial investigation of this extraordinary business, respecting which we should not be surprised if circumstances should transpire which may tend somewhat to alter the

opinions of our countrymen on the subject. The letters of our commanders by sea and land, refer our ministers to the different officers by whom they sent their dispatches for "an explanation of the motives inducing them to ratify the convention in question." Much blame rests somewhere: whether with ministers, or our officers; with Sir H. DALRYMPLE, Sir H. BURRARD, Sir A. WELLESLEY, or Sir C. COTTON, must be the subject of serious inquiry. One thing appears clear, that the nation has been grossly imposed on by the accounts of glorious and complete victories, or that in the convention that immediately followed, and which seems to have been dictated by the French General, the interests of Britain, Portugal, and Spain, have been shamefully sacrificed, and the national honour shamefully degraded in the eye of all Europe!

The paroxysms of rage into which some of our newspaper editors have been transported on this occasion, have rendered them totally insensible to every principle of honour, justice, common sense, and common humanity. Some of them openly recommend the violation of the convention, and rather than that the French army should escape, the national honour should be blasted. One writer exclaims in the following infuriated language. "Had the commander in chief instead of signing this convention, returned home with a few thousands of his army, after having lost the rest under the walls of Lisbon to compel the French to an unconditional surrender, we would have thanked him for his confidence in British magnanimity and resources; had he in the smoking ruins of that capital, torn from the plunderers their booty, and their arms, and put them to the sword, whilst we regretted the action we would have defended their conduct. Had they even in violation of all the laws of nations, been guilty of the atrocity of disregarding the engagement they had solemnly made, and sacrificing afterwards the whole of the French army, we would have received the account with less horror than we did this convention. The only motive of consolation we feel is that government will not ratify the convention. It is better to be guilty of injustice than infamy."* Injustice then, has in it nothing infamous, in the opinion of some people. Such are the effusions of unprincipled party writers, the disgrace of the country, and of human nature.

With respect to the general indignation which has burst forth on this occasion, we wish we could contemplate it as arising from the principles of purity, honour, and patriotism; happy would it have made us, and proud of our country, had the same flame been kindled this time twelvemonth, when the plunder which the com-

* National Register, Sept 19. If the proprietors of this paper have any regard for their own reputation they will not again suffer such a writer to disgrace their columns.

manders of the Danish expedition at Copenhagen had acquired, was conveyed to England under circumstances as disgraceful as the plunder acquired by the French commander in Portugal is now conveying to France. We hope, however, that the moral sense of our countrymen which has been somewhat quickened by this event, will be rendered still more alive by proper reflections on the subject. As to the WELLESLEYS, they have been such frequent spectators of scenes of plunder, in the EAST INDIES, in IRELAND, and at COPENHAGEN, that we are not surprised that Sir ARTHUR should perceive "nothing remarkable" in a convention, which secures an invading army the full possession of its booty; but as our countrymen now begin to perceive the enormity of the crime, we hope they will extend their views so that they may attain the most just and impartial sentiments on this subject; and it may tend somewhat to abate the severity of their indignation against the French who have plundered the Portuguese, and our commanders who have suffered them to escape with the plunder, if they compare the crimes of the two countries in their plundering expeditions undertaken during the course of the past twelvemonth. The public prints inform us—"The value of the plunder, collected by JUNOT at Lisbon, and intended to be packed up for exportation to France, under permission of Messrs DALRYMPLE and Co. is said to be two millions English." The plunder collected by Lord GAMBIER, Lord CATHCART, and Sir A. WELLESLEY at Copenhagen, amounted to many millions: the plunder collected by order of Messrs CANNING, CASTLEREAGH, PERCEVAL and Co. the produce of the Danish vessels in our harbours, &c. amounted to additional millions. We leave our countrymen to attend to the circumstances of the robberies committed in Denmark and in Portugal, to follow the calculation, and then to determine on which side lies the balance of guilt. When they have made up their minds on the subject, we trust the salutary result will be to render their moral sense still more lively: that it will be carefully preserved, so that in future they may hold in equal abhorrence plunderers of every description, whether FRENCH or ENGLISH, in the CHURCH or the STATE, in the FIELD, or the CABINET!

SPAIN.

The Emperor of France has at length amply detailed his sentiments and views respecting the affairs of Europe in general and of Spain in particular. Four important state papers on these subjects will be found in our following pages. These are 1st. A sort of manifesto addressed to the Spanish nation, and which has been pretty generally circulated amongst the people at large. 2d. An

official narrative of the late events in Spain. 3d. An Exposé in respect to Spain, and its relation with other powers, presented to the senate: and 4th. Observations on the state of Europe. These documents sound the note of preparation for events the most portentous, and afford ample evidence that NAPOLEON is not to be thwarted in his designs; or turned aside from pursuing the objects of his ambition by any ordinary checks, which, whatever effect they may have on common minds, appear to inspire him with additional resolution, to call forth new exertions and new resources, and which, as all Europe has experienced, are seldom called forth in vain.

The description of the late government and of the general state of Spain in the "Narrative" is too correct to be contradicted; "There are in Spain a considerable number of enlightened individuals who think freely, and are anxious to see their country governed by a constitution which should guarantee the rights of the nation, and likewise a number of persons whose wishes accorded with the different scenes of the French revolution." The description of the remaining class of the people is likewise very just. "The third part of the territory is in the possession of the clergy. . . . The monks almost all ignorant and superstitious, exercise the most powerful influence over the lower orders of the people, who are in a state of gross ignorance, and who under such a government have during a century, made progress only in superstition and idleness."

There is doubtless much truth in the details of the various disorders and commotions to which Spain has been subject, and in the description of the wretched imbecility of her government; but there are two questions necessary to be asked by those who investigate the affairs of nations on the principles of justice. 1st. Has there been no influence used, no intriguing on the part of the French Emperor in fomenting these disorders? and 2dly. Had NAPOLEON any right to interfere with the internal government of Spain, to inveigle the different branches of the royal family out of their own dominions, then to compel them to a renunciation of the rights of royalty, to assume the reins of government, and to place, contrary to the will of the nation, his brother JOSEPH on the throne? Whatever countenance NAPOLEON might receive in the adoption of these measures from some of the noble families and the constituted authorities of the kingdom, it is a fact confirmed by recent events, and even by the "Narrative of Events" officially published at Paris, that a very large portion, if not a majority of the people are utterly averse to the government of France. What a melancholy account does the French narrative give us of insurrections, massacres, battles, and the number of killed and wounded on both sides! The Spa-

ish accounts proudly boast of the multitudes of enemies destroyed, and of armies annihilated. These accounts are it is probable, greatly exaggerated; we hope for the sake of humanity they are so; but they serve to establish the fact, that the attempt to change the dynasty, and to place the NAPOLEON family on the throne of Spain, meets with powerful opposition, and cannot be effected but at the expence of much blood, and of much devastation and misery to the inhabitants at large. To attempt to justify the invasion and the conquest of a country under such circumstances, on any of the grand principles of morality is impossible, and indeed no such justification is attempted in any of the state papers published on the subject. The French Emperor and his ministers, instead of entering on the hopeless task, at once fly to those general maxims of state policy to which the advocates of tyranny and injustice are obliged to resort, whenever they condescend to give the world any explanation of their conduct. The arguments used on this occasion although they are by no means new, are compressed in a smaller compass than has been the case on similar occasions, and save much time and trouble in the examination of them. The minister for foreign affairs in his "Report to his Imperial and Royal Majesty," observes—"The most pressing object of solicitude with your Majesty is the war with England. England announces that she will not come to any accommodation. All the overtures of your Majesty have been rejected or neglected. The inability to continue the war will alone induce England to make peace." These are indeed sad truths which we lament France should be able to proclaim to the world: but what is the conclusion drawn from them by the French minister? "The war against England," he adds, "cannot be carried on with too much vigour. Spain possesses military resources which are lost to her and to France. *It is necessary* that a good government should give them activity, improve them by a judicious organization, and that your Majesty should direct them against the common enemy, to arrive at length at peace, which humanity calls for, and of which all Europe stands so much in need." The French minister, however, seems to have had his suspicions, that there might still perhaps be scattered here and there a few old fashioned moralists who might be inclined to put the question—Is it *necessary* that France should have the government of the whole continent of Europe, and is it *just* that she should conquer by the sword, every people who presume to judge for themselves what government may be most for their advantage? In order to save himself the trouble of formally answering such hard, puzzling questions, the minister avoids the round-about, inconsistent, ridiculous reasonings of some other ministers when they have been asked similar questions. He doubtless recollected the contemptible manner

made by the authors of the Copenhagen Expedition. We are therefore not disgusted with clumsy lies about the secret articles of a treaty, and a confession of total ignorance of the contents of such articles—no pretended information from traitors—no crocodile tears—no hypocritical whinings—no complaint of “the heart breaking business” of firing cities, and ruining the inhabitants: no dire exclamations about “the cruel necessity which dictated such proceedings.”* The French minister settles the matter more expeditiously and less jesuitically. He comprises the whole of the new code of morality adopted by the British ministers in two short, precise, pithy sentences, which will no doubt be treasured up as golden axioms by ministers of all countries whose measures will not endure the trial of any code founded on the principles of common honesty:—“WHAT POLICY SUGGESTS, JUSTICE AUTHORISES—EVERY “THING THAT LEADS TO THE PROPOSED END IS LEGITIMATE!”

We have so frequently and so fully refuted and exposed such abominable maxims, that we deem it unnecessary to add any thing on the subject. They are indeed to every uncorrupted, unsophisticated mind sufficiently answered by the maxim founded on the principles of eternal truth and justice, uttered by the patriot of Great Britain—CHARLES FOX.—“WHAT IS MORALLY WRONG CAN NEVER BE POLITICALLY RIGHT.”

The resolution of NAPOLEON respecting Spain is fixed. “I am determined,” says his Majesty in his message to the senate, “to carry on the war with Spain with the utmost activity, and destroy the armies which England has disembarked in that country. The future security of my subjects, the prosperity of commerce, and a maritime peace, must alike depend on these important operations.” The Emperor is not a man of words, but of deeds; and he is preparing to carry his threats into execution. Large armies are assembling on the Spanish frontiers, a respectable force is still at Burgos with JOSEPH BONAPARTE; the army of JUNOT flushed with success at the manner in which they leave Portugal, will it is supposed join the armies of Spain. To oppose this tremendous force the Spanish patriots are concentrating their different armies, and seem determined, although contrary to the opinion expressed in their plan drawn up under the title of “military cautions,” to risk their cause on the event of a battle, and the people of Europe are fearfully waiting the result.

The proceedings of the Spanish patriots present little since our last that is particularly interesting. The reported victories of General

* Such was the language used by Lords Cathcart and Castlereagh, Messrs. Canning, Perceval, Wilberforce, &c. &c. respecting the Copenhagen Expedition.

CALATOX are contradicted, nor does there appear to have been of late, any action of consequence. General CASTANOS by his refusal to fulfil the articles of capitulation which he signed with General DUPONT, and more especially by the reasons he assigns in his reply to DUPONT's letters for such refusal (which letters he has taken care not to publish) afford no favourable specimen of that high sense of honour so much boasted by the Spanish nation. CASTANOS very coolly remarks—"That his only reason for granting them was to save the honour of the French general and the army." It is a pity that the Spanish general had no other method of saving the honour of the French than by forfeiting his own.

After all the expectations raised by the Spanish journals of the assembling of a Cortez elected on the old constitutional plan, and which would have formed a fair representative body of the people, it turns out that the government of Spain is to be committed to a few individuals who are to be elected by the juntas, the members of which have been *self-elected* on the spur of the occasion. We may judge of the sentiments and views of one of these bodies (the junta of Catalonia) by the oath required of its members, the two first articles of which are as follows:—"Do you swear by God, and this sign of the cross, that you will execute the office of member of this junta, even to the shedding of the last drop of your blood, in the defense of our holy, catholic, apostolic Roman religion, in all its purity. 2d. Do you swear to defend the purity of the immaculate conception of our dear mother, the queen of heaven and earth, Mary, the most holy?"—Great allowance may be made for the prejudices of the mass of the people in all countries; but what rational hope can be entertained of the amelioration of a country, where the professed regenerators are the most forward to cherish the most stupid and hurtful of those prejudices? Upon the whole, which ever way we view the affairs of Spain, the prospect is dark and cheerless.

Our limits prevent us from noticing the Reflections in the Monitor on the state of Europe. The war between Russia and Sweden is carried on with different success, of little importance. The reports concerning Austria are contradictory, but the prevailing opinion seems to be that the Emperor is resolved, very foolishly in our opinion, on a war with France.

Harlow, Sept. 29.

B. F.

* * The length and importance of the Foreign State papers, and other documents, together with the Extraordinary Gazettes, (Extraordinary indeed!) oblige us to defer the favours of our correspondents till our next. Our readers will perceive the necessity of having these papers to refer to, when the newspapers containing them are lost, or forgotten.

THE POLITICAL REVIEW.

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FOR OCTOBER, 1808.

[Vol IV.

REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

AFFAIRS OF SPAIN.

IN the historical account of events of such magnitude as the Revolutions in Spain, there are a variety of documents, which, whether the information contained in them be correct or incorrect, or whatever may be the character, views, or motives of the writers, demand the attention of every one who wishes to form a proper judgment of passing events, and of the principles and designs of the different parties. Of this description is the—**EXPOSITION OF THE PRACTICES AND MACHINATIONS WHICH LED TO THE USURPATION OF THE CROWN OF SPAIN, AND THE MEANS ADOPTED BY THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH TO CARRY IT INTO EXECUTION.** BY DON PEDRO CEVALLOS, FIRST SECRETARY OF STATE AND DISPATCHES TO HIS CATHOLIC MAJESTY FERDINAND VII. which “Exposition,” we have judged necessary to give entire to our Readers. The author, it must be confessed, presents himself to the tribunal of the people of Europe in somewhat of a suspicious point of view. As a statesman, attentive to his individual interests, he has improved on the plan of one of the most supple, pliant, and accommodating of our English statesmen, Lord CASTLEREAGH; who in his connections with different administrations, has made it his boast, that he had “two strings to his bow;” whereas DON PEDRO CEVALLOS, has in less than the short course of a twelvemonth, taken due care to have *three* “strings to *his* bow;” having served, in one of the highest offices of the state, CHARLES IV. FERDINAND VII. and JOSEPH NAPOLEON, and who boasts of the confidence he has enjoyed under each of these sovereigns. Regarding his testimony, therefore, as that of a statesman who has been behind the scenes of the political theatre, and is well acquainted with the different actors, but who has literally turned *king’s evidence*, there are still a variety of topics, and more especially those which are illustrated by authentic documents annexed in the “Appendix to the Exposition”, that are deserving of particular attention.

The first important fact announced in the “Exposition”, is one with which the public were before unacquainted:—That a secret

treaty was agreed to in October last, between the Emperor of the French and his Catholic Majesty, the object of which was to divide, and parcel out the kingdom of Portugal, between these two sovereigns, and the King of Etruria, and the Prince of the Peace. By this treaty the King of Spain was to have been recognised as Emperor of the *Two Americas*, (the precise meaning of which title is not explained,) the King of Etruria was to resign his dominions to the French Emperor, in exchange for his division of Portugal, and to be created *King of Northern Lusitania*; and the Prince of the Peace to be created Prince of the *Algarves*: several of the Portuguese provinces were to remain undisposed of till a general peace, to be then transferred, or divided, according to circumstances. Stipulations were likewise entered into in case some of these provinces, held in *sequestration*, should devolve at a general peace to the house of Braganza, that they should be exchanged for *Gibraltar, Trinidad*, and other colonies which the English have conquered from Spain, or her allies; but there is no hint given of the manner in which these important places were to be acquired from the English, whether by conquest or negotiation. The new King of *Northern Lusitania*, and the new Prince of *Algarves*, although declared independent and sovereign in their own dominions, were to acknowledge, as their protector, his Catholic Majesty, and in no case to make peace or war without his consent.

On this occasion it is natural for men who have not imbibed the principles of the *new* moral code, founded on the easy and convenient state maxims—*Might constitutes right—Whatever is politic is both just and necessary*, to reprobate a treaty which sets every moral principle at defiance; but it is now comparatively useless to exclaim against the conduct of Emperors and Kings, considered as individuals. In proportion as these descriptions of men have power, there appears to be little difference between them. Some of them may be very weak men; and we may lay the blame of their conduct on their ministers; but in proportion as a monarch is possessed of arbitrary power, or power without the constant corrective influence of the people, in that proportion we may, from the experience of all ages, rest assured he will be unprincipled. The very few exceptions of extraordinary great men, who have made a good use of their despotism, so far from weakening, tend to confirm these observations: they stand as exceptions to a general rule; and consequently the latter and not the former, is to constitute the ground of action for the people in general in all states, and in every part of the globe.

What a new instance does not this partition treaty display of the profligate principles of courts! The French Emperor for no other purpose than the gratification of his own ambition, consents to di-

vide, under some trifling pretence, (such as the attachment of Portugal to England) an ancient neighbouring kingdom; and the King of Spain with a peculiar degree of treachery, agrees to the spoliation of the dominions of an ancient ally; for which nefarious act he does not alledge even the shadow of the most trifling pretence! What, however, stamps this treaty with singular infamy is—that so considerable a part of the plunder of Portugal was to fall to the lot of the profligate favourite of the Spanish monarch, who had been so long fattening on the spoils of the abused, enslaved, and insulted people of Spain. The French Emperor must have been well acquainted with the character of this universally detested court minion. In many of the projects of ambition formed by NAPOLEON, the features of greatness are prominent, and his conquests, although they might not bear the examination of the political moralist, have been followed by advantages to the countries conquered; advantages which have seldom been bestowed in similar circumstances: but to transfer so considerable a share of the dominions, and the people of Portugal, to the despotic sway of an old royal dotard, (who it appears was justly despised, and afterwards as justly deposed by his people) and to a parasite, who for his servility, corruption, and rapacity, was equally and justly both despised and execrated, not only by the people of Spain, but by all Europe—to transfer to such refuse of the human race, and to their heirs and successors for ever, the entire property and sovereignty of the greater part of the kingdom and people of Portugal, was an action as despicable as it was unjust.

There is indeed a mystery which envelopes this scandalous partition treaty, and which is not in the least cleared up by the Exposition of CEVALLOS. He informs us in general terms, that the treaty of Tilsit was hardly concluded, when NAPOLEON resolved on the ruin of Portugal and Spain; and on the arrival of the treaty at Madrid, he “points out as worthy of observation, that the department of the ministry, of which he was at the head, was totally unacquainted with this affair, and every part of the proceedings.” It seems somewhat extraordinary, that a secretary of state should be totally ignorant of all the particulars relative to such an important state transaction: the minister may perhaps imagine, that the world will suppose this ignorance to be a sufficient exculpation on his part; but it is evident, that however ruinous to Portugal he might have thought the partition treaty, he, like ministers in some other countries, was not unwilling to keep his place; and it does not appear that he remonstrated against, or indeed made any objections to the scheme which his royal master CHARLES had concerted with NAPOLEON for “the ruin of Portugal”.

Had there not been a treaty, the stipulations of which, must in their formation and adjustment, have taken up much time and trou-

ble, we should have imagined, that the only object of NAPOLEON in forming it, was to place the kingdom of Portugal, *pro tempore*, in the hands of the persons alluded to; but as he must have known, that he could not have well picked out more unfit persons for the management of a people in a revolutionary state, than CHARLES and the Prince of the Peace, the reasons for his conduct are not very apparent. If however, he had seized the kingdom for himself, and had placed an able viceroy, or a council to govern it, his conduct would not have been so detestable as it has been, in dividing it between persons whose heads, and whose hearts rendered them equally incapable of the arduous task.

The secret convention which accompanied this treaty explains what has hitherto been thought somewhat strange;—that the King of Spain should so readily admit French armies into his dominions. By this secret convention every thing is mutually settled respecting the French forces, and the services in which they were to be employed. A body of 25,000 French troops, and 3000 cavalry, were ordered to enter Spain, and to march direct for Lisbon; and it was stipulated that 40,000 more should be ready for the same purpose by the 20th. of November following, “in case the English should send reinforcements to Portugal, or menace it with attack.” This accounts for the readiness with which the French armies were received by the King of Spain, who imagined that their sole purpose was to secure to himself, his favourite, and the King of Etruria, their different divisions of the plunder of Portugal.

We now turn to the affairs of Spain; and we were in expectation that Don CEVALLOS, would have thrown some light on the extraordinary circumstances, immediately preceding the revolution;—the charge brought against the Prince of Asturias, and his subsequent imprisonment: but we are left as much in the dark as ever respecting these transactions. Don CEVALLOS informs us “of the scandalous imprisonment of the august person of their beloved Prince:” of the still “more scandalous decree,” issued in the name of the King, in which his Majesty in such positive terms, charged the prince with conspiring against the life of his father. This feigned conspiracy was, as our readers may recollect, universally attributed by our journalists, as well as by other political writers, to the French Emperor, and the murder of the Prince was confidently predicted. Don CEVALLOS lays the whole of this plot at the door of the Prince of the Peace; when as he further informs us, on finding that this measure produced an effect completely contrary to his expectations, “he began to be afraid, thought proper to recede, and to mediate a reconciliation between the royal parents and their son.” The manner of effecting this purpose is, curious: the favourite minister “forged certain letters, and

"MADE the Prince of Asturias sign them, which being delivered to his royal parents were supposed to have softened their hearts, and by these singular means, did this innocent Prince, obtain a nominal liberty."

But what may be considered as a circumstance somewhat singular in the affair is—That the quashing of this plot against the life of the Prince is attributed by Don CEVALLOS to the French Emperor. "There are," he remarks, "very strong reasons to believe; that the unknown hand that frustrated this feigned conspiracy against the life of the King, was some French agent employed to forward the plan which NAPOLEON had formed." This opinion of CEVALLOS confirms that which we ventured to express shortly after the arrival of the intelligence of the event in this country: but what a poor, mean spirited animal must this "beloved" and adored PERDINAND have been, to acknowledge himself a traitor, and humbly sue for pardon, when he afterwards declared his complete innocence! Sooner than have been "made" to sign his own degradation, he should have suffered his right hand to have been cut off. We are but little surprised at the want of veracity which not unfrequently appears in his subsequent declarations; and we repeat the remark, that notwithstanding the horror expressed by D. CEVALLOS at the "scandalous" treatment of his "beloved Prince," he does not appear to have publicly expressed any indignation on the occasion, and he was still contented to keep his place, under CHARLES IV. and the Prince of the Peace.

Before any measures, however, were taken to carry the partition treaty into execution, the affairs of Spain became more and more deranged; and although the account of the transactions which terminated in the first revolution at Aranjuez are very superficially and partially detailed, yet Don CEVALLOS is positive, that they were all planned by the French Emperor, who designed the abdication of CHARLES, but who had not the most distant intention of the Prince of Asturias being chosen by the people to succeed him. CEVALLOS gives it as his opinion, "that the Emperor ignorant of this sudden event, perhaps, never supposed that the Spaniards were capable of such resolution." But it is not the conjecture of this statesman, so much as the letter of NAPOLEON to the Prince of Asturias, which confirms us in the opinion we gave at the time this event took place, that the measure of placing the Prince on the throne, was directly contrary to the wishes of the Emperor. On the history of the Spanish revolution in its first stage, all that can be done, is to make the most of the imperfect evidence before us. The opinion, which however we with diffidence suggest, is—That NAPOLEON, when he concerted with the King of Spain the partition treaty, had not formed the design of seizing the Spanish

dominions; but that afterwards, when he perceived that the people of Spain were generally discontented with their old, imbecile government; that the *grândeos* and the higher ranks were convinced of the necessity of a radical change; that the Prince of the Peace could no longer maintain his ground, although the old court might still retain a powerful party in its favour; that he then, caring no further about the partition treaty, formed his designs against Spain: he perhaps, as hinted by Don CEVALLOS, intended that the court of Spain should follow the example of that of Portugal,—emigrate to some of its foreign dominions, and trusting that the discontents which so universally prevailed, might afford him the opportunity of placing his brother on the throne without much difficulty, he resolved, without delay, to set about the accomplishment of the desired object.

Respecting the abdication of CHARLES IV. Don CEVALLOS repeatedly affirms in the most confident language, that “although unexpected, it was voluntary.” When at Bayonne, he assured the French minister, “that no violence was done to his Majesty in order to extort an abdication of his crown; and *proved* to the minister, that the renunciation of the royal father was only the consequence of his Majesty’s predilection for a private life, and his persuasion that his constitution, enfeebled by age, and habitual indisposition, was incompetent to support the heavy burden of the government.” Could we rely on these assurances, we should deem the conduct of the old King, as affording a most extraordinary instance of a Sovereign learning wisdom in his old age. Perceiving how long he had been misled by his unprincipled and profligate courtiers, and sensible that he had not a sufficient capacity for the government of a people, more especially in times of peculiar difficulty, he resigns his crown: we should hail such a symptom of returning good sense in Kings, and should hope that the example of his Catholic Majesty, would be followed by his royal brothers in similar circumstances: but we are obliged to be wary in congratulating the world on this example of royal wisdom; because the testimony of CEVALLOS has been so positively, and repeatedly contradicted by the Spanish Monarch himself. In one letter to his son the Prince of Asturias, he declares, “that nothing but the fear of losing his life, made him subscribe the act of abdication;” in another he declares, “that he only abdicated provisionally, reserving to himself the right of resuming the government whenever he thought proper:” and his Majesty reprobates in the severest terms, the conduct of his son in seizing the crown.

FERDINAND, although he declares that he understood the abdication of his royal father was voluntary, yet, as soon as he discovered to the contrary (which however was not till the French Emperor

thought proper to *reason* with him on the subject,) he most dutifully resigns his crown into the hands of his father. Don CEVALLOS, who appears to have held the office of secretary of state, during the whole of these transactions, throws no further light on the subject: he merely gives us his opinion, and leaves us to reconcile the contradictions of CHARLES and FERDINAND as we are able. There must have been much deception intended, and falsehood told by one of the royal parties, if not by both; but on whom the guilt principally devolves, it is impossible, without further evidence, to determine.

The abdication, or as we rather suspect, the deposition of the old King, seems to have given but little dissatisfaction; and after what has transpired respecting his conduct in concerting the partition of Portugal, in addition to that imbecility which had distinguished his reign, surely no one can regret his name being blotted out from the list of the Sovereigns of Europe. We hope in his retirement he will be more respected than when on the throne, and that his latter days may be his best days.

Don CEVALLOS, although he is confident "that the abdication of CHARLES at Aranjuez was a spontaneous act," adds, "that his Majesty told the King his son, that he did not wish to return to the throne of Spain, notwithstanding that, he desired his Majesty should renounce the crown to make a present of it to the Emperor." The statesman, however, doubts the sincerity of the Monarch respecting this latter declaration: his reason for doubting is truly curious. "I leave," he adds, "to the wisdom of the sovereigns of Europe, whether it be possible that a Monarch, affectionate to his children, *highly enlightened*, penetrated deeply by the principles of religion, and *pious without superstition*, could without violence, forget for a moment all the duties due to his family, and proscribe his whole dynasty, to call another to the throne, for whom he has no esteem, and on the contrary detests as the plunderer of those thrones which have come within the reach of his ambition. If such be the change, it is the most extraordinary revolution that history has presented to the world." Not quite so "extraordinary" Don CEVALLOS! Not more "extraordinary," than that a statesman who must have acquired a competent knowledge of the world, and an extensive acquaintance with the characters of kings and courtiers, should describe such a poor, priest-ridden driveller as CHARLES IV. as a Monarch "*highly enlightened*, and *pious without superstition*!"—the "highly enlightened and pious sovereign" who had so recently been plotting the plunder of his ally, and who had agreed to share that plunder with his favourite, the Prince of the Peace! But Don CEVALLOS, has, in an unguarded moment, amidst his profuse pro-

essions of patriotism, by this appeal to the partition treaty, pretty completely displayed his own profligate principles. In his conference with the French minister at Bayonne, he demands—"What confidence can Europe place in her treaties with France, when she looks to the *PERFIDY with which that of the 27th. of October,* signed at Fontainbleau, wherein the integrity and independence of the Spanish monarchy was guaranteed, has been violated?" It does not require the penetration of a statesman to perceive, that the partition treaty forms the best justification (bad as that best certainly is) for the conduct of Napoleon towards Spain. That very treaty furnishes him with a precedent. His royal brother Charles, that "*highly enlightened and pious monarch,*" consents, without scruple, to a scheme for the plunder and ruin of a neighbouring sovereign:—and when he so shortly afterwards was plundered in his turn, how justly might he have adopted the soliloquy of an ancient tyrant, who after wantonly maiming an host of his royal brothers, at length underwent the same punishment: *Threescore and ten kings, having their thumbs and great toes cut off, gathered their meat under my table:—* AS I HAVE DONE, SO GOD HATH REQUITED ME! (Judges. I. 7.)

As soon as CHARLES IV. had signed his abdication at Aranjuez, his son was proclaimed King by the constituted authorities there assembled, by the title of FERDINAND VII. Don Cevallos gives a most flattering account of his entrance into the capital, "without any other parade, than the most numerous concourse of people; the strongest expressions of love and loyalty, and the applauses and acclamations, which sprung from the joy and enthusiasm of his subjects:—a scene," he adds, "truly grand and impressive, in which the young King was seen like a father in the midst of his children, entering his capital *as the regenerator, and guardian angel of the monarchy!*" The extraordinary talents and virtues of this excellent young King, reconciled, in some measure, we suppose, Don Cevallos to the loss of that "highly enlightened monarch" just deposed, "whose piety was without superstition!" Drying up his tears as soon as possible, and "willing," as he says, "to serve his country," he accepts the same place under the son as he had enjoyed under the father! Whilst these events were passing at Aranjuez, the French troops were taking possession of some of the principal fortresses of Spain, and the Duke of Berg approached the capital. He seems not to have known the intentions of Napoleon respecting the new order of things, and "gave it to be understood that until the Emperor had acknowledged Ferdinand VII. he must be under the necessity of treating only with his royal father."

Ferdinand had not long taken possession of his capital, before he was urged to go to meet the Emperor, who was shortly expected.

ted at Madrid; but the new king very naturally expressed his reluctance to leave "his loyal and beloved subjects;" and the advice of Don Cevallos to his Majesty, was, on this occasion marked by wisdom. "It was his constant opinion, that his Majesty should not leave his capital, until he received certain information that the Emperor was already arrived in Spain, and was approaching to Madrid; and that even then, he should only proceed to a distance so short, as not to render it necessary to sleep one night out of his capital." The King followed this advice, till the arrival of General Savary, who was announced as the French envoy: he immediately had an audience, and professed "that he was sent merely to compliment his Majesty, and to know whether his sentiments with respect to France were conformable to those of the King his father; in which case the Emperor would forego all considerations of what had passed; would in no degree interfere in the internal concerns of the kingdom, and would immediately recognise his Majesty as King of Spain and the Indies. The most satisfactory answer being given to General Savary, the audience terminated with his assurance, that the Emperor had left Paris, that he was near Bayonne, and on his way to Madrid." If this statement be correct, it indeed proves that the word of Napoleon is as little to be relied on as that of kings in general, and affords another melancholy lesson on the morality of courts.

We now proceed to the particulars of that event which has hitherto appeared inexplicable:—The departure of Ferdinand from his capital and his kingdom to Bayonne: and all the information given on the subject, serves only to increase our astonishment at the infatuation which seized Ferdinand on this occasion. All the arts made use of to persuade him to take this step, were so superficial and flimsy, that surely any person possessed of common sense might have seen through them; the means made use of can scarcely be termed "artifices." When Ferdinand arrived at Vittoria, he received the letter from the Emperor (No 3.) in which every one but the royal simpleton to whom it was addressed, might plainly discover that it was the Emperor's determination to compel him to resign his crown. Don Cevallos clearly discovers the snares laid by the Emperor: but he adds—"His Majesty banished from his heart every apprehension of danger, and shut his ears against *my counsels*, those of other persons in his train, as well as the supplications of that loyal city, and determined to proceed to Bayonne." What were the motives that thus induced Ferdinand to leave his dominions, and throw himself at once into the power of Napoleon, we are not informed, except "that he was actuated by the love of his subjects, and that his royal mind was incapable of suspecting the ally of any dishonourable proceeding."

What followed the arrival of Ferdinand at Bayonne, might easily have been predicted. He was shortly induced, or compelled to resign his crown, and to renounce all claim to it in future. Cevallos amply details the particulars of his conversations with the French minister, in which he urged his objections to the proposed renunciation of the royal rights; of his being overheard by the Emperor; of his being insulted with the appellation of "traitor," and charged with sacrificing the interests of Spain to the interests "of the Bourbon family." But Napoleon irrevocably determined that the Bourbon dynasty should no longer reign in Spain; and Cevallos declares, that "he knew the Emperor in his last conference with Ferdinand, said to his Majesty—*Prince you have only to choose between cession or death!*" Till, however, Cevallos gives us some information, how he obtained his knowledge, many will be apt to suspect his veracity, more especially as he mentions various occurrences in the after conduct of Ferdinand, such as his giving orders for a regency till he could return to his kingdom, and for the assembling of a cortes &c. which prove that he still considered himself as the rightful sovereign of Spain, and that he protested against his renunciation:—conduct which surely must have been equally offensive to Napoleon, as a refusal to sign such renunciation, and which would equally have endangered the life of the prince.

To the "Exposition" of D. Cevallos, is annexed a variety of documents, which appear to be official, and tend to illustrate the principal topics discussed. One of these relates to a conversation which passed between Charles, his Queen, and his son the Prince, the particulars of which, although they appeared at the time in some of our public prints, we thought so improbable, that, feeling for the honour of royalty, we declined inserting them in our *Register*. Ferdinand complains in a letter to his father, that without any just ground, "he thought proper to insult him in the presence of his "venerable mother, and of the Emperor, by appellations the most "humiliating;" and indeed from the vulgar abuse which passed between the royal relatives on this occasion, (expressions "so disgusting and humiliating," that Cevallos "dares not record them,") the application of the terms—"Bastard, W——e," &c. &c. as reported in the public prints in letters from Spain, we should have supposed this squabble had taken place, not at a court in the presence of the Emperor of France, but at that place famed for *polite* phraseology in our own country—BILLINGSGATE!

The concluding part of the Exposition is that which more immediately relates to the author. He has taken care to detail the particulars of his advice to Ferdinand, not to leave his kingdom; and after he had accompanied him to Bayonne, to record his memorials to the French government, and his conferences with the French mi-

ministers, in which he used such free language as we should have supposed he hardly dared to have done in such a situation; and which naturally drew down a severe reproof from the Emperor. After perusing the reasonings and protests of L. Cevallos, respecting "the disgraceful means of which the Emperor availed himself to obtain the renunciation of the crown of Spain in his favour," and place it on the head of his brother Joseph, those who are not acquainted with the characters of modern courtiers and statesmen, must be a little surprised to find, that as soon as Joseph Napoleon was proclaimed King of Spain, the wily statesman, discovering a "third string to his bow," obligingly accepted of the same office under Joseph, as he had possessed under his former "enlightened and pious sovereign Charles," and his son "the beloved Ferdinand," the regenerator and guardian angel of the Spanish monarchy! The minister relates "what he suffered for his King and country;" but, in that spirit of patriotism which on certain extraordinary emergencies flames forth in the bosoms of statesmen, he adds,— "The truth is, I have not suffered; for all that I have done has been required by my most sacred duties." The consequences of this faithful discharge of his trust, were, his being watched by those whom he terms "the satellites of government" at Bayonne. "His steps were reckoned, his visits observed, espionage under the mask of compassion approached to examine the secrets of his soul; but nothing disturbed the tranquility of his mind." He could not, however, behold with patience his being condemned to be banished from his beloved country; and as all his endeavours to procure his liberty to return to Spain, that he "might enflame his countrymen with heroism," were ineffectual; he, although contrary to his inclination, "on the repeated entreaties" of Joseph Napoleon, accepts the same place which he had enjoyed under his two former sovereigns? To these entreaties indeed "he acceded with repugnance and from constraint!" Thus this patriotic minister, when he found it was all over with Ferdinand, accepts the same place under a sovereign whom he represents as an usurper, and having been raised to the throne by "means the most scandalous." It will never be believed, but upon much better evidence than that of the writer, that Joseph Napoleon would have raised a man to so important a place, whom he was not pretty well assured was desirous of accepting it; and that Don Cevallos did not after all these different changes, consider it as his "most sacred duty" to take care of the main chance, the PRESERVATION OF HIS PLACE! Soon after the minister accompanied his new sovereign to Madrid, he saw the flame which had spread over the kingdom; and "from that instant he only thought of availing himself of the most early means of resigning his new character," which was soon the case. His "sacred duty"

he then perceived was, to make his peace with the new Spanish government (what peace he has in view he does not inform us) and without loss of time, writes his celebrated EXPOSITION, which whatever suspicion may rest on the veracity and the motives of the writer, will serve as a valuable document to be recorded in history, in addition to those which so admirably display the character of kings, courts and statesmen, more particularly in countries where the government is despotic: and we hope it will operate as a lesson to the people in all countries, that in proportion as they resign their rights and liberties into the hands of their governors; in proportion as they become indifferent to public measures; in proportion as they are subject to corrupt influence, they may expect to be deceived, burthened, insulted, and enslaved!

Although we have, during the past month been in fearful expectation of accounts of tremendous battles fought between the French and the Spaniards, seldom during the present war, has a month passed so barren of events. Napoleon is increasing his preparations, and has appointed one of his most able Generals, Marshal Ney, to command his forces. Bilboa has been taken by the French without resistance. The Spaniards are collecting their forces to meet the main army of the enemy, and all the accounts of their officers are written in a high tone. They however, appear determined, most prudently, to avoid a general battle; as a defeat if to any considerable extent, might in their present state, materially injure, if not ruin their cause. The dispute between General Cuesta, and one of the national representatives, the violent conduct of the former towards the latter, do no great honour to the infant cause of Spanish patriotism.

But what we chiefly continue to lament is, that we know not what the Spaniards are fighting for; whether for the interests of liberty, political, civil and religious, or of slavery, priestcraft and superstition. A people may get rid of a foreign tyrant, and yet be tyrannised over at home; they may be independent of other nations, and yet be enslaved by their own rulers. The manifesto of the junta of Seville contains a strange mixture of those errors on the subject of religion and government, which have infected, in a greater or less degree, all the old European states; united with some of those noble principles which form the foundation of all just government. On the one hand they state "the only end that Spain has in view, is, " Hereditary succession, according to the fundamental laws of the " monarchy, and the preservation of the unity of the holy, roman, " catholic, apostolic religion which it gloriously professed and defended for so many ages." Now, as to hereditary succession, more especially if succeeding princes prove like their progenitors, it cannot be regarded as an object of very great interest by citizens

of the world ; and as to the preservation of that most abominable mixture of ignorance, superstition and vice, the established church of Spain, every true protestant is daily praying for its overthrow, hailing the accomplishment of Scripture prophecies respecting the Romish church as an event the most desirable : but when the junta proclaim—" The absolute necessity of constituting supreme juntas " in which the power of the people shall reside, and by which they may act ;" when they add, " No government can be legitimate, unless " it has its origin in the free consent of the people : " we have only to remark—let these principles be brought into action, and the Spaniards will have the warm wishes of every friend to genuine freedom, for their success in the present struggle.

The supreme junta of Spain, has at length been installed in the palace at Aranjuez : at present the number of members amounts only to about twenty, several who were elected not having yet attended. The junta is employed in organising a government, which, however, can only be temporary, as the inferior juntas which elected it were not chosen by the people, but self elected on the emergency of the occasion. We are concerned to find their proceedings hitherto characterised by nothing but a regard to those old institutions which have proved the ruin of the people of Spain. There is no oath prescribed to its members, " to live free or die ;" but they are required to " swear by the sacred image of Jesus Christ, there present, that in their employment as members of the supreme junta they " will defend and promote the preservation, and INCREASE of the " holy catholic, apostolic and roman religion ; and that they will be " loyal to, and defend their august sovereign Ferdinand VII. and " especially those laws and usages relative to the succession of the " reigning family." Our readers must excuse our repeating the language of one junta, so similar to that of another ; we have no other information to give them. These oaths are really more becoming an army of mad crusaders, than an assembly of patriots, professing to be the regenerators of their country, and concerting means for the defence and the preservation of its freedom and independence. As to the first of the objects mentioned in the oath of the junta, we fervently pray the Almighty, that it may be totally defeated ; and as to the second of the objects mentioned, it is a matter of comparative indifference. " The community of barefooted monks of St. Pasqual " performed the farce of religious mummery, so fashionable on public occasions, in those countries where the church of ROME reigns in its glory, and the church of CHRIST, as must necessarily be the case, is degraded and trampled under foot.

An armistice has taken place between these two powers, occasioned by the losses lately sustained by the Swedes in Finland, and which there were no rational hopes of repairing. Another reason is assigned for this measure—The spirit of disaffection discovered by the King of Sweden amongst his guards, which occasioned the disbanding of four thousand of them, and the disgrace that has been brought, by such a proceeding, on some of the first families in the kingdom. The armistice, it is probable, is the prelude to a peace between the two powers, by which England will get rid of one of her allies. Finland, towards which the Russian Emperor has, for sometime past, cast a longing, lingering eye, will doubtless form a part of the Russian empire. What other sacrifices the Swedish monarch will be required to make as the condition of the friendship of the two Emperors, time will shortly discover.

Amongst other inquiries which will demand the attention of parliament, is that respecting our fruitless expedition to Sweden, where Sir John Moore, with a fleet and army, appears to have been sent without knowing what he was to do when he got there; and where he did nothing but disgust his Swedish Majesty, and which occasioned the return of Sir John with the expedition to England. A similar blunder has been committed, the consequences of which, it is hoped, will not prove so disastrous—sending our forces to Spain without knowing how they would be received, or making the proper inquiry on the subject: it seems, that it is one of the fundamental laws of Spain that no foreign troops shall be permitted to land without leave first obtained from the supreme government. Of this law our ministers appear to have been ignorant, for although there has been so much time taken up in preparing the expedition, no thought occurred of asking permission for our forces to land, till they were informed they could not land without it.

GENERAL REMARKS.

After all the confident hopes and expectations expressed by our publicwriters, that the Austrian Emperor was about to declare war against France, it appears that his Majesty has so far profited from past experience, as to deem a state of peace preferable to that of war; and that he does not seem inclined rashly and unjustly to break his treaties, merely because the opposition shewn to the measures of the French Emperor in Spain, may afford him some chance of recovering his former losses. Our journalists now inform us that the Austrian Emperor, "does not yet deem it *prudent*, openly to declare "himself, but that he is *waiting a more favourable opportunity*." Thus, these writers represent his Majesty equally void of all ideas of justice and humanity with themselves; their ardent wish is to

spread the flames of war all over Europe; a project which we as ardently wish may never be accomplished.

The Emperors of France and Russia have met at Erfurth, where they are now holding their conferences on the affairs of Europe. A variety of reports are afloat respecting their projects, and their disagreements. Nothing more, however, is known, than their first public measure—An invitation to the British government to nominate plenipotentiaries to proceed to a place to be fixed upon, to open a negociation with the plenipotentiaries of their Imperial Majesties for the conclusion of a maritime peace. The pacific overture has been sent to this country by two Russian messengers and one French messenger; to which an answer was returned by our ministers on the day after their arrival. Nothing certain appears to be known respecting the nature of the overture or the answer. Judging from the temper of our ministers, and the haughtiness with which they last year, rejected the various offers from the different powers on the continent, to negociate or to mediate, we entertain but little doubt that they are resolved to carry on the war a few years longer!

The remarks of our journalists in general, on this occurrence, afford a singular display of national infatuation. Peace is deprecated as the worst of evils. The very word negociation inspires them with terror. Hopes are expressed that our ministers will never consent to negociate but upon such terms one would imagine, as a man out of bedlam, could never have thought of. The French Emperor must, as a preliminary even to negociation, give up most of his European conquests? This country has already been famous for her "hours of violence," but she has been equally famous for her hours of infatuation. The last war, which was both unjust and unnecessary, was terminated by our relinquishing every one of its declared objects. The present war, equally unjust and unnecessary, commencing with perfidy on our part, breaking the treaty of Amiens, will, it is not very improbable terminate in the same manner.—Peace is such an inestimable blessing, that overtures from an enemy (unless, perhaps, with the single exception, of their being made in the heart of an invaded country) ought always to be attended to; but whilst the people go on quietly submitting to their oppressive burthens, and ministers find no difficulty in raising money, the prospect of peace must remain wholly overclouded.

Our countrymen are holding public meetings in various parts of the country for the purpose of petitioning his Majesty that he should cause a strict inquiry to be made respecting the circumstances which produced the late disgraceful convention in Portugal. The London council of the metropolis have set the example; and their

conduct on this occasion has presented a singular contrast to what it has been for these twenty years past. No body of men in the nation have been more uniformly servile; and their court addresses, from the adulation with which they have been characterised, have been more becoming an assembly of slaves, than the corporate body of the metropolis of the British empire. The rude and insulting manner in which they have been treated by his Majesty's ministers, in answer to their petition, has produced some spirited resolutions in return, which it is expected will be followed up by another petition to the throne, reprobating in suitable terms, that system which is own disgracing and ruining the nation. Our limits prevent us, for the present, from enlarging on a subject from which we hope will result consequences of considerable importance. If the convention in Portugal should prove the means of awakening and animating a spirit in the people which we feared was almost annihilated, much good may arise out of evil.

From the angry tone of his Majesty's answer to the petition of the citizens of London, and from the studied insult of introducing Sir Arthur Wellesley at the very time the petition was presenting, it is evident that ministers do not mean to institute such an inquiry as ought to satisfy the nation. Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Arthur Wellesley are returned home. The former it is said, like a man of honour, *demand*s a court martial on his conduct; and it is certain that a court martial ought to be held on the conduct of Sir A. Wellesley, whose name appears the most prominent in the business of the convention; he having signed the armistice which was still more disgraceful than the convention. Men who are conscious that their conduct will bear investigation, will not be content with an inquiry to be made by a select number of the friends of the Duke of York, and of course of ministers, in which the evidence must remain secret. No: they will demand public inquiry by a court martial; and if the people after expressing such free language as of late, are satisfied with any other mode, it will afford demonstrative proof, that their hypocrisy is equal to their servility.

We have just perused an account of the extraordinary proceedings at a meeting of the freeholders of Essex, held yesterday, at which ministers strained every nerve to prevent a petition being voted to his Majesty. One might from the account be led almost to imagine, that their principal tool on this occasion, was the man who ought to have been the most impartial in the whole assembly. By a resolution of the freeholders signed by Mr. Western, (M. P.) they declare their conviction, "that a decided majority of the freeholders, were against the vote of adjournment declared by the Sheriff." The latter gentleman, however, gave one proof of his wisdom, by hastily decamping, without waiting for the vote of thanks always passed on public occasions to IMPARTIAL sheriffs! We are happy to hear that the freeholders mean to resume the consideration of this important subject.

Harlow, October 29.

B. F.

THE POLITICAL REVIEW.

No. XXIII.]

FOR NOVEMBER, 1808.

[Vol. IV.]

REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE CONVENTION OF CINTRA.

NOT any event for several years past appears to have interested the people at large, so much as the late convention, although numerous events have occurred of much greater importance, in which the peace, the liberties, the honour, the dearest interests of the country have been sacrificed; and yet the conduct of the authors of these events, hath been beheld in general, with apathy, and sometimes with approbation. Whether a convention by which the French were compelled to evacuate Portugal, was in some of its articles, comparatively speaking, disgraceful, is the question now before the public; whilst it seems to be understood, that the PRINCIPLE of the convention was cordially assented to, by the three commanding officers, Sir HEW DALRYMPLE, Sir H. BURRARD, and Sir A. WELLESLEY, and that the expulsion of the French from Portugal, was a measure they had very much at heart.

What has, to a considerable degree, checked the progress of popular complaints on this subject, is the assembling of the COURT OF INQUIRY appointed by his Majesty to investigate the causes which led to the convention, and to the different circumstances attending it. Much has been said in the public prints, and at public meetings, respecting the legality, and the powers of such a court; but, without entering on these questions, we may remark, that, from what has already transpired of the proceedings of the court, it is not difficult to conjecture, that they are only preliminary to proceedings of much greater importance, before a tribunal competent, not only to investigate, but to acquit the innocent, and to punish the guilty; although we are decidedly of opinion, that these proceedings will relate to the commanding officers only, and that no effectual inquiry will take place respecting those persons who appear to be the most materially concerned; who planned the expedition, appointed the officers, and provided what means they judged necessary for carrying it into execution. An early meeting of parliament, has been one of the principal objects of some of the

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petitions; but we confess we have no hopes from either the early or the late meeting of parliament. Whilst the influence of the crown, doubled, and tripled during the present reign, is so enormously overgrown, and yet perpetually increasing; whilst ministers have those numberless means of corruption, and, which more particularly during a period of war, are drawn out into full exercise; whilst things remain as they are, or rather, from year to year are growing worse and worse; and until a radical reform of parliament itself takes place, the experience of the last twenty years, more particularly, warrants the conclusion, that scarcely any measure, however iniquitous or absurd, if heartily adopted by the ministers for the time being, but will have the sanction of *their* majority in parliament. The experience of last year, farther proves, that the very measures, which obtain the sanction of a large majority under the direction of one set of ministers, may in the course of a few weeks only, be reprobated, by an equal majority under the direction of another set. We may therefore, without pretending to more than a common degree of penetration, venture to predict what will take place in the ensuing parliament, on the subject now engrossing the public attention. Different motions, under various forms, will be made by the principal members of opposition, for an inquiry into the causes which led to the Convention of Cintra, more particularly as they relate to the conduct of ministers; and should no other arguments be adduced but what arise out of the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, already before the public, these reasons are sufficient to demand the most serious investigation of the **PLAN** of the expedition, as well as its execution. Numberless papers will be moved for, which will be granted or refused as ministers may think proper; some excellent, and many silly speeches will be made; and after the two houses and the public are wearied with the subject, all parliamentary inquiry will be refused; and it is by no means improbable, that a vote passed by a considerable majority, approving the conduct of ministers, will conclude the wretched farce. To speak the plain truth to our countrymen,—The certainty of an increase of our nearly insupportable burthens; the uncertainty, of any advantages to compensate the growing evil; the improbability of any measures being pursued to check the torrent of corruption, or to promote the peace, the liberties, the real prosperity of the British empire; the certainty, in short, of positive evil, and the improbability of its being balanced by any positive good, renders, in our opinion, the assembling of parliament, in its present corrupt state, an object of fear, and of dread, rather than of complacency and desire.

The accounts which **SIR HEW DALRYMPLE** and **SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY**, have already given in evidence before the Court of inquiry, have proved the most complete refutation of the scanda-

lous falsehoods so confidently circulated in the ministerial prints, the *Morning Post*, and the *Oracle* more particularly, tending to degrade the character of Sir HEW, and to exalt that of Sir ARTHUR. The public were assured—"That *five hundred* letters had been received in London which agreed in stating, that Sir ARTHUR had no share whatever in the drawing up, or in the negotiation of the articles of the armistice; that they were drawn up by General KELLERMAN, and that Sir ARTHUR was *ordered* to sign them."—We were farther assured,—“That Sir ARTHUR acted as a *mere banker's clerk in the business*, in obedience to the orders of his commanding officer; that he had no hand in drawing up the armistice; that he disapproved of every one of the articles; and that as soon as he had signed it, he circulated a *PROTEST* against the measure.” Our reader's by referring to our Review for September will perceive, that we at the time expressed our persuasion, that “such tales were utterly incredible;” and that, indeed they were so absurd as to carry with them their own refutation. We refer our readers to the frank and apparently candid account of Sir H. DALRYMPLE, and to the explanations of Sir A. WELLESLEY, in our following pages, and they will perceive how grossly the public have been abused by those profligate hirelings, the writers of the falsehoods in the papers alluded to.

Indeed some sense of shame seems to have discovered itself in the Editor of the *Morning Post*, who in answer to the statement of Sir ARTHUR, “that the paragraphs which had appeared in some of the public prints reflecting on the conduct of Sir HEW, had neither been sent, nor authorised by himself or his friends,” apologizes to his readers, by assuring them,—“That although they might not have been furnished by Sir ARTHUR, or his relatives, they were certainly furnished by those who are well known to be *his friends*.” But why does not the Editor tell us the whole truth? By the very same articles appearing in other papers, it is highly probable they were paid for, as advertisements, at least. Would the Editors of these prints therefore exonerate themselves from the charge of deception, and falsehood, let them publish the names of those friends of the WELLESLEYS by whom they have been so grossly imposed upon; and the price they received for the different articles. The public, however, may at any rate, pretty well estimate the *accuracy*, and the *veracity* of those writers, who are the panegyrists of our ministers, and of those officers who are well known to be ministerial favourites; and if they are imposed upon in future by such unprincipled hirelings, the fault, will be, not so much of those who attempt similar impositions, as of those who so readily swallow them.

After all that we have heard about the rapacity of the French in Portugal, and of the plunder they had acquired; after all the indignation expressed by our countrymen, at the disgraceful articles which allowed the French to preserve the whole of this plunder, it now turns out, that the French General who drew up the armistice, never demanded, and of course, that the British Generals who agreed to them, never assented to any such articles. All invading armies, are by their very profession, in a greater or less degree, **PLUNDERERS**: and it appears that the French armies have not a superior claim to this soldierly appellation above that of any other nation: but our countrymen have been so habituated to hear of certain wholesale plundering expeditions in the East Indies, and at Monte-Video, Buenos Ayres, Copenhagen, &c. that they appear to be jealous of what they consider a peculiar right, and all their indignation is roused when they find that French armies follow the example of some others, and more especially if they suppose them successful in securing their plunder. By the articles in the convention allowing the French to carry off their property, it was expressly understood, both by the French and English Generals, to mean their own private property, and not such as could be proved to belong to the inhabitants of Portugal.

Whatever may be the result of the investigation of the Court of Inquiry, it is evident, as we have already hinted, that much serious investigation respecting the causes which led to it, is indispensably requisite. If the accounts of some of our officers given in evidence before the court, of the want of artillery, cavalry, &c. be correct, the planners of the expedition appear to be about as well qualified for their department, as the horses of the army of Portugal were for theirs: the majority of which are described by Sir HEW DALRYMPLE, as "blind, lame, weak, and totally inadequate to the "service required!"

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

The Convention of Cintra has awakened that public spirit which had long been dormant, and which we feared was almost annihilated. The Common Council of London have taken the lead, and we are happy to find that they have expressed their opinions respecting one of our most valuable rights, that of **PETITIONING THE THRONE**, and representing public grievances without obstruction; a right claimed by the people of Britain from the earliest periods of their history, one of the conditions on which the crown was offered to **WILLIAM III.** solemnly confirmed to the people at the Revolution by the **FIRST** public act of the new sovereign, and which to this day continues on our Statute books, as one of our constitutional and inalienable rights. But it appears necessary to remind

our countrymen that the right of petitioning the sovereign freely, "without obstruction, or reproof," necessarily includes the right of having such petition delivered to the sovereign by his ministers, who surely must be responsible for the performance of this important part of their duty, in cases where the petitioners from various causes, are prevented from presenting their petitions immediately in their own persons, or by those deputed for the purpose. It must, therefore, excite equal surprise and indignation in the breasts of all those who value this important right, to find that it has been rendered nugatory by ministers, and that in a matter of the utmost consequence to the public welfare, which not long since called forth the united opinions of the people throughout the kingdom, we mean the affair of Lord MELVILLE.

At the late meeting of the Freeholders of MIDDLESEX, after the address to his Majesty was voted, Mr. CLIFFORD moved—"That the sheriffs at the time of delivering the address, do request to know when his Majesty would be pleased to receive the same, and that they do publish Lord HAWKESBURY's answer on that occasion in the newspapers." As the ground for moving this proposition Mr. CLIFFORD stated the fact:—"That on the occasion of addresses being presented by that county, and many others, in the case of Lord MELVILLE, upwards of NINETY in all; not ONE of those addresses had ever been presented to the King; Lord HAWKESBURY being then, as he is now, principal secretary of state for the home department." The reason assigned for this treatment of the petitions of the people was as follows—"That there had been no public levee since these addresses were presented, and it was not usual to present them at private levees." On such an occasion it is right that the people should be reminded of the circumstances attending these petitions. Every one in the least acquainted with the nature of popular meetings, convened for the consideration of public grievances, must be sensible of the exertions necessary to procure such meetings; of the inconvenience, trouble, and loss of time to which the middle classes of the people are subject in their attendance; of the various difficulties which occur in the attainment of the desired object; when at length, after having accomplished their object as to carry the petition; resting assured that his Majesty must be duly informed of the grievances complained of, and hoping that redress will follow:—when thus reasonably expecting the desired result, they are informed several months afterwards, by the Secretary of State—"That their petitions had not been presented, because there had been no public levee, and it was not usual to present them at private levees!"—that is this but grossly to insult the people, and to render one of

their most essential rights nugatory? What would our ancestors at the Revolution have said, when they insisted on the right of petitioning, as one of the conditions on which their new sovereign was to hold his crown; if they had shortly after been informed by his secretary of state, "that their petitions had not been presented, 'because there had been no public levees;' and that it was not usual to trouble his Majesty with them except on such occasions!" We do not believe that a minister could at that period have been found who would have dared to have offered such an insult, or if there had, that the people would have quietly put up with the insult; or rather that they would not have demanded the impeachment of such a minister!—If, however, the NINETY addresses alluded to, had been composed of the precious materials with which court addresses in all countries are commonly stuffed, we will venture to affirm they would all have been, by some means or other, without loss of time, presented to the throne, and afterwards published in the court gazette, with the notification that "his Majesty had received them very graciously!"

But the answer given by Lord HAWKESBURY to the petition of the Common Council of the city of London, proves that no addresses are acceptable at court, but such as express their approbation of the conduct of ministers, in that style of adulation which usually characterises such addresses. It, however, deserves to be particularly noticed, that his lordship on this occasion affects an extraordinary regard for some of the best of principles, and which constitute the foundation of all just government. Addressing the citizens in the name of his Sovereign he observes—"I give credit to the motives which have dictated your petition and address; but I must remind you that it is inconsistent with the principles of British justice to pronounce judgment without previous investigation." That Lord HAWKESBURY should have summoned up effrontery sufficient to read such an answer, must excite surprise in the mind of every one acquainted with the history of his lordship's public life, but who at the same time, is not sensible of that duplicity, and hypocrisy of which modern statesmen are capable. When we hear such excellent sentiments from the lips of his lordship, we are naturally reminded of the conduct of a remarkably cunning, and very old statesman, who is emphatically termed "the deceiver," and who, as it has been not unfrequently remarked, can quote even scripture for his purpose. "I must remind you, that it is inconsistent with the principles of British justice, to pronounce judgment without previous investigation!" Happy would it have been for our countrymen, had these admirable "principles of British justice," been observed during the Pitt administration, of which Lord HAWKESBURY was a member, and

has ever been the uniform and warm panegyrist. How many innocent persons would then have escaped, not merely "judgment," but punishment, inflicted without "previous legal investigation;" and who after being immured within the walls of a prison, ignorant of any specific charge alleged against them, and who in vain demanded, month after month, and year after year, a fair trial by a jury of their countrymen, were at last liberated, but without the least indemnification for the long, severe, and unjust punishment thus inflicted! Had not the principles of British justice, been trampled under foot, there would have been no occasion for the minister, who at length appeared to have been conscious of his criminality, and to have requested of parliament an act of indemnity, to screen him from the consequences of his tyrannical conduct, and to prevent the victims of his despotism from obtaining some legal compensation; nor would there have been found a senate so venal as to have granted such an act. But the common council of London did not deserve so unjust a reproof as this reply insinuated: they only demanded—"Such an INQUIRY as might lead to the discovery and punishment of those, by whose misconduct and incapacity, the cause of the country and its allies had been so shamefully sacrificed." Whether their opinion as thus expressed be correct, may not be perfectly clear; but that there have been gross errors committed, either in planning, or executing the expedition to Portugal, seems to be the general opinion, and a proper investigation of the affair is all that has been demanded by the petitioners.

To the remark of Lord HAWKESBURY, that "his Majesty, (that is, his ministers) has at all times been ready to institute inquiries on occasions in which the character of the country or the honour of his arms is concerned," the repeated instances of disgraceful failures, which have occurred within these few years, too evidently prove, that when Royal Dukes, or favourite ministerial officers are entrusted with the chief command, such failures are passed over without inquiry. It was therefore equally the duty as well as the right of the people to express their solicitude, that "due inquiry might be made into a transaction, which has," as acknowledged by the royal mouth piece on this occasion, "disappointed the hopes, and expectations of the nation."

Notwithstanding the unanimity with which the petition of the Common council of London was voted, and the spirited language used on the occasion, there are certain circumstances which serve to show, that had some of our worthy citizens been conscious that what they were doing would not have proved agreeable to ministers, they would scarcely have assumed quite so much courage. Alderman BAKER possessing a mind swelling with ideas of military glory, de-

closed on voting for the address,—"That he should be ashamed of himself, holding as he did, his Majesty's commission, in a volunteer corps, if he did not give his assent to every word of the motion." Previously, however, to the address being presented to his Majesty, the alderman discovered that its contents were not quite acceptable to those ministers to whom he has at all times been the servile tool; and what was the consequence? Although the alderman had "always been extremely forward in going up with addresses," all his high ideas of military glory forsake him; he is "ashamed" to go up with an address, every line of which he had, only a few days before, expressed his approbation of; and although the Common Council voted the address unanimously, "the court had to wait half an hour before two aldermen could be found to go up with it." Alderman BIRCH in the debate on Lord HAWKESBURY'S answer, resumes his usual tone, and identifying ministers with his Majesty, with all humility declares—"That he could never go the length of daring to dispute his Majesty's right to answer it as he thought proper, however much he might lament the terms of such answer." If what this city sycophant insinuates be just, and we are to consider what every body knows to be the sentiments of ministers, as the sentiments of his Majesty, for which those ministers are not responsible, then farewell to the boasted right of Britons, of publicly canvassing the measures of government.

The resolutions passed by the common council on the insulting answer of ministers to their address, are drawn up in that spirited language becoming freemen of the metropolis of the British empire; but unless this language is followed up by corresponding conduct, it will be of little avail. Mr. WATTHMAN gave notice of moving another address to his Majesty expressive of the sentiments of the court on the conduct of his Majesty's ministers on this occasion, and we hope, that he will shortly bring forward his motion. In the early part of the present reign the citizens of London were not appalled by the rudeness or insolence of a minister; they presented petition on petition, and remonstrance on remonstrance. When they thought their privileges invaded by a wicked administration, and a corrupt house of Commons, they declared their sentiments and resolutions, in the presence of his Majesty, in the following just and animated terms.—"The forms of the CONSTITUTION, like those of RELIGION, were not established for the form's sake, but for the substance; and we call God and man to witness, that as we do not owe our liberty to those nice and subtle distinctions which places and pensions, and lucrative employments have invented, so neither will we be deprived of it by them; but as it was gained

*"By the stern virtue of our ancestors, by the virtue of their descendants it shall be preserved!"**

The citizens of London have met with an additional insult from their CHIEF MAGISTRATE, who on his entrance on office has been studious to exhibit himself as a minion of the present administration; and he could not have afforded a more substantial proof of his being so, than by his refusal to grant a common hall, on a respectable requisition for that purpose, because, truly, HE judged it improper; thus refusing to the livery their undoubted right of assembling to deliberate on public measures.

In short, there has appeared a determination on the part of ministers, during the greater part of the present reign, to discourage the exercise of the right of petitioning by every means in their power: this determination is apparent, not only by the neglect shewn in presenting petitions; not only in returning answers in the language of insult, but even in the form of presenting such petitions. Until the present reign, the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, were received by the sovereign sitting on his throne by which means they were always sure of his Majesty's hearing their complaints, and of receiving an answer. A few years since they were informed by the secretary of state, that his Majesty would not in future receive any address, petition or remonstrance from the livery, sitting on his throne; and consequently the citizens of the metropolis, have since been obliged to present their addresses, at the levee, where his Majesty on receiving them, hands them without even looking them over, to the lord in waiting. When the usual adulatory addresses are presented from the common council, it has "been signified that a full attendance would be expected, as it was his Majesty's wish to see all the members; but on a recent occasion it was signified that a deputation consisting of a few members only would be most acceptable!" But it will be in vain for the citizens of London to complain to the throne, of grievances; to make fine speeches, or to pass spirited resolutions, if they do not act for themselves, and so far as is in their power, redress their own grievances. The annual election of the common council will shortly take place; let the inhabitants of the different wards reject those men, who have for years past proved themselves to be the willing slaves of any administration. When the livery of London have an opportunity of electing magistrates, and more particularly representatives, let them choose independent men, and not such as they commonly have chosen, men distinguished for their ignorance, selfishness, and servility. If they do not follow up their language by corresponding conduct, they will shew to the world that they have well deserved the insults already offered them; and that no insults which can be offered them in future

* Address of the Livery to the King, March, 1770.

from the most abandoned of administrations; will be more than their merited reward.

The recent public meetings have given rise to various discussions on the state of public affairs, which have the natural tendency to arouse our countrymen from that state of apathy, to which may be attributed, in a considerable degree, most of our national calamities. Our readers will find in our *Register*, some information truly deserving of their serious attention respecting the waste of the public money, from the speeches of Mr. COBBETT, whose *forte* seems to be ferreting out the vermin who prey upon the vitals of the nation. One passage in his speech on the nomination of a member for the county of Hants, and which our limits prevented us from inserting, is so remarkable, that we here present it to our readers.

"He that hath ears to hear let him hear; for I am about to speak of the enormous sums which Mr. GEORGE ROSE, and his sons have received, and do receive, and are to receive, out of the pockets of this taxed nation. First, as treasurer of the navy he received 4,324l. a-year; next as clerk of parliament, which place he has for life, and in which he never has performed one hour's duty, he receives, and has received, ever since the year, 1783, the sum of 3,278l. a year; next this place is granted to his son Mr. GEORGE HENRY ROSE for life, who is also a member of parliament; next, Mr. GEORGE ROSE has another sinecure place, as keeper of the records in the exchequer, for which he receives 400l. a-year, and next his youngest son, Mr. WILLIAM STEWART ROSE has a sinecure place in the exchequer, for which he receives 2,137l. a-year; which sums put together make 10,139l. a-year, which Mr. ROSE and his sons receive out of the taxes raised upon us; and he having upon an average, received about 5000l. a-year in office salary, besides sinecures, since the year 1783, I am far within the compass when I assert, that he, and his sons alone have received, out of the taxes of this broken country, three hundred thousand pounds sterling!"

It is these increasing abuses, this profligate waste of the public money, which not only occasions such an increase of our burdens, but which poisons every department of government; which spreads its baneful influence through both houses of the legislature; which renders our representative body radically corrupt; and which it is to be feared, will hasten the period when the fatal prediction of Montesquieu will be fulfilled:—"The constitution of England will lose its liberty—will perish. Have not Rome, Lacedæmon and Carthage perished? It will perish when the legislative power shall have become more corrupt than the executive." This is a subject of ten thousand times greater consequence to the people of the British empire than the convention of Cintra; and we shall deem

that convention, notwithstanding all its defects, (whether real or imaginary) a most happy event for this country, should it prove the means of arousing the energies of the people, of fixing their attention on public grievances, of demanding a redress of those grievances, and above all, of using those means which the laws and the constitution have placed within their reach, for REFORMING THEMSELVES, by rising above the temptations with which they are assailed by the patrons of corruption; by rejecting dependent, and choosing independent representatives, in the senate, and in the different municipal departments. It is in vain for people to be clamorous even against the corruptions of their governors, when they by their conduct prove they are nearly as corrupt themselves. It is the fatal union of depraved sentiments and feelings, which amidst the contentions of parties, is so frequently displayed, that threatens the destruction of the country.

AFFAIRS OF SPAIN.

The reports on this important subject have for the past month been numerous, and contradictory. We were at its commencement amused with various accounts of important victories obtained by the Spaniards over the French; but these have given place to accounts more authentic; by which it appears that the French armies, headed by their Emperor, have obtained easy and complete victories; and that there is every reason to believe, that he will fulfil his promise so recently made to the French senate, that he would shortly crown his brother, King of Spain, at Madrid. We shall not, we confess, be surprised at this result: after all the fine patriotic sentiments we have read, in our ministerial journals more particularly; of a whole nation rising in defence of their liberties, religion and their dearest interests; after carefully attending to the proceedings of the different juntas, and of the central supreme junta, we have in vain searched for an object calculated to call forth, what is absolutely necessary, all the energies of a people who are determined "to live free or die!" The only objects hitherto held up to the Spaniards, are the restoration of a prince, who has afforded demonstrative evidence of his being unfit for the government of a great nation, more especially at a period of peculiar difficulty; and the preservation, and INCREASE of a religious, or rather an irreligious system of the vilest mixture of despotism, priestcraft and superstition that ever disgraced any nation under heaven. How disgusting to hear men, pretending to be the regenerators of a people, confirming them in all their most ancient, and worst prejudices, and the regenerators themselves, proclaiming war against the very first and foundation principle of all just and good government—TOLERATION:—to hear them idolatrously calling on hosts of

saints, the holy virgin, &c. &c. to assist them in fighting for the support of the miraculous conception, the holy inquisition, &c. It seems scarcely possible, that a people whose rulers are thus sunk in slavery and superstition themselves, can effectually maintain their independence against the invasion of a powerful nation, used to arms, and habituated to conquest; and, although we shall ever maintain, that the inhabitants of every country under heaven have a right to independence, to choose their own form of government, and to follow what system of religion they may judge best; and who if they prefer slavery to liberty, and superstition to piety, or to worship saints and images, gods and goddesses, heroes and warriors, men the most virtuous, or the greatest scoundrels of the human race, or cats and dogs, apes and monkeys, or leeks and onions, (all of which objects of worship have been incorporated in different religious establishments, and have all been equally contended for by the priests of those establishments)—although a nation has a right to adopt its own fooleries in religion and government, without being hostilely interrupted by other nations, yet, when the contest embraces no other objects, it must be contemplated by the friends of the best interests of mankind with comparative indifference. It is not improbable that the contest between France and Spain will be brought to a speedy conclusion. In the mean time we recommend to the serious attention of our readers, the admirable letter of our correspondent "**COMMON SENSE**" inserted in the *Register*, wherein the subject of Spanish affairs is placed in a superior light to that in which it has been held up by common politicians, and which may tend to rectify certain popular errors, and above all to confirm the faith of those who believe in the doctrine of a perfectly wise and righteous Providence; the only doctrine that can afford a solid, and an immovable ground of satisfaction in such a world as the present, and at such a peculiarly eventful period as that we are now contemplating.

The COURT OF INQUIRY, after sitting seven days, has adjourned till the arrival of Sir Harry Burrard. It appears from the evidence of the officers already examined, that the public have been, as we suspected, much imposed upon by the pompous accounts of Sir Arthur Wellesley; that the Convention was a measure judged necessary at the time, by the concurrent opinion of the general officers, and that Sir A. Wellesley, as appears by his letter to the Bishop of Oporto, saw "nothing extraordinary in it," altho' Sir Arthur's memory is of so singular a construction that he does not recollect having written the letter. It is more and more apparent, that the expedition was very ill provided with the necessary means for following up the victory. A parliamentary inquiry will be absolutely necessary, if the business is to be fairly investigated.—Parliament are to meet on the 16th. of January.

Harlow, November 29.

B. F.

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[Vol. IV.]

REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

FRENCH EXPOSE.

EVERY friend to the improvement of society, and to the happiness of mankind, must peruse with pleasure the account of the internal condition of France, as contained in the above important paper; a complete copy of which will be found in our *Register*. The sentiments throughout, with the exception of a few respecting the war, are truly worthy of a wise philosopher, and an enlightened statesman. What a source of pride, and of pleasure to a TRUE BRITON, must be the account of the establishment of that great privilege—TRIAL BY JURY, throughout such a vast empire as France. The author of the exposition, the minister of the interior, makes the following interesting observations on this important subject. "The institution of a jury took its rise amidst the simple manners of our ancestors. *Feudal despotism banished it from France, but it took refuge amongst a neighbouring people, where it acquired great celebrity.*" THIS PEOPLE AFTER A LONG USE OF IT HAVE CONSIDERED "A JURY AS THE EXCLUSIVE GUARDIAN OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, AND EVEN OF POLITICAL FREEDOM!" The minister enlarges on the peculiar benefits which the British nation has experienced from the enjoyment of this institution. The whole of the chapter on the "Administration of justice," is replete with sound sense; and many of the observations are well deserving the attention of the people of this country. The remarks under the head "public worship" are equally deserving notice. What sound protestant, what sincere christian, who is acquainted with the history of the persecuting, bloody church of France for centuries past, but must receive with pleasure inexpressible, the information, that—*The toleration of EVERY FORM of worship is consecrated in France.* . . . That in this respect the citizens have only to answer to their conscience, that inviolable asylum of human liberty." The progress of toleration in France is, we trust, a glorious preface to the downfall of religious slavery in those other countries of Europe, and under their old abominable governments, the church and the state were united to rob mankind of their rights both civil and reli-

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gious, to plunder them of their property, and to murder their persons. When the religious liberties of a people are firmly established, when the corrupt alliance between church and state is so far dissolved, that the former is kept separate, its ministers provided with a maintenance proportionate to their labours, and are not suffered by virtue of their spiritual authority to lord it in the state; when the church (so long as an *established* church is desired by the people) is reduced to her proper level, and the grand principles of toleration, of religious liberty are "consecrated," there is abundant reason to hope, that the principles of civil and political liberty, will ere long follow. May the French Emperor still further advance the felicity of France, by granting her the only solid, permanent security for her newly possessed civil and religious privileges—A FREE CONSTITUTION; and may the same blessings be extended to the inhabitants of other countries, which have been conquered, or which may be conquered by his arms; that the triumphs of justice, liberty, and humanity, may obliterate the remembrance of the triumphs of inordinate ambition. This will indeed prove, in the truest and best sense of the terms, the advancement of the "interests of religion, and social order," the "restoration of the liberties and independence of the continent," and will completely effect the "deliverance of Europe." Thus will it appear, that the great governor of the world, is, in the administration of his wise and righteous Providence, producing, by what instruments, and means he deems proper, good out of evil, order out of confusion, and harmony out of discord!

**BRITISH DECLARATION ON THE LATE OVERTURES
FOR PEACE.**

The recent Overtures made by the Emperors of France, and of Russia, to the British court, have terminated as ministers and their supporters wished, and as every body expected. The correspondence between the respective powers will of course be laid before parliament; the DECLARATION, however, enables us so far to judge of the merits of the case, that there is little difficulty in concluding, that those who made the overtures could scarcely expect they would be accepted, and that those who rejected them have little disposition for the business of negociation, were circumstances even more favourable than they confessedly are at present.

Neither the French nor the Russian Emperor could reasonably expect, that as matters then stood, when the efforts of the Spaniards in capturing, and expelling the French forces had been attended with some success; when it was well known that our ministers had entered into engagements with those invested with

the supreme authority, and who had the command of the Spanish territories—in such circumstances it could not by their Imperial Majesties be reasonably expected, that the British court would, as a preliminary to negotiation, agree to abandon the Spaniards, and at once to resign them to the dominion of France. On the other hand, the confident language of our ministers respecting the affairs of Spain, discovers their own temerity, and too plainly proves their resolution not only to embark, but to persevere in any cause, however hopeless, without duly considering, whether the result to their country may not prove equally calamitous and disgraceful. It is impossible for any impartial observer of the affairs of Spain, yet ignorant to determine, whether the resistance to the change of the government is the “glorious effort of the people in behalf of their legitimate sovereign, and in defence of the independence of their country,” or only a partial insurrection, instigated by nobles and priests, and which the great majority of the people behold with indifference. As to this “loyal people contending for the preservation of every thing dear to man;” we have yet to discover a single object which has been held up to them worth fighting for. The “loyalty” of the people at large has been curiously displayed, in their indifference they discovered, when their old king, who had reigned over them so many years, was, by a party, suddenly deposed; or, as his deposed Majesty himself informed the world, compelled “through fear of his life, to resign the government to his son.” A display of loyalty, somewhat similar, was manifested by the Spaniards towards their new king, in quietly suffering him to leave the kingdom, and to throw himself into the hands of the French Emperor. The restoration, not of the father but of the son, the preservation and increase of the Roman catholic religion at the height of superstition, the re-establishment of the jesuits,—these were the grand objects which the Spanish Junta have held up to the people, to induce them to rise in a mass;—these are the objects which the Protestant government of Britain describes as comprising “all that is dear to man!” And this is the cause which “his Britannic Majesty has solemnly pledged himself to sustain!” How long this pledge will be persevered in, it may not be very easy to determine; but it will not excite our surprise, if it should turn out, that, like other pledges which his Majesty’s ministers have presumed to make in his name, during the last and present war, it should at last be totally abandoned.

The *DECLARATION* abounds, as usual, with invectives on the “tyranny and injustice of the French government;” and the Russian government comes in for the like compliment. Some of the ministers inform us, that what has given their masters so much occasion for this occasion is, that part of the reply of Napoleon, in

which he observes, "That it would not be more unreasonable on his part to propose admitting the CATHOLICS OF IRELAND as a party to any negotiation, than that his Britannic Majesty should propose admitting the Spanish insurgents." We shall be better able to judge on this part of the subject, when the correspondence is laid before the public; but when all the circumstances attending the insurrection in Ireland a few years since, generally termed *rebellion*, and the Spanish *insurrection, rebellion, or revolution*, for the course of events must hereafter, as in all similar cases, finally settle the term, it may perhaps be discovered, that there is a sting in the sarcasm of NAPOLEON that naturally excited the fretfulness, and asperity of ministers. As to the charge brought against France of "assuming a right to depose and imprison friendly sovereigns; forcibly to transfer to herself the allegiance of independent nations," and of "usurpation which has no parallel in the history of the world," our ministers must have had very bad memories, or have lost all sense of right and wrong in the affairs of nations, to have thus committed themselves. The whole world is tolerably well acquainted with a certain nation, the rulers of which have not only "deposed and imprisoned," but put to death, "friendly sovereigns," who had reposed in them the most implicit confidence, and, who have "transferred to themselves the allegiance," the property, and the territory of many independent nations. We suppose it will scarcely be contended, that such deeds were less atrocious because they were committed in ASIA instead of EUROPE. It will not likewise be forgotten as long as the world stands, that the same nation invaded a neighbouring power, when in a state of friendship, plundered her merchants on the high seas, fired her capital, robbed her arsenals, stole her fleet, and thus committed an outrage on all laws, human and divine, and of which it indeed may justly be said, "there is no parallel in the history of the world!"

But after all the ill humour, and the unwillingness to negotiate, discovered in the DECLARATION, we are glad to find some abatement of that most intolerable pride and insolence, so conspicuous last year, in all our answers to the different overtures of France, as well as of other powers. We are no longer insulted with the language of a few bedlamites—"That we ought not to treat with such a restless despot as NAPOLEON—that as we can never trust him in a state of peace, which will only allow him time to make more effectual preparations for the accomplishment of his projects, we had better remain in a state of war." Mr. CANNING, as we predicted he would, rather than lose his place, condescends to offer "to treat even with the atrocious usurper of France," (as that sagacious statesman styled NAPOLEON within these six months) "either on the basis of the *uti possidetis*, or on any other

"~~be~~ consistent with justice, honour and equality." We have ~~been~~ ~~seen~~, that should the events of another campaign turn out ~~as~~ ~~disastrous~~ as those of the past, and more especially, should the ~~people~~, ~~leading~~ under the weight of additional burthens, generally, ~~and~~ ~~loudly~~ petition for peace, that the tone of ministers would be ~~not~~ ~~more~~ considerably lowered. At present, however, we can expect nothing from them, but professions of "fairness and moderation:" for it is evident they are still casting a "longing and lingering look" at the continent; fearing that nothing is to be expected from any longer poring over the last leaf of the chapter ~~affairs~~ in Spain, they have still a hope that a leaf may be turned ~~over~~ in some other country. "That among the nations which groan ~~under~~ the tyranny of French alliance, or among those which ~~remain~~ against France a doubtful and precarious independence, ~~there~~ may be some which are ballancing between the certain ruin ~~and~~ ~~prolonged~~ inactivity, and the contingent dangers of an effort ~~to~~ ~~save~~ themselves from that ruin." As to the "groans" of the ~~nations~~ in alliance with France, they are principally to be heard in the British cabinet; and with respect to those powers which ~~remain~~ against France," by remaining at peace with her, "a doubtful and precarious existence,"—those powers, learning wisdom from past experience, appear to be tolerably well convinced; ~~and~~ ~~by~~ a renewal of the war on their part, their "existence," would not much longer be either "doubtful or precarious!" Notwithstanding therefore, the invitations, and the endeavours of ~~others~~ to embroil the emperor of Austria, and other states of Europe in a new war, there is reason to believe, they will not find ~~any~~ ~~one~~ of those states, who have not learned the lesson which ~~themselves~~ are, in spite of the experience of the last twenty years, ~~unable~~ ~~not~~ to learn—a lesson we have frequently inculcated on our ~~contemporaries~~:—*That all attempts on the part of the old governments of Europe, to diminish, by force of arms, the power, and the influence of France, will terminate in their increase.*

AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL.

It has been matter of surprise, that our ministers, instead of employing our forces during the months of summer and autumn in the ~~defence~~ of Spain, where they might probably have afforded some ~~valuable~~ assistance to the Spanish armies in expelling the French, ~~leaving~~ the country against invasion, should have employed ~~them~~ Portugal, where they have been of such comparatively trifling service, and where even victories have been followed by a ~~loss~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~advantages~~ of which have evidently been on the side of France, and productive of discontent and indignation in the

people of this country. It now, however, turns out, that a large British army is necessary in Portugal, "to keep in awe," as the ministerial writers inform us, "the refractory Portuguese." Disputes between the inhabitants and our soldiery, it appears, have arisen to such a height at Oporto, that popular tumults have followed, and a number of lives have been lost on both sides. The cause of these tumults is confidently reported to be—The hatred of the Portuguese to the Regency;—that government appointed by the court of Portugal on its departure to the Brazils; and whose authority the government of Britain is engaged to establish and uphold. Thus ministers are lavishing our resources in defence of a country, the inhabitants of which appear to be filled with indignation, and to be rising against their defenders! If a judgment may be formed of the regency from its manner of exercising its authority, the new government seems to be similar to that miserable compound of weakness and depravity which constituted the old government that so long mis-ruled the country; and the dissolution of which, judging from the conduct of the people at large, was to them a matter of the most perfect indifference.

The letters which have been published from some of the British officers in Portugal, represent the country to be in the most deplorable state of poverty and anarchy, and the inhabitants as totally destitute of patriotism; the more wealthy belonging to the capital being determined to leave the kingdom in case of the return of the French; a spirit of indifference pervading the lower classes; and the measures of the regency in assisting their allies and defenders, the British forces, tardy and ineffectual! What an idea is here given to the world of another of those "regular governments of Europe," whose fall it has been so much the fashion, in this land of freedom more particularly, to lament and whine over; and what is still more extraordinary, for the restoration of which we must persevere in a war, without any rational prospect of success; and which every years experience affords additional evidence, that the more obstinate our perseverance, the more shall we be involved in difficulties. Such was the experience of the last war, which was at length terminated by an unavoidable, but a disgraceful treaty of peace, when every object, for the attainment of which, our rulers had so repeatedly persuaded an infatuated people the war was *just* and *necessary*, was yielded to the enemy, whose dominions and whose power were at the same time so considerably augmented, as to render him the sovereign of the principal part of Europe. The experience of the present war, a war originating in the same principles of injustice and folly as the last, affords from year to year, additional evidence that its termination will be similar. Britain, there is the utmost reason to fear, must again yield, and with equal

disgrace; and that France will again be triumphant, and her power considerably augmented. We can have no rational hope of a different result, so long as the main object of the war is what has been ridiculously termed "the deliverance of Europe," or in plainer and more honest language, the support, or the restoration of those old, unprincipled, despotic governments, the fall of which is beheld by the people, whose rights they have so long trampled on, if not with satisfaction, and exultation, at least with apathy and indifference; every citizen of the world, every friend of the human race in other countries, rejoicing at such a fall, if by that means governments founded on the RIGHTS OF MAN, on the principles of justice and humanity, may be established on the ruins.

After the accounts we have had of the state of Portugal; of the degradation of the old government, and the indifference of the people, we might have thought it almost impossible, that at a public meeting in the city of London, within the course of the past week, such a toast as the following should have been given:—"May the Portuguese of Europe, of the Islands of Brazil, of Africa, and of Asia, never forget, that the name—*Royal family of Braganza*, shall and will be at all times, the signal of the restoration of LIBERTY and INDEPENDENCE!"—The toast was given by the Portuguese ambassador; we must therefore suppose his excellency to have given it *seriously*; but a more severe satire on the royal house of Braganza," and on the people of Portugal and her dependencies, it was impossible for language to convey!

--- AFFAIRS OF SPAIN.

The French bulletins give us a regular account of the progress of the armies of France; and of the defeats in particular of the principal armies of Spain, those of Generals BLAKE, and CASTELLON. These defeats are acknowledged in the different accounts which have been received, to have been complete, and the French accounts are scarcely more unfavourable to the Spaniards than their own. It appears certain that the French have entered Madrid, and the public are anxiously waiting for the particulars. Unfavourable accounts have likewise been received respecting the progress of the different detachments of the British forces; doubts have been entertained of their being able to effect a junction, and apprehensions are excited respecting the safety of part of them. In the mean time, additional preparations are going forward for the assistance of the Spaniards, and a large army under the command of Sir ARTHUR WELLESLEY is talked of for the purpose. The next advices will, it is probable, determine ministers whether to send any more troops to Spain, or should the accounts

continue to be unfavourable from that quarter, to Portugal, in which country it is confidently reported, the British forces are to be concentrated, that they may not only secure that kingdom, but be at hand to act in Spain according to circumstances. Respecting the wisdom of such a plan, there seems to be various opinions, but ministers must do something, and at present there appears to be no other object in view, in continuing the war, but resisting the designs of NAPOLEON respecting that kingdom.

After all the professions of patriotism, and the reports of the spirit, and unanimity, and the determined resolution of the people at large to preserve the independence of the country, to repel their invaders, and to restore their "beloved King FERDINAND," it is now suspected, that our countrymen have been very much deceived by the publications of the Spanish juntas, and generals. We have had *on paper*, different armies amounting to half a million of men; and these were not more than might rationally have been expected from a country, the population of which amounts to twelve millions, engaged in a cause comprising in it, "every thing dear to man!" It is now generally understood, that not a fifth part of the number mentioned have ever been embodied, that many of those who were, have deserted, and that the mass of the people behold the struggle with indifference. Several of the letters of our officers complain of the coldness of the reception given to our troops by the inhabitants in general. One of these letters contains the following remarkable passage:—"This is a wretched country. I am sure the French would do them good, but as an Englishman, I cannot wish them to gain a footing here The Spaniards do not act with that spirit they might." We confess that we are not surprised, that the Spaniards in general do not evince the ardour which inspires the hearts of those who understand the nature and the value of liberty, and who are determined to live free or die. We repeat what we so often have had reason to assert, that their leaders have done little more than confirm them in all those prejudices, which tend rather to rivet, than to break their chains. The oaths imposed on the members of the junta, the generals, &c. are a disgrace to men professing to be the regenerators of a nation, and are only becoming the supporters of despotism and priestcraft. When they even use language of a nature somewhat different, and promise to their countrymen, at a future period, some general reforms in a government which all parties united in pronouncing "execrable," or, as the supreme junta expresses it, "if that may be called *government*," "which was one continued and monstrous dilapidation;" these very promises are mingled with such absurdities as naturally tend to excite suspicion whether they are ever meant to be fulfilled.

Alluding to the promised reform, the junta adds—"It is time that the voice of the law only should begin to command, founded on general utility. *This was the desire of our good and unfortunate monarch; this was the path he pointed out*, even during an unjust captivity to which a perfidious traitor reduced him." It is a pity that this "good and unfortunate monarch," whilst he was "pointing out the path of national reform," could not "point out" for himself "the path" of common sense. He would not, in that case, after complaining of the unjust accusations of his enemies, that is, his father and his ministers, who charged him with traitorous designs; in the course of a month have acknowledged the justice of those accusations, and in the most humiliating manner, asked pardon; nor would he afterwards, when exalted to the sovereignty, have, idiot like, left his kingdom, and placed himself at the absolute controul and disposal of the French Emperor; who so far from "perfidiously concealing his designs," had by letter given the new King fair notice of what he might expect. The constant language of fulsome adulation offered by the junta, and the different authorities, to FERDINAND VII. who has never discovered a single trait of greatness, and their firm attachment to the old system of religious despotism, too evidently discover that the leaders of the Spanish nation are not qualified to be the regenerators of a people, who have been for ages sunk in ignorance, superstition, and vice, nor for the arduous task of arousing them to such exertions as are absolutely necessary to their recovering their liberties, and preserving their independence. Had the national constituent assembly of France, acted in the same manner as the junta of Spain, the Duke of BRUNSWICK would have found little obstruction in his march to Paris, or in his conquest of the kingdom.

What indeed has confirmed us in the opinion, that the supreme junta of Spain is principally composed of the tools of the established priesthood, is the decree for recalling the JESUITS; a society held in such just infamy by all Europe, that not only the different courts, but even the Pope of Rome (Ganganelli), judged their suppression absolutely necessary. To permit individuals of any, and every sect, to enjoy the rights of humanity and of citizenship, is a part of wisdom and justice; but for the junta of Spain, in one of their first acts, to shew their attachment to this suppressed order, and to invite its return, shews their rooted attachment to the most vicious, and corrupt part of the old Romish church. What would be the state of Spain, if in addition to the swarms of ecclesiastics which have so long fed on her vitals, the jesuits were again to be permitted to re-establish their societies, and by their iniquitous arts to regain their former power and influence, in church and state!

The French bulletins represent the Spanish monks as in the lowest state of degradation, and by no means to be compared with those of Germany, Italy, and France. "The monks of Spain are drawn from the very dregs of the people; they are ignorant and drunken, and can only be compared to people employed in slaughter-houses; they are illiterate, and have the very manner and appearance of it; it is only over the lowest classes that they have any influence. A citizen would think himself dishonoured in admitting a monk to his table. As to the unfortunate Spanish peasants, we can only compare them to the Fellahs of Egypt; *they have no property; every thing belongs to the monks, or to some powerful house.* The liberty of keeping an inn is a feudal right; yet in a country so favoured by nature, we find neither posts nor inns. The taxes even are alienated, and belong to the lords. The great have degenerated to such a degree, that they are without energy, without merit, and even without influence." This description of both the monks and the people of Spain accords with that of travellers in general; and yet, we are gravely told by our ministers, that the Spaniards in fighting for the old monarchy, and the old popish church establishment, which have reduced them to their present deplorable state, "are contending for the preservation of all that is dear to man!"

In the 10th. bulletin, as we have given it to our readers, there is a material omission in the translation; and which we find to have been made in most of the public prints. We inserted our copy from the *Morning Post*: the *Morning Chronicle* has made the same omission. The design of the editors in thus suppressing some of the most important parts of these official papers we leave others to judge of: we hope, however, they will not deal thus unfairly with the public in future. The passage, for its importance, deserves to be recorded in the most public manner, as it holds out the suppression of institutions once thought by protestants all over the world, as the greatest scourges of the human race, but which a power, once the boasted supporter of the protestant interest, now consider as blessings, the preservation of which is "most dear to man!" The passage to which we allude is as follows:—

"In truth, and without doing injustice to the bravery of our soldiers, it may be asserted, that there cannot be worse troops than the Spanish. Like the Arabs, they can lurk behind houses, but they have no discipline, no knowledge of manœuvres, and it is impossible for them to make any resistance in a field of battle. The very mountains have afforded them but a feeble protection; but thanks to the power of the inquisition, the influence of the monks, their dexterity to seize all pens, and to make them speak all languages, it is still believed throughout great part of Spain

"that Blake has been victorious, that the French army has been destroyed, and the imperial guard taken! Whatever may be the momentary success of these wretched shifts, and of these ridiculous effects, THE REIGN OF THE INQUISITION IS AT AN END! *Its revolutionary tribunals will no longer torment any country in Europe.* In SPAIN, as well as at ROME, THE INQUISITION SHALL BE ABOLISHED, AND THE HORRID SPECTACLE OF AUTO-DA-FES SHALL BE REPEATED NO MORE! *This reform shall be effected in spite of the religious zeal of the ENGLISH; in spite of the alliance which they have formed with the monkish impostors,* who have given our Lady del Pilar, and the saints of Val-ladolid the power of speech! England has for her allies, exclusive monopoly, the inquisition, and the Franciscans; all are alike to her if she can but sow discord among nations, and deluge the continent with blood."*

By the arrival of the 14th. 15th. and 16th. of the French bulletins, we are put in possession of the particulars of the entrance of the Emperor with his army into Madrid; which, although defended by 60,000 men, and 100 pieces of artillery, surrendered after a slight resistance. The people in general judged it more prudent to surrender, than to put in execution the threat published a short time since, of "burying themselves under the ruins of the city." We are glad to find so little blood has been shed, and that as soon as the French forces were in possession of the city, pardon and oblivion were proclaimed. What are become of the major part of the 60,000 men in arms is a matter of doubt; some of our newspaper editors still profess to entertain sanguine hopes, that the majority have retired; that they will rally in some other part of Spain, and uniting with their countrymen, with the assistance of Britain, hereafter be able to repel the invaders; but as NAPOLEON took due care to defeat and to scatter the principal armies of Spain before he advanced to the capital; as the bulletins mention, that the disarming of the people proceeded without obstruction, and as so much time has been lost, which with proper spirit on the part of the people, and proper management on the part of their rulers, and their ally, might have been improved in such a manner as that a respectable defence would have been the result—the favourable opportunity being lost, it is not very probable that there will be any considerable obstacle to the complete conquest of the kingdom

To assist the Spaniards in their arduous struggle, the merchants of London have had a meeting for the purpose of entering into a

* See the 10th. Bulletin, *Register*, p. 379. The above passage should have been inserted after the 4th. paragraph, ending with the word "Bidassoa."

voluntary subscription to supply the armies in Spain, with such necessities as may not be provided by government. About 35,000*l.* have been subscribed, a sum in itself of little consequence for the purposes professed; and when ministers thought it necessary to inform the meeting that they had already sent large supplies of clothing &c. to Spain, and that they had contracted for still larger supplies, there seems to have been some difficulty respecting the application of the money. The principal end of the meeting appears to have been, that individuals might have an opportunity of shewing their approbation of the cause in which the Spaniards are engaged. The gentlemen of the committee will, however, we trust, be careful that such a sum of money may be properly applied. It is a question which deserves consideration—Whether its application for the purpose for which it is professedly raised, will answer any valuable end? The subscribers would do well to reflect, on the misery which, more particularly at the present inclement season, pervades the lower classes of their countrymen, many of whom, are, in various parts of the kingdom pressed down under the burthens of increasing taxation; and to whom such a sum, properly distributed, would afford a most seasonable relief. On such an occasion, we are persuaded the old proverb might be happily illustrated—*CHARITY begins at HOME!*

Mr. PERCEVAL in his letter to the subscribers informed them, that government had contracted for suits of clothing, and cloth for 245,400 men; great coats and cloth for 100,000 men; for a monthly supply of 60,000 pair of shoes, together with large quantities of cloth for shirting, sheeting, &c. and that considerable quantities of these had been already sent. We cannot help suspecting, that the supplies of clothing forwarded by ministers to the Spaniards, like their military supplies, arrived somewhat too late. How can we otherwise account for the wretched state of one of the principal of the Spanish armies, that under General BLAKE, which is described by their commander, as having been, (in November last) for fourteen days together, “continually in the open air, during rainy nights, and the most inclement weather, all without hats, and a great part of them without clothes, or even shoes or stockings, and passing whole days without food, undergoing with alacrity the greatest fatigues.” Where were the British supplies; and we may add, what were the Spaniards, who were sitting at their ease at home, whilst their countrymen were enduring these “hardships,”—what were they about? Why was not the wealth of the nobles, with the enormous, overgrown riches of the church on such an occasion called forth? If a people possessed of such rich resources as the Spaniards, instead of exerting themselves, depend on foreign nations for their principal support, it is impossible the cause in which they are engaged, notwithstanding all the pro-

fessions of their leaders, can be considered of that magnitude, as to comprise, the liberties, the religion, the independence of a great people, who consider themselves as "contending for the preservation of all that is dear to man!"

CONVENTION OF CINTRA.

The principal part of the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, since our last, have related to Sir HARRY BURRARD, who delivered in his narrative, from which it appears that Sir ARTHUR WELLESLEY was desirous to advance on the 18th of August after the battle of the 17th. as well as on the evening of the 21st. after the battle of Vimeira, but that Sir HARRY did not think it in either instance advisable. "I was of opinion (said Sir Harry,) that it was not expedient to adopt that intention, *especially as Sir Arthur Wellesley had communicated to me the difficulties the army laboured under, from the want of cavalry and artillery horses, and the impracticability of moving the army to any considerable distance from the victualling ships.* The decision I came to, namely, that the army should halt, was a serious one, but in my mind amply justified by the considerations opposed to its advance. The enemy greatly outnumbered the British in cavalry, and the nearer they approached the defences surrounding Lisbon, the nearer were they to their resources. In such a state of things had the British army received a check, the disasters might have been incalculable. I therefore thought it most proper to desist from an advance till a junction was formed with the remaining part of the British army: *and I felt great satisfaction that my brother officers, whose talents and experience were unquestionable, concurred with me in the propriety of that opinion.*"

Sir HARRY BURRARD farther observed, that "When he prevented the army from advancing, he did not understand that any part of the enemy's troops could be got off; but from the idea which he had formed of the battle, *he then thought, and still thought, that his determination not to advance was right.*—Those who know him well, will readily give credit to the grief which he felt, when he found himself under the necessity of preventing a victorious army from pursuing a flying enemy. He regretted that no person of his staff was now in this country, to give evidence upon his behaviour on that important occasion. If there were, he trusted the court would not blame him for any culpable neglect. Of the resolution which he had taken, he took the whole responsibility upon himself, and acted from the impression of what he saw, and if he committed any error, it was, at most, an error in judgment."

After Sir HARRY had concluded his observations, Sir ARTHUR WELLESLEY begged leave to declare to the court—"That he gave Sir HARRY credit for having acted from the most pure and honourable motives, but he always thought that his resolution not to pursue the enemy was an error in judgment," which candid and honourable declaration from the officer who had so materially differed from Sir HARRY in opinion, so sensibly affected the latter, that he shed tears.

Sir H. DALRYMPLE then read a paper, in which he expressed his hope, "that any opinions which he had given about the operations of the army in Portugal, would not be considered as the result of presumptuous rashness. *The terms of the Armistice and the convention had all been discussed in the presence of his brother officers, and he believed he was fully justified in stating that the great principle had been sanctioned by their unanimous consent.* He then thought, and did still think, that in concluding the convention he acted in the best manner for the interests of the country. That opinion he could not relinquish till a higher authority should pronounce that he was wrong. Even in that case, without very unexpected lights on the subject, he could not give up his own judgment, although he must submit to whatever mortifications such a declaration must subject him."

The members of the court then conversed for a short time, when Sir DAVID DUNDAS, the president, addressed the auditory, and said, that the evidence was then concluded, and that the further proceedings were not of a public nature.

The Report of the court has been since laid before the King, by the Duke of YORK, and after a consideration of the whole subject, and the decision upon it, his Majesty has ordered the court to be re-assembled: his ministers being of opinion that the Report does not relate to all the points which were submitted to the investigation of the board; and therefore it is ordered to be assembled again, for the purpose of enlarging their inquiry.

Whatever may be the opinion of the court, the public are pretty well enabled to form their judgment from the narratives given by the different commanding officers, and the evidence of the different witnesses, supposing that it is to be depended on, equally as if it had been given on oath. It is evident that with respect to the convention, there was a general agreement between the officers as to the propriety if not the necessity of it; that so far from the French officers, and the army in general, being allowed to plunder the inhabitants, General KELLERMAN, who conducted the business of the armistice, and the convention, on the part of the French, gave his word of honour to the contrary; that all the confident assertions of our ministerial prints, of the disapprobation of Sir A. WELLESLEY of the terms of the armistice; of his being compelled as a junior

officer to affix his signature; of his entering his protest against the measure, are false; and, indeed, scandalous aspersions on the character of Sir HEW DALRYMPLE; that the abuse thrown on the Duke d'ABRANTES, and the French army, as extraordinary plunderers, is groundless. It farther appears, that the grand difference of opinion between the commanding officers, relates to Sir A. WELLESLEY and Sir H. BURRARD; the former being anxious to follow up his victory, by an immediate pursuit of the French; the latter, however, differing in opinion; as he did not conceive the victory on our part, nor the discomfiture of the French to be so complete, as to allow, in the circumstances the army was placed, of such a pursuit. The question however, whether the opinion of Sir ARTHUR, or Sir HARRY was correct, is a matter which remains to be decided; and we are rather inclined to believe, as the Court of Inquiry, has not, on account of the deficiency of its authority to examine witnesses *on oath*, and as Sir HARRY BURRARD declared that many of the officers whose evidence was necessary to his complete justification, were out of the kingdom, that his conduct must become the subject of inquiry before a court martial. As to the armistice, and the convention, after all the discontent and indignation shewn by our countrymen, from the evidence of each of the commanders, it appears to have been absolutely necessary, and that the terms, all circumstances considered, were by no means disgraceful.

There are however, various important points which require investigation, and without which it will be impossible to form a correct judgment on this important subject. It does not yet appear what were the number of the French forces, at the time of concluding the armistice, and the reports on the subject are various. The reason of appointing *three* officers in such quick succession, which produced disagreement, demands a serious inquiry; this, and what is a subject of still greater importance, the defective state of the British army with respect to cavalry and artillery, complained of by ALL the commanders in Portugal, and that at a time when there were more than a sufficiency of each at home, and to which defective state our officers seem universally to ascribe the uncertainty of our army being able to follow up their victories, so as to expel the French from Portugal,—this most important part of the business cannot be completely investigated either by a board of officers appointed by the crown, or a court martial, and therefore imperiously demands a PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY; and this, which is the only mode by which the public can obtain complete satisfaction, as it must necessarily occasion a serious inquiry into the conduct of ministers, the authors of the whole plan of the campaign, will, we venture to predict, be obstinately resisted, and the minister's negative will be approved by his usual triumphant majority.

After a long investigation before a commission of inquiry ; after a long delay on the part of ministers, the conduct of ALEXANDER DAVISON, Esq. has at length been investigated in a court of justice. On the 7th. instant, this important cause between the contractor and the public, was tried in the court of King's Bench before Lord ELLENBOROUGH, and a special jury. Mr. DAVISON was accused of charging a commission of two and a half per cent on goods furnished to the barrack office *out of his own stores*, and producing false vouchers to indicate to the office, that the goods had been purchased of real merchants ; whereas it was proved, these merchants were no other than his own clerks, whom he ordered to make out bills, and sign receipts, that he might afterwards charge the commission for purchasing *his own* goods. The evidence against the delinquent was clear, and the jury after a short consultation, brought him in GUILTY. This cause, it ought to be carefully noted by the public, embraced only one of the charges brought by the commissioners, and that there are others which yet call loudly for farther investigation. The public have frequently been amused with panegyrics on the ardent loyalty, the pure patriotism, the noble hospitality, the princely entertainments, of this Commander of the St. James's, volunteers, this parliamentary trustee for the purchase of an estate for the heir of Lord NELSON, this intimate friend of the Prince of WALES and various branches of the royal family ! We have at length some information as to the means by which he has acquired his enormous wealth, and which has enabled him to move so enchantingly in the splendid circle, and to repose so sweetly on a bed of roses, "*stealing and giving odour.*"* What punishment awaits the culprit remains to be seen. The treatment of many a printer, who for an offence of comparatively trifling import, has been immediately on pronouncing the verdict, hurried to a prison, there to wait previously to receiving sentence, then to be fined, and immured in the walls of a gaol, at a distance from his family, for one, two, three, or four years, must be in the recollection of many. The sentences of some of the petty peculators of the public, who have fraudulently obtained a few old stores, or lots of old iron, and who in the intervals of their imprisonment have been *exalted* to the pillory, are likewise not forgotten. Will the punishment of this greater delinquent (*greater in every sense of the word*) be similar ?

Harlow, December 30.

B. F.

* Shakespear's Twelfth Night.

THE
MONTHLY REGISTER,

For JULY, 1808.

STATE PAPERS.

TREATY OF ALLIANCE AND
SUBSIDY :

Between his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies.—Signed at Palermo, March 30th. 1808.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, being equally animated by a sincere desire of strengthening more and more the ties of friendship and good understanding which so happily subsist between them, have judged that nothing could contribute more efficaciously to that salutary end, than the conclusion of a treaty of alliance and subsidy. For this purpose their said Majesties have named their respective plenipotentiaries, viz. his Britannic Majesty, the right hon. William Drummond, one of his Majesty's most hon. privy council, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of his said Sicilian Majesty ;— and his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, the right illustrious and right excellent Thomas de Somma, Marquis of Circello, his gentleman of the Chamber, field-marshal of his armies, Knight of his royal order of St. Januarius, his councillor of state, secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, and superintendant general of the ports ; who, after having communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles :—

ART. I. There shall be a continuance of the sincere and constant friendship

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between his Britannic Majesty, and his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, their heirs and successors, which has always subsisted up to the present time.

II. The two high contracting parties shall afford to each other, during the present war with France, every succour and assistance, in proportion to their respective forces, and shall prevent by common consent, every thing that can cause them trouble or detriment.

III. His Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, engages to grant to the troops of his Britannic Majesty, stationed in the fortresses of Sicily, and to all British ships of war, an exemption from all duties belonging to him, upon every thing of which the British squadrons in the Mediterranean, and the troops of that nation may stand in need, and which the country can furnish, in provisions, food, and in military and naval stores.

IV. His Sicilian Majesty being desirous of giving an additional proof of the sentiments by which he is animated, also engages to exempt from all duties belonging to him upon such provisions as may be requisite for the British ships of war at Malta, as well as all military stores which are to be found in the country, on condition, however, that each vessel or vessels of war be furnished with a requisition from the governor of the said island, which shall specify the articles, and the quantity required.

V. His Sicilian Majesty further engages in virtue of the present treaty, never to allow the enemies of Great Britain to bring into any of his ports during the present war, any British ships taken by the enemies of Great Britain.

VI. His Sicilian Majesty also engages to open the ports of the Two Sicilies during the present war, to British squadrons, as well as to all merchant and other ships belonging to British subjects, without any restriction whatever, re-

ferring to the third article, with respect to exemption from duties.

VII. His Britannic Majesty engages in return, to defend during the present war the fortresses of Messina and Augusta, and to maintain there for that purpose, at his charge and expence, a body of troops, which in the present war shall consist of ten thousand men, and to augment their number if the case shall require it. The disposition of which troops in the said fortresses, shall be in such manner and proportion as the commanding officer (to whom every requisite facility shall be given), shall judge expedient: and his Britannic Majesty stipulates, that the said general officers shall have the power of exercising martial law in the above-mentioned garrisons, with respect to their British troops, in the same manner, and according to the same rule, as are observed in other English garrisons.—Quarters for the said troops shall be provided in the above-mentioned fortresses by his Sicilian Majesty.

VIII. His Britannic Majesty further engages to pay to his Sicilian Majesty, during the continuance of the present war, an annual subsidy of 300,000*l.* sterling (to commence from the 10th of September 1805, when the British and Russian troops landed in the Neapolitan territory), payable at the rate of 25,000*l.* sterling per month; which payment, shall always be made one month in advance, computing from the date of the signature of the present treaty. His Sicilian Majesty purposing to employ the said subsidies for the use of his marine, and of his land forces, shall regulate the distribution of them in such proportion as these two services may require, for the defence of his states, and for operations against the common enemy, and an account shall be given every three months to the British government, of the manner in which his Sicilian Majesty shall have employed the subsidies paid to him by Great Britain.

IX. The two high contracting parties desiring to strengthen more and more the ties which unite the two nations, and to extend their mutual relations, will employ themselves, as soon as possible in concluding a Treaty of commerce, the articles of which shall be equally advantageous to the subjects of both states.

X. His Sicilian Majesty engages not

to conclude with France a peace separate from England: and his Britannic Majesty on his part also engages not to make a peace with France, without comprehending and saving in it the interests of his Sicilian Majesty.

XI. The present treaty of alliance and subsidy, shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratification shall be exchanged in due form in London, within the space of four months, from the date of its signature, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, We, the undersigned, furnished with full powers from our respective Sovereigns, have signed the present treaty, and have therunto affixed the seal of our arms.

(L. S.) W. DRUMMOND.

(L. S.) THOMAS DE SOMMO.

Done at Palermo, March 30, 1808.

ROME.

May 21.—In the Courant of this city, there is the following important decree:—

“Napoleon, by the grace of God, and by the constitution, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Rhenish confederacy, considering that the present Sovereign of Rome has constantly refused to declare war against the English, and to co-operate with the kingdoms of Italy and Naples for the protection of the Italian peninsula; that the interest of the two kingdoms, and the relative situation of Italy and Naples, require that their communication should be interrupted by no hostile power; that the gift of the lands which compose the ecclesiastical states was made by our illustrious predecessor Charlemagne, for the Benefit of Christendom, but not for the succour of the enemies of our holy religion; therefore have we, upon consideration of the demand for passports, made by the Romish ambassador at our court, on the 8th of March, decreed, and do decree, as follows: [Here follow the different articles of the decree,

uniting the provinces of the papal territory to the kingdom of Italy, and presenting various local regulations as to their government.] In pursuance of a second decree, all cardinals, prelates, and other officers of the Romish court, born in the kingdom of Italy, must retire to the place of their birth before the 5th of June, on pain of forfeiting their goods. At Ancona, on the 11th of May the papal officers were already dismissed.

PORTUGAL.

The favourable reception which his Majesty the Emperor and King has given to the Portuguese deputies at Bayonne has, according to letters from Portugal of the 21st of May, revived the hopes of the Portuguese of a happier futurity. This is known by an extract from a letter made public by the Duke of Abrantes, governor-general of Portugal, and written at Bayonne, on the 27th of April, by the Portuguese deputies to his Majesty the Emperor and King.

The extract was preceded by the following proclamation, by his excellency the governor-general.—

Portuguese.—Without doubt you will merit the benevolence of Napoleon the Great: your conduct will prove that you are worthy of independence. It will be a source of great joy to me, if I can contribute to your felicity. Portuguese—continue to live in quiet, and place your confidence in me. The moment approaches when your new organization will take place.

The extract from the letter was to the following effect:

“Countrymen! The confidence with which you honoured us in sending us to the Great Monarch, to be the interpreters of your wishes and sentiments, was granted, that we might submit our dearest interests in the fate of our country, to the decision of the mighty genius who is to renovate Europe. On our arrival at the frontiers of the French empire, we were witnesses of the consoling rejoicing of the subjects of the

Great Napoleon. This expression of universal joy in France afforded us a presentiment of our felicity.

“His Imperial and Royal Majesty devoted the first day of his residence at Bayonne to the reception of his subjects. He was pleased to grant us the second day. He entered into the minutest details respecting all our desires and concerns. Nothing can equal the extent of his genius, the sublimity of his mind, and the generosity of his principles. At the same time that his Majesty condescended to discourse with us, with paternal affability, on the present state of affairs, he made the most important observations upon every thing that could assure our prosperity, and spoke to us with a noble indifference concerning the rights which events have given him over the country. The Emperor observed that the great distance which separates Portugal from the seat of government in France, does not permit his watching over the concerns of our country with the same care and solicitude as over the interests of his other subjects, and that he knew the difficulty of entrusting a great power, over distant countries, to other hands. His Majesty spoke to us with some displeasure, but without any great warmth, of the Prince who governed us, and of his royal race. He principally treated of the means of raising us to our due station among the powers of the continent of Europe, and of delivering us from the yoke of British influence, under which we had during so many years suffered. His Majesty said, that he would endure no English colony on the continent. Finally, he declared, that our fate was in our own hands; that it depended on the disposition which we should manifest to the world, the uprightness with which we should embrace the general cause of the continent of Europe, and the firmness with which we should resist temptations to mislead us from the objects in view. See, these are the tokens by which his Imperial and Royal Majesty will recognize whether you are worthy to constitute a nation, support a throne, and have a Prince who will govern you, and fill a rank among the powers of Europe.

Lisbon, May 21.—At the head of the great state deputation which had an audience of the Duke of Abrantes,

the Count of Ega was the speaker for the nobility:—"Portugal (he said, amongst other things in his discourse) has not forgotten that she is already indebted to France for Kings. Prince Henry, a Frenchman by birth, was the ancestor of twelve worthy Monarchs. We envy Italy the honour of being governed by Napoleon the Great. We should be proud to be reckoned among his faithful subjects. Whether he be pleased to be our immediate Sovereign, or to include us in his extensive federal system, we beg your excellency to assure his Imperial and Royal Majesty, in the name of the Portuguese nobility, that he may rely on our affections, and on our admiration of the extraordinary man who sets the world in astonishment."

The speaker for the clergy was the Archdeacon Miranda:—"Since Napoleon the Great (he said, among other things) has resolved to give Portugal a King, we are assured that this King will maintain the ancient purity of the faith, and the religious principles by which our nation has always distinguished itself as the *faithful*."

The Portuguese deputation have repaired from Bayonne to Bourdeaux, with the exception of M. de Lima, ambassador of Portugal in France, who has remained at Bayonne in order to give his Majesty that information concerning the establishments of the country, which he may require.

FRANCE.

NAVAL PROJECTS OF FRANCE.

On the 24th. of May, the Prince Arch Chancellor, presiding in the sitting of the Senate, appointed the State Counsellor Regnault de St. Jean d'Angley, Minister of State, to lay before them the grounds of a *Senatus Consultum*, for uniting Tuscany with the French Empire; and

M. Semonville spoke in the name of the commissioners of the Senate, which unanimously voted for this incorporation. The following is a summary of the assigned ground.—

"The whole coast of the Mediterranean sea must form a part of the French territory of the great Empire." The regions, the coast adjoining to the Adriatic, are united with the kingdom of Italy; all those which lie along the Mediterranean, which are adjacent to our territory, must be united with the empire of France, From Leghorn to Toulon, to Genoa, to the Department of Corsica, is not farther than from Leghorn to Milan, The commerce of the Mediterranean, whatever may be the object of the tyrant of the seas, will be necessarily under the influence of France. The very same first principles, in consequence of which Genoa was incorporated with France rather than with the kingdom of Italy, also require that Leghorn be made a part of that empire. The kingdom of Naples, which lies both on the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, constitutes a distinct kingdom, subject, however, to the same federative system, and to the same state policy.

"The port of Leghorn has given constant reasons of complaint to France. That port, appertaining to a territory governed by a weak prince, had fallen under the influence of England, and was become one of the principal inlets for her commerce. In different instances, without wishing to violate the neutrality of the sovereign of Tuscany, it became necessary for divisions of French troops to enter Leghorn, to confiscate the English merchandize there. These violations of territory, however, necessary, are always disagreeable; and since Leghorn cannot be under the influence of France and England at the same time, it must become a part of France. Besides, Leghorn and the Tuscany territory produces sailors for the execution of our ma-

rine; through its whole extent ship-building is carried on; and in the same proportion must the means be increased of suitably providing seamen for manning them. If as of late a squadron was created at Toulon, as if by a miracle, and if, contrary to the ideas of all those who are acquainted with the sea service, we found means to equip a numerous squadron, which Adm. Ganteaume commanded with so much ability, and for which he obtained so much renown, by the skilful manœuvres by which he frustrated the plans of the enemy—which having supplied with men, provisions, and warlike stores, Corfu, the key to the Adriatic, menaced by an expedition already on its way, thus rendered fruitless, and which on its returning voyage, captured many considerable prizes, braved all storms, and exercised the crews during a difficult voyage of three months—if all these advantages had been gained, they must be partly ascribed to the incorporation of Genoa, which numbers many of her sons among the good seamen of that squadron,

“The sons of Arno are invited to glory; his Majesty having decreed that Spezzia shall be a military port; the docks, the works of the arsenal; and the forts, both on the sea and land side, are already marked out, and before the end of the present year, six ships of two or three decks shall be put upon the stocks.

“It would not be proper to establish such considerable works at the extremities of the empire, if a foreign power was placed at the very gates of that arsenal. Spezzia shall become a second Toulon in the Mediterranean; on the whole coast there abound iron, timber, provisions, and useful hands; the provisions, the iron, and the men surrendered up, must become French. France and the Continent, which are desirous of restoring the balance of power on the ocean, have the self-

same interest in the prosperity of the new maritime department of Spezzia. The incorporation of Tuscany is a necessary consequence of that grand plan.

“This union is also the interest of Tuscany, which under the sway of its little princes, was governed without system, without vigour, and was perpetually infested by the Barbary powers. Men can no longer be governed in a capricious and fantastic manner. There must be a certain rule, the government of the law, protected by a prince sufficiently grave, and elevated above the passions of men, and inflexible, as the law is necessary for this purpose. THE TIME INDEED IS PASSED, IN WHICH IT WAS BELIEVED THAT PEOPLE WERE MADE FOR KINGS, NOT KINGS FOR PEOPLE! Lands, and forests may become property, but no person can possess a kingdom as if it were a farm! These disastrous consequences can no longer take place in great states. It is vain then that objections are made to the great extension of the empire; the communication by land, now that neither Alps or Appenines oppose it, is as easy from Leghorn to Paris as from Paris to Nice. It has been the policy of European states to subdue the most distant countries, in order to obtain new commercial and maritime resources; why then should we neglect those resources and acquisitions, which are so valuable to us? The territory to the Medicis, the country of the sciences and the arts, must form an immediate part of the French empire.

“The Dukedom of Urbino, Camerino, and the Mark of Ancona, lying on the coast of the Adriatic, fall under the influence of Venice, and must necessarily be united with the kingdom of Italy. This is also accomplished, and the considerable works in the port of Ancona will afford the opportunity of fitting out there ten sail of the line, to secure

the freedom of the Adriatic sea, of which Ancona shall be the harbour, and Venice the naval arsenal. Before the end of this year five sail of the line shall be lying on the roads of Ancona, in that dangerous sea, which to the English present only hostile shores, and where they will be obliged to maintain six ships of the line, if they attempt to counter-balance our power.—No, the war shall not be eternal, in spite of the blind fury which cherishes that inhuman and senseless principle in the cabinet of London. Every where French squadrons are forming, and our naval power in the Scheldt is already considerable. In a few days there will be in the roads of Flushing and Antwerp a fleet of 30 sail of the line; and on the coast of Brittany will be still stronger. Besides that, we have the allied Russian squadron at Lisbon, where there are already a division of several new ships of the line in the best state, which the rapid advance of the army under General Junot placed in our hands.

“The events in Spain have converted a declining and badly conducted Monarchy into a constitutional and energetic government; the dock-yards at Cadiz, Ferrol, and Cathagena have felt this already. Toulon, Spezzia, Venice, all the resources forth coming from Holland, Spain, and Italy, are in operation: we must have ships, and these last named countries have no deficiency either of iron or of timber and hemp, for building or rigging them.

“A decree has been issued from the Emperor for the incorporation of Tuscany, on the principle of the necessity for completing the system of the great empire, and for rendering the naval administration harmonious throughout all the members of the great confederacy. Without the incorporation of Tuscany, there could be no immediate communication with Naples, and our relations

could not be maintained with her, but through the medium of states subsisting under other governments, from which it might be feared that the guidance and influence might be lost, which must be exercised towards such states, to place the coasts and sailors in a state of opposition to the common enemy.”

DECREE FOR UNITING TUSCANY TO THE FRENCH EMPIRE.

Art. I. The dukedoms of Parma and Placentia are united to the French empire, under the name of the department of the Taro; they shall form an inseparable, indivisible portion of the French territory, from the period of the notification of the present senatus consultum.

II. The states of Tuscany are united to the French Empire, under the name of the department of the Arno, the department of the Mediterranean, and the department of the Ombrona. They shall form an indivisible portion of the French empire, from the period of the notification of the present decree.

III. The laws which govern the French empire shall, in the departments of the Arno, the Mediterranean, and the Ombrona, be made public before the 1st. of January, 1809, the period from which the constitutional government for those departments shall take its commencement.

IV. The department of the Taro, and that of the Arno, shall each have six deputies in the legislative body; the department of the Mediterranean three; and the department of the Ombrona three; which will raise the number of the members of that body to 342.

V. The deputies of the department of the Taro shall be chosen and named without delay, and shall enter the legislative body before the session of 1809.

VI. The deputies of the department of the Arno, of the Mediterranean, and of the Ombrona, shall enter the legislative body before the session of 1809, &c.

S P A I N.

Madrid, May 20.—The King, the Prince of Asturias, their Royal Highnesses the Infanta Don Carlos, and Don Antonio, have abdicated

the crown and their right thereto, as appears by the following documents, viz.

"I have thought proper to give my beloved subjects this last proof of my paternal love. Their happiness, tranquillity, prosperity, and preservation, and integrity of the dominions that Divine Providence had placed under my sway, have been the sole objects of my constant care during my reign. Every step and measure that have been adopted since my exaltation to the throne of my august ancestors have been directed to those just purposes, and could not be directed to any other. This day, in the extraordinary circumstances in which I am placed, my conscience, my honour, and the good name I ought to leave to posterity, imperiously require of me, that the last act of my sovereignty should be solely pointed to that end, viz. to the tranquillity, prosperity, security, and integrity of the monarchy, whose throne I quit, to the greatest happiness of my subjects of both hemispheres. Therefore, by a treaty, signed and ratified, I have ceded to my ally and dear friend, the Emperor of the French, all my rights to Spain and the Indies, having stipulated that the crown of Spain and the Indies is always to remain independent and entire, 'as it was under my rule; and likewise that our holy religion is not only to be the predominant one in Spain, but the only one to be observed in all the dominions of the monarchy. Of all which you will take due notice, and communicate it to all the councils and tribunals of the kingdom, chiefs of provinces, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, and to all the justices of districts, in order that this last act of my sovereignty may be notorious to all and every one in my dominions of Spain and Indies; and you are all to concur and assist in carrying into effect the dispositions of my dear friend the

Emperor Napoleon, as they are directed to preserve the peace, friendship, and union between France and Spain, avoiding disorder and popular commotions, the effects of which can only be havock and destruction of families, and the ruin of all.— Given in Bayonne, in the imperial palace of the Government, the 8th of May, 1808.

I, THE KING."

To the Governor ad Interim of my Council of Castile.

"Don Fernando, Prince of Asturias, and the Infantas, Don Carlos and Antonio, grateful for the love and constant fidelity, that all Spaniards have manifested towards them, with the most poignant grief, see them in the present day plunged in the greatest confusion, and threatened with the most direful calamities resulting therefrom, and knowing that it arises in the major part of them, from the ignorance they are in of the causes of the conduct their royal highnesses have hitherto observed, and of the plans now chalked out for the greatest happiness of their country, they can do no less than endeavour to undeceive them, in order that its execution may suffer no impediment; and at the same time to testify to them the sincere affection they profess for them. They cannot consequently avoid manifesting to them, that the circumstances in which the Prince, by the abdication of the King his father, took the reins of government, many provinces of the kingdom, and all the frontier garrisons being occupied by a great number of French troops, and more than 60,000 men of the same nation, situated in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, and many other data that no other person could possess; all conspired to persuade them, that being surrounded by rocks and quicksands, they had no other remedy, but to chuse among many evils, the one that would be

the least productive of calamity:—as such they fixed upon a journey to Bayonne.

“ On their Royal highnesses arrival at Bayonne, the Prince, then King, unexpectedly found, that the King his father had protested against his abdication, pretending it had not been voluntary; not having accepted the crown, but in the good faith that the abdication was voluntary, he had scarcely ascertained the existence of the protest, when through filial respect he restored the crown, and shortly after the King his father renounced it in his name, and in that of all the dynasty, in favour of the Emperor of the French, in order, that looking to the welfare of the nation, he should elect the person and dynasty who are to occupy it hereafter.

“ In this state of things, their Royal highnesses considering the situation they are in, the critical circumstances of Spain, in which all the efforts of its inhabitants in favour of their rights, will not only be useless, but mournful, as they would only cause rivers of blood to flow, and cause the loss at least of a great part of the provinces, and of all their ultra marine possessions; and reflecting on the other hand that it would be a most efficacious remedy against so many evils for each of their Royal highnesses to adhere by himself separately, to the cession of their rights to the throne, already made by the King their father; reflecting also, that the said Emperor of the French, binds himself in this case, to preserve the absolute independence and integrity of the Spanish monarchy, and of all ultra marine possessions, without reserving to himself, nor dismembering the least part of its dominions, to maintain the unity of the catholic religion, property, laws, and usages, which he secures for the future, and on a sound basis; also the power and prosperity of the

Spanish nation:—Their Royal highnesses believe they give the greatest proof of their generosity, love, and gratitude for the affection they have experienced, in sacrificing as much as in their power, their personal interest for the benefit of the country, adhering, as they have done, by a particular agreement, to the cession of their rights to the throne, absolving all Spaniards from their duty in this respect, and exhorting them to look to the interest of their country, remaining tranquil, and expecting their happiness from the sage disposition and power of the Emperor Napoleon, and by showing their readiness to conform thereto, they will give their prince and the two Infantas, the greatest testimony of their loyalty, as their Royal highnesses give them of their fatherly love and affection, by giving up all their rights, and forgetting their own interests to make them happy; which is the sole object of their wishes.

1, THE PRINCE,
CARLOS,
ANTONIO.

Bordeaux, 12th May, 1808.

Murat has appointed Don Antonio Norugal, and Don Vicente Alecta Galiano, and Don Moguel Camano, Treasurers General at Madrid.

The knights of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, with the Lieutenant of the grand master at their head, were presented to Murat, and were most graciously received.

Bayonne, June 4.—The day before yesterday his Majesty received at his levee the deputation of the grandees of Spain, and had a very long conference with them. Among the members who constitute this deputation are mentioned Prince Castel Franco, the Duke del Parque, the Duke of Ossuna, the Marquis of Santa Croix, and the Count of Santa Colona. Yesterday his excellency M. D'Auzanza, minister of f-

nance, presented to his Majesty the deputation of the council of the Indies and of the council of finance. His Majesty conversed two hours with the members of this deputation, concerning the changes and improvements which the welfare of Spain requires, in the opinion of all intelligent persons. The deputies of the extraordinary junta are daily arriving.

Madrid, May 30.—Yesterday, the council of Castile held an extraordinary assembly, in pursuance of the following command communicated by their excellencies, Don Sebastian Pinuela, and Don Arias Mor, the seniors of the council:—

“SIR,—His royal highness the Grand Duke of Berg, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, commands, that at eight o'clock of the morning of to-morrow, the 30th. of May, the council do assemble, in order to proceed to the execution of a decree and a proclamation of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and protector of the Confederacy of the Rhine. Pursuant to this decree, and to an express command from his serene highness the lieutenant-general, I give your excellency notice, that the court will assemble to-morrow morning early.

THE DECREE.

“*Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederacy of the Rhine, &c.*

“The King and the Princes of the House of Spain having ceded their rights to the crown, as is known by their treaties of the 5th. and 10th. of May, and by their proclamations published by the Junta and the council of Castile, we have decreed, and do decree, ordered, and do order, as follows:—

Art. I. The assembly of the notables, which has already been convened by the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, shall be held on the 15th. of June at Bayonne. The deputies shall be charged with the sentiments, desires, and complaints of those they represent; and also with

full power to fix the basis of the new government for the kingdom.

II. Our cousin the Grand Duke of Berg, shall continue to fulfil the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

III. The ministers, the council of state, the council of Castile, and all civil, ecclesiastical, and military authorities are, as far as is requisite, confirmed. Justice shall be administered under the same forms, and in the same manner as usual.

“The council of Castile is charged with the publication of this decree, and with the affixing it on all places where it may be necessary, that no one may pretend ignorance of the same.

“Given in our imperial and royal palace at Bayonne, the 25th. of May, 1808.

(Signed) “NAPOLEON.”

PROCLAMATION.

To the Spaniards.

“SPANIARDS! After a long, lingering disease, your nation sunk into decay. I have seen your sufferings; I will relieve them. Your greatness makes a part of mine. Your Princes have ceded to me all their rights to the Spanish crown. I will not reign over your provinces, but I will acquire an eternal right to the love and gratitude of your posterity. Your monarchy is old; it must be renovated, that you may enjoy the blessings of a renovation which shall not be purchased by civil war or desolation.

“Spaniards! I have convened a general assembly of the deputies of your provinces and towns, that I may know your desires and wants. I shall lay down my rights, and place your illustrious crown upon the head of one who resembles me; securing you a constitution which will unite the salutary power of the Sovereign with the liberties and rights of the Spanish nation.—It is my will that my memory shall be blessed by your latest posterity, and that they shall say—he was the restorer of our country.

Bayonne, May 25. “NAPOLEON.”

Paris, June 17.—The Bayonne Gazette of the 13th. of June, contains the following particulars:

His Majesty King Joseph Napoleon arrived on the 7th. instant, at eight o'clock, at Pau. As soon as

the Emperor was informed of it, he repaired from the castle of Marrac, to meet his serene brother. His Majesty met the King two miles from Bayonne, and brought him in his carriage to Marrac, where he passed the evening. Her Majesty the Empress, attended by her ladies in waiting, met the King on the steps of the palace. Immediately afterwards, the deputation of the *grandees* of Spain, with the Duke del Infantado at their head, had the honour of being presented to King Joseph Napoleon, by his excellency M. Azanza, minister of finance for the kingdom of Spain. The president of the deputation made the following speech to the King:—

"SIRE,—We feel the most lively joy in presenting ourselves before your Majesty. The presence of your Majesty is necessary to the re-establishment of our country. The *grandees* of Spain have at all times distinguished themselves by their fidelity towards their sovereigns. Your Majesty shall meet with the same integrity and the same fidelity towards your person. May your Majesty be pleased to accept our homage with the same benignity of which you have given so many testimonies to your subjects of the kingdom of Naples."

To this his Majesty answered:—

"That he should devote himself altogether to the government of Spain; that all his endeavours should be employed to bring order into the finances, and re-organize the naval and military force; that Spain might rely upon the preservation of her rights; that he would rule only by virtue of the laws; and finally, that the *grandees* of Spain might be assured of his especial protection."

Messieurs Urquijo and Cevallos were then admitted to an audience with his Majesty, who conferred with them a considerable time concerning the affairs of the kingdom.

The deputation of the council of Castile was afterwards introduced, and made the following speech:

"SIRE!—The council of Castile, the first of the supreme courts of justice of

the Spanish nation, having at their head Don Manuel de Lardizabal, Don Joseph Colon, the eldest of the deputation, has the honour to offer its homage to your Majesty, and to testify its special joy at the happy and wished for accession to the throne of Spain of the serene brother of the great Napoleon, whose fame has eclipsed the glory of antiquity. Your Majesty has merited his choice, and your serene person unites the sublime qualities which support and strengthen thrones.

"Your Majesty constitutes a part of the family destined by Providence to govern. The fame of your deeds has stretched itself over the Pyrennees, and spread over all Spain.

"Noble Spaniards! indulge in hope. The catholic worship shall not suffer the least wrong, It shall retain all its purity, and be the sole religion in the country. The laws, the lawful customs, the courts of justice, the clergy, the national colleges shall be maintained and ameliorated for the benefit of the church and state. The various orders of the kingdom, the necessary supports of every true monarchy, shall continue in the enjoyment of their prerogatives. The poor shall be relieved. The integrity of Spain and the property of every one shall be inviolably respected.

"These are the services which we expect from the known beneficence of your Majesty. Such are the wishes which the council of Castile, under the present circumstances, forms. Heaven grant that these wishes may be fulfilled, and that your Majesty may be the happiest Monarch in the whole world!"

His Majesty discoursed a considerable time with this deputation, concerning the various establishments of the kingdom. He remarked a great resemblance between the laws of Spain, and those of the kingdom of Naples.

The deputations of the council of the inquisition, of the Indies, and finances, were presented to the King of Spain.

His Majesty said to the deputies of the inquisition, that "he considered the worship of God as the basis of all morality, and of general prosperity; *that other countries allowed of different forms of religion,*

but that he considered it as the felicity of Spain that she had but one, and that the true one."

His Majesty answered the council of the Indies, that "he should not consider America as a colony, but as an integral part of Spain, and that its welfare would be as dear to him as that of the European states."

His Majesty answered the council of finances, that "he well knew he had much to effect in this branch; that the pay of the soldiers and sailors were several months in arrears, but that he hoped, with the help of his faithful Spaniards, that he should be able to provide a remedy for the evil."

The deputation of the military force of Spain, with the Duke del Parque at its head, then addressed the King, who answered that he had confidence in the fidelity and attachment of the Spanish soldiery.—"I consider it (he added) an honour to be the first soldier of the army, and were it necessary, as in ancient times, in your conflicts with the Moors, you should see me at your head, in every danger, advance to repel the unjust attacks of the eternal enemies of the continent. You may assure all who have served the state under my predecessor, that they shall enjoy their pay, pensions, titles, and emoluments; and that I pledge my honour to reward ancient services, as if they had been performed under my own government."

After this audience his Majesty, at ten in the evening, repaired to his apartments, and supped with their Majesties the Emperor and Empress.

ADDRESS FROM THE CITY OF MADRID.
To his Imperial and Royal Highness, the
Serene Grand Admiral of the French
Empire, Grand Duke of Berg and
Cleves, Lieutenant-General of the
kingdom of Spain.

MONSIEUR!

"The city of Madrid has been informed, that its illustrious sovereigns have resigned the crown of Spain into

the hands of the great Emperor, and that the supreme junta of the government, as well as the council of Castile, have notified to his Imperial and Royal Majesty, their wishes for the well-being of this monarchy; since they think it is certain, that his Imperial and Royal Majesty intends to place the said crown upon the head of his illustrious brother, Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples.

"This city, Monseigneur, distinguished for its love of, and obedience to, its Sovereign, and desirous of the happiness of the people whom it contains, cannot omit joining its homage to that of the supreme junta of government, and of the council, and to request your highness will have the goodness to notify the same to his Imperial and Royal Majesty, if your highness thinks proper.

"The city avails itself of this opportunity to assure your highness of its respect and submission."

Madrid, May 15, 1808.

[Here follow the Signatures.]

Napoleon, by the grace of God, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, protector of the confederacy of the Rhine, to all men to whom these presents shall come, sends greeting:—

The junta of the state, the council of Castile, the city of Madrid, &c. &c. having notified to us by their addresses, that the well being of Spain requires, a speedy stop to be put to the provisional government; we have resolved to proclaim, and we do by these presents proclaim our well-beloved brother Joseph Napoleon, the present King of Naples and Sicily, to be King of Spain and India.

We guarantee to the King of Spain the independence and integrity of his states in Europe as well as in Africa, Asia, and America; charging the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the ministers, and the council of Castile to cause this proclamation to be expedited, and publicly announced, according to the usual custom, that none may plead ignorance hereof.

Given at our Imperial Palace at Bayonne, June 6, 1808.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

H. B. MARET,
Minister of State.

ADDRESS OF THE DEPUTATION OF THE
GRAND GENERAL JUNTA.

Dear Spaniards, Beloved Countrymen!
Your inhabitants, your cities, your power, and your property, are as dear

to us as ourselves; and we wish to keep all of you in our eye, that we may be able to establish your security.—We, as well as yourselves, are bound in allegiance to the old dynasty—to her to whom an end has been put by that Godlike Providence which rules all thrones and sceptres. We have seen the greatest states fall under the guidance of this rule, and our land alone has hitherto escaped the same fate.—An unavoidable necessity has now overtaken our country, and brought us under the protection of the invincible Emperor of France.

We know that you will regard our present situation with the utmost consideration, and we have accordingly, in this conviction, been uniformly conciliating the friendship to which we are tied by so many obligations. With what admiration must we see the benevolence and humanity of his Imperial and Royal Majesty outstep our wishes—Qualities which are even more to be admired than his great power! He has desired nothing else than that we should be indebted to him for our welfare.—Whenever he gives us a sovereign to reign over us in the person of his magnanimous brother Joseph, he will consummate our prosperity. As he has been pleased to change our old system of laws, it becomes us to obey, and to live in tranquillity. As he has also promised to re-organize our financial system, we may hope that then our naval and military power will become terrible to our enemies; national credit will be maintained; the chains which fetter our commerce will be broken; our agricultural resources will receive similar improvement. Lastly, knowing your attachment to your religion, and the uprightness of your character, no change will be made in your worship. He assures you, that you, as your forefathers have done, shall enjoy the holy catholic religion, as the same is permitted in all the kingdoms under his dominion.

And what is the return which the great Emperor of the French requires from you, and from the whole nation, for such important blessings?—that you remain peaceable; that you watch over the interests of your households and your families; that you do not blindly give up yourselves to that madness which is inseparable from rebellion and insurrection—that you receive the im-

provement of your lot with becoming confidence, whereby you will experience the government of a worthy monarch, who will watch over you like a father, and whose happiness is inseparable from yours, and of which his subjects will reap the benefit.

Spaniards! think upon yourselves, your families, and your children!—What can you expect from rebellion and anarchy? Think on the benefits you enjoy, and are likely to enjoy—a continuance of the blessings enjoyed by your forefathers, with the redress of every thing of which they had cause to complain!

Honest agriculturists, who know the sweets of domestic comforts—Industrious mechanics, who fill the cities, you know what is dear to your hearts—Merchants and manufacturers who owe your existence to your industry and diligence—Citizens of all classes who owe so much to the protection of the laws—Let all keep in view in what misery you will be involved if you suffer yourselves to be misled by those who wish to profit by your animosities!—One false step, will deprive you of all! What can you hope to receive in return for so great a hazard? Can any thing induce you to resist the powers which reign over you, or to abjure the wholesome safeguard of the laws?

Anarchy is the greatest curse that God can bring upon a people—while it prevails, it breaks down, burns, annihilates, and loosens every thing—the best people, in such circumstances, are generally the greatest sufferers. This state of things is as ungovernable as the waves of the sea.

Let us recollect the ties that bind us together as one people; that we have always fought under the same standard! Ah, how dreadful is civil war! For this century past Spain has enjoyed tranquillity—Why change the scene, and turn away from our fraternal advice? No man doubts Spanish bravery. You can do wonders. But without system, and without leaders, your efforts would be in vain. The most numerous bands of undisciplined men dwindle before a regular army, like chaff before the wind.

We have been placed in a most critical situation, but we now present you with a new and well-organized government, which secures the liberty, the rights, and the property of every indi-

vidual. This was to be expected of the invincible Napoleon, who has been occupied in matters that relate to our happiness, and who has shewn himself anxious to deserve well of our country by becoming her restorer. Let us throw no obstacle in the way of the great benefits which will result from our new union. Thus you will fulfil the most ardent wishes of his Imperial Highness the Lieutenant General of the kingdom, (Murat) of the Junta, and of the Council of Castile—the highest powers in the nation. Thus also will you deserve the countenance and protection of him in whose mighty and benevolent hand is our lot.

May Heaven, which has hitherto guarded our country, incline you to repose your confidence in these our councils. (Signed) &c.

Bayonne, June 6.

PROCLAMATION OF THE SUPREME JUNTA OF GOVERNMENT.

Spaniards!—The supreme Junta of Government, which at present consists of the highest authority in the nation, addresses you, to dispel the errors which malevolence and ignorance are endeavouring to insinuate, and to propagate among you—fatal errors, which might draw after incalculable misery, did not the supreme junta hasten to annihilate them at the moment of their birth. The junta dares flatter itself, that those who at all times, and on all occasions, have hearkened with reverence to the voice of their superiors, will evince no less submission at a moment when it depends on them, either for ever to insure their happiness, by uniting with the chief powers of the state; or to plot the downfall of their own country, by yielding to clamours and commotions, into which the eternal enemies of the fame and prosperity of the Spanish nation are endeavouring to plunge them. At the very moment when Spain, a country so greatly favoured by nature, but impoverished, exhausted, and debased, before the eyes of all Europe, by the defects and misrule of its own government, had arrived at the point of a complete annihilation—when the very exertions which might have been employed to revive her exhausted strength would only have served to increase her suffering, and to plunge her into fresh calamities—when, in fine, all hope was extinguished, Providence has granted us the means not

only of rescuing her country from certain ruin, but also of raising her to an height of happiness and splendour, which she has never yet attained even in the most glorious periods of her history. By one of those political revolutions, which astonish only those who disregard the events by which they have been prepared, the house of Bourbon, after having lost the other thrones which it possessed in Europe, resigned that of Spain, the only one on which it retained a seat. After having brought the nation to the brink of ruin, deprived of the support hitherto granted by the remaining branches of their family, and unable to preserve the countries which had formerly united them with France; the Bourbons found it impossible to keep a seat which all the changes that have occurred in the system of politics, compelled them to quit. The most powerful prince in Europe has accepted the resignation of the Bourbons, not to incorporate your territory in his already so extensive imperial dominions, but to establish the Spanish monarchy on renovated principles, to be subservient to his irresistible power, to the end that he may introduce all the salutary reforms which we have so long fruitlessly hoped for. It is with this purpose that he has summoned around his serene person the deputies of the towns and provinces, and municipal corporations of the state, in order to consult on the fundamental laws which may serve to secure the supreme power and the allegiance of the subjects. He will place the crown of Spain upon the head of the noble-minded prince, who, by the gentleness of his disposition, will succeed in winning all hearts. He will display resources which no other will have in his power, and will soon replace Spain in that station from which she has only sunk from the weakness of the princes who have hitherto governed her. Is it not possible, that now the dawn of felicity is arising, there should be found persons, who, unable to appreciate the lofty destiny which awaits us, and unworthy of the honoured name of true Spaniards and upright friends of their country, should labour to mislead you, and abandon you to all the horrors of a civil war, at the very moment when the hero, who must be the object of our daily blessing and the admiration of following ages, is altogether busied in carrying into ef-

fect the projects he has formed for the felicity of Spain? It certainly did not become the junta to apprehend so great a crime from Spaniards, so estimable for the love of their country: and yet they are grieved to be informed, that some have been carried away by an ill-understood zeal, and a mistaken conscience and allegiance: that others have been brought to doubt concerning the real interests of their country: and more than all these, that the secret machinations of a people, by system the enemies of the continent, have been employed to seduce a part of the good people of some of the provinces, and sow the seeds of sedition and rebellion. Brave Spaniards! will you suffer yourselves to be deceived by their fraudulent promises? Will you be the victims of their destructive errors? Shall the generosity of your feelings be abused, to drive you, your fortunes, and your families to perdition? What end do the inciters to disorder and desolation promise to themselves? Is it the restoration of your ancient princes?—They are beyond the frontiers of Spain. What have they to expect from your powerless efforts? Will you defend the laws on which your happiness depends? Why then do you labour to annihilate the laws? On the other hand, are not measures now taking to restore to the nation the possession of its ancient liberties, and its primitive customs—a felicity which but a few days since no one could have hope for? What is it then you expect, ye misled inhabitants of the provinces? Will you draw upon yourselves all the horrors of war, to see your fields ravaged, your cities burnt, your dwellings laid desolate? Do you think that the disorderly rebellion of a people, brave, but inexperienced, without generals, without finances, without magazines, without provisions, without military supplies, can maintain a conflict against soldiers inured to war, and grown old in the habit of conquering? The junta still flatter themselves that you will weigh the fatal consequences which will infallibly result from your first proceedings, should unhappily a foolish obstinacy prevent your speedily returning to the paths of obedience and patriotism, which a moment of doubt has made you abandon. In order to convince you, that it is their sole desire to enlighten your judgment, and enable you

to perceive that the prince, their president, and the Emperor of the French, in whose hands our fate is placed, have no other object than your felicity; the junta will bring to your knowledge the objects of the new sovereign who comes to reign over us. Hear and judge!—The *Cortes*, the ancient securities of our rights and privileges, shall be restored with more powers and under a better form than has for a long time taken place. They shall be convened every three years at least, and more frequently when the wants of the nation shall require their meeting. The annual expenditure of the royal family shall be fixed. The sum assigned out of the royal treasury shall be liable to no increase; it shall be less than one half of what has hitherto been issued for that purpose. The catholic worship shall be exclusively established in Spain. No other shall be tolerated. Finally, the junta of the government has strong reasons to hope, that the personal contribution in support of the present war will be considerably diminished, in consequence of the improvements which the new government is about to introduce, and of the present political state of Europe, which requires the most strenuous exertions in support of the marine, and admits of a diminution of the land force. A gradual improvement shall take place in every department of the finances; credit shall be universally restored, the national debt fixed, and in a few years discharged. The administration of justice shall be subject to invariable rules, and the superior power shall not interrupt its course. Agriculture shall be encouraged. New life shall be given to commerce and industry. The military and naval force have their ancient splendour. All means which can secure the felicity of the people shall be alike employed.—Judge now whether it be your interest to take up arms, to annihilate that, which is to establish your felicity and that of your children and descendants; and whether they are true Spaniards, and can be friends of their country, who endeavour to spread among you the fire of sedition. Such, Spaniards, is the destiny which awaits you, if you will maintain peace and order among yourselves; if you cordially unite yourselves with your government and your local magistracies. It all of you be animated by the desire to act well, you are about

to become happy; but if you neglect the salutary council which the junta of the government gives you, then fear the just resentment of a Monarch, who is as severe in avenging a useless and blind obstinacy, as he is generous and quick to forgive a sudden burst of error. Are you ignorant that already numerous French armies are within the Spanish territory? Do you know that other armics, as numerous, approach your frontiers? The provinces which do not instantly return to their duty, shall be immediately beset by French troops, and treated with all the severity of military law. The Lieutenant-General of the kingdom has already issued commands that several divisions shall advance and punish the seditious; but the junta of government have been desirous to withdraw those provinces, in which disorders have been committed, from inevitable danger. For them they have implored; they have offered in their name they will recognize their errors and return to order. His Imperial and Royal highness has graciously listened to both; he has suspended the punishment of the guilty. But vengeance will be dreadful, if the treacherous instigators of the malevolent have more power over the minds of Spaniards than the paternal voice of their magistrates, their ministers, and all the civil and military authorities.

"Madrid, June 3, 1808."

[Here follow the Signatures.]

Bayonne, June 13.—On the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th inst, his catholic Majesty received at his Levee the numerous Spaniards who are in this city. He daily holds long conversations with them; and they are every day seen returning from these audiences with hearts full of expectation from that futurity which awaits them from a Prince of such a gentle, friendly, and just character.

The following remarkable intelligence has been received from Madrid, dated June 6:—The English, always ready to make stipulations for the blood of the people of the continent, have not, in the present circumstances, forgotten to make an experiment for buying over the Marquis de Sozorro, captain-general of Cadiz.

Here follows the reply which he sent to the English commandant.

MY LORD,

"My country has a government; I have no authority but that with which it has entrusted me, and to it your lordship may make your proposition. It does not belong to me to listen to such things, and I have never given your lordship any occasion for making such proposals; I hope, therefore, that you will not renew them. I am much obliged to your lordship for your congratulation, on account of my return to this city, and have the honour to be, &c.

"MARQUIS DE SOZORRO,"

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPANISH INSURGENTS.

From the Seville Gazette, June 1, and 4.

The constituted authorities of Seville assembled in the lower house on the 27th of May, and constituted themselves into a *Supreme junta of government*. The following were the measures which they adopted:—

They proclaimed Ferdinand VII. King of Spain and the Indies, with the accustomed formalities. They took possession of the artillery, muskets, and powder in the royal *mastranza* of artillery, and distributed them for purposes of defence. They ordered all persons, from 16 to 45, who had not children to enrol themselves, and after completing the regiments deficient in their proper numbers, they distributed the remainder in new corps. They sent couriers to all the principal towns in the South of Spain, to invite them to follow the example of Seville. They ordered subordinate *juntas* to be established in all towns having 2000 householders, to correspond with and act under the supreme junta. All these measures were carried into effect with the greatest promptness and alacrity.

Murcia, May 24.—Ferdinand VII. was this day proclaimed King, in presence of the bishop and nobility, with Florida Blanca at the head of the latter. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed among the people.

Carthagea, May 21.—Ferdinand VII. was this day proclaimed, in consequence of the popular cry in his favour. General Salcedo, who had received orders to carry the fleet to Toulon, has been deprived of the command. A junta of war appointed, at the head of which is Lieut. General Cisneros, and under him Ciscar and other officers.—A felucca was sent to Port Mahon with this intelligence. The French consul had fled on board a Danish corvette, and all the stamped paper sent from Madrid in the name of Murat, as Lieut. General of the kingdom, has been burned; officers have been sent to rouse the people of Granada, Murcia, and Valencia.

Granada, May 29.—All the towns on the coast of Granada have declared for Ferdinand VII. and the recruiting for his service goes on briskly. Escalante, Captain General of Granada, who had endeavoured to stifle the popular voice in favour of Ferdinand VII. has been deprived of his command, which has been given to D. Joaquim Romano, Colonel of a regiment of Spanish cavalry. The proclamation of Ferdinand VII. was effected by the influence of Don Joseph Santiago, Lieutenant of Artillery, after the Captain-General had used his efforts to prevent it.

Seville, June 4.—Ferdinand VII. has been proclaimed at Sebriga, Xenex, P. de Ste. Maria, Pto, Veal and Leon. The people of Cadiz have placed D. Tomas de Moula at their head. The total force at Cadiz amounts to 13,925 infantry, and 17 squadrons of cavalry. Communication was opened with the English squadron this morning, by

Don Henry M'Donnell, Chef d'Escadre, and Don Pedro Creux Order, of the royal audience of Seville. Ferdinand VII. proclaimed at Cadiz, on the 31st. The stores and ammunition on board the French fleet have been secured; among other things 8000 muskets have been obtained and sent to San Lucar, to be transmitted to Seville.

Gen. Castanos has declared in favour of Ferdinand VII. The troops under his command amount to 8,941 men, of whom 3,234 men will this day arrive at Ronda, on their march to Seville.

PRECAUTIONS,

Which it will be proper to observe throughout the different provinces of Spain, in the necessity to which they have been driven by the French, of resisting the unjust and violent possession which their armies are endeavouring to take of the kingdom.

We cannot doubt a moment of the exertions which the united provinces of Spain would make to obstruct and defeat the malicious designs of the French, and that they will sacrifice even their lives on this occasion, the most important, and even unparalleled in the history of the nation, both in the thing itself, and in the horrible means of ingratitude and perfidy by which the French have undertaken, pursued, and are still endeavouring to effect our slavery:—

1. Let the first object be to avoid all general actions, and to convince ourselves of the very great hazards, without any advantage, or even the hope of it, to which they would expose us. The reasons of this resolution are many, and such as any one will discover who has the use of his understanding.

2. A war of partizans is the system which suits us; the embarrassing and wasting the enemy's armies by want of provisions, destroying bridges, throwing up entrenchments in proper situations, and other similar means.

The situation of Spain, its many mountains, and the passes which they present, its rivers and torrents, and even the collocation of its provinces, invite us to carry on this species of warfare successfully.

3. It is indispensable that each province should have its general, of known talents, and of such experience as our situation permits, that his heroic loyalty should inspire the utmost confidence, and that every general should have under his command officers of merit, particularly of artillery and engineers.

4. As a combined union of plans is the soul of every well-concerted enterprize, and that which alone can promise and facilitate a successful issue, it appears indispensable that there should be three generalissimos, who should act in concert with each other—one who should command in the four kingdoms of Andalusia, in Mercia, and Lower Estramadura—another in Valencia, Arragon, and Catalonia; a person of the greatest credit being appointed to Navarre, the Biscayan provinces, Montanus, Asturias, Rioja, and the North of Old Castile, for the purpose which will be mentioned hereafter.

5. Each of these generals and generalissimos will form an army of veterans, troops and peasantry united, and put himself in a situation to undertake enterprizes, and to succour the most exposed points, keeping up always a frequent communication with the other generalissimos, in order that all may act by common accord, and assist one another.

6. Madrid and La Mancha require an especial general, to concert and execute the enterprizes which their particular local situation demands—his only object must be to embarrass the enemy's armies, to take away or cut off their provisions, to attack them in flank and rear, and not to leave them a moment of repose. The coun-

rage of these inhabitants is well-known, and they will eagerly embrace such enterprizes if they are led as they should be. In the succession war the enemy entered twice into the interior of the kingdom, and even as far as its capital, and this was the cause of their defeat, their entire ruin, and their utter failure of success.

7. The generalissimos of the North and East will block up the entrances to the provinces under their command, and come to the assistance of any one that may be attacked by the enemy, to prevent as much as possible all pillage, and preserve its inhabitants from the desolation of war; the many mountains and defiles which are on the confines of these provinces being favourable to such projects.

8. The destination of the General of Navarre, Biscay, and the rest of this department, is the most important of all, in which he will be assisted by the generals of the North and East, with the troops and other succours which he stands in need of. His whole business must be to shut the entrance of Spain against fresh French troops, and to harass and destroy those that return from Spain to France by this point. The very rugged local situation of these provinces will be of singular advantage in such a design, and these enterprizes, if well concerted, and carried into execution, will no doubt be successful; and the same may be understood of the different points by which the French troops which are in Portugal may come into Spain, or by which French troops may enter through Rousillon into Catalonia, for there is not much to be apprehended for Arragon. And, even from Portugal, it is not thought that they will escape, on account of the proclamations which have been circulated in that kingdom, and the hatred that they before bore to the French being increased with-

out measure by the innumerable evils which they have been made to suffer, and the cruel oppression in which they are held by them.

9. At the same time it would be very proper that the generalissimos should publish and circulate frequent proclamations amongst the people and rouse their courage and loyalty, shewing them that they have every thing to fear from the horrible perfidy with which the French have dealt with Spain, and even with their King Ferdinand VII; and that if they rule over us all is lost, Kings, Monarchy, property, liberty, independence, and religion; and that therefore it is necessary to sacrifice our lives and property in defence of the King and of the country, and though our lot (which we hope will never come to pass) should destine us to become slaves, let us become so fighting and dying like gallant men, not giving up ourselves basely to the yoke like sheep, as the late infamous government would have done, and fixing upon Spain and her, slavery eternal ignomy and disgrace. France has never domineered over us, nor set her foot in our territory. We have many times mastered her, not by deceit, but by force of arms; we have made her Kings prisoners, and we have made the nation tremble—we are the same Spaniards, and France, and Europe, and the world shall see, that we are not less gallant, nor less brave than the most glorious of our ancestors.

10. All persons of education in the provinces should be stimulated to frame, print, and publish frequent short discourses, in order to preserve the public opinion, and the ardour of the nation, confuting at the same time the infamous diaries of Madrid, which the baseness of the late government has permitted and still permits, to be published in Madrid itself, and has caused to be circulated abroad, detecting their falsehoods and continual contradic-

tions; let them cover with shame the miserable authors of those diaries, and sometimes extend their remarks to those Charlatans, the French gazetteers, and even to their Moniteur; and let them display and publish to Spain, and to all Europe, their horrible falsehoods and venal praises, for they afford abundant matter for such a work. Let all such perverted minds tremble at Spain, and let France know that the Spaniards have thoroughly penetrated their designs, and therefore it is that they justly detest and abominate them, and that they will sooner lay down their lives than submit to their iniquitous and barbarous yoke.

11. Care shall be taken to explain to the nation, and to convince them that when freed, as we trust to be, from this civil war, to which the French have forced us, and when placed in a state of tranquillity, our Lord and King FERDINAND VII. being restored to the throne, under him and by him, the Cortes will be assembled, abuses reformed, and such laws shall be enacted as the circumstances of the time and experience may dictate for the public good and happiness. Things which we Spaniards know how to do, which we have done as well as other nations, without any necessity that the vile French come to instruct us and, according to their custom, under the mask of friendship, and wishes for our happiness, should contrive, for this alone they are contriving, to plunder us, to violate our women, to assassinate us, to deprive us of our liberty, or laws, and our King, to scoff at and destroy our holy religion, as they have hitherto done, and will always continue to do so, as long as that spirit of perfidy and ambition which oppresses and tyrannizes over them shall endure.

JUAN BAUTISTA PARDO,

Secretary.

By Order of the Supreme Junta."

Answer returned to the Council of Government by the Most Illustrious Bishop of Orense, Don Pedro Quevedo Quintano, on the subject of his having been appointed a deputy to the Meeting of Council in Bayonne.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

A collector of taxes of Corunna delivered to me, on Wednesday, the 25th instant, in the afternoon, your excellency's letter, dated the 19th, by which I have perceived among other things, that I am appointed to be present at the meeting, which is to be held at Bayonne, in order to concert, as far as possible, means of securing the liberty of the realm agreeably to the wishes of the Great Emperor of the French, who feels anxious to raise it to the highest degree of prosperity and glory.

Although my means and information are but scanty, yet in the most anxious desire to promote the true happiness and glory of the nation, I ought not to yield to any person whomsoever, and I would not omit any thing which should appear to me practicable and conducive to that end. But my advanced age of seventy-three, a fit of illness, and habitual infirmities, prevent me from undertaking so long a journey in so short a time, which is not sufficient to perform it, and much less to acquire the intelligence and information which are requisite to fulfil the duty attached to the above appointment. I therefore, think myself obliged to decline that charge, as I hereby do, entertaining no doubt, but that his serene highness the Duke of Berg, and the supreme council of government, will deem my prayer to admit my excuse and exonerate me from that office, just and necessary.

At the same time I take leave, with regard to the welfare of the nation, and with respect to the views of the Emperor and King, who intends to become, as it were, the

Angel of peace, protector and tutelary divinity of our country, and who has so many times evinced the lively interest he takes in augmenting the power, wealth, and felicity of our nation and Sovereign, his allies, to represent and observe to the supreme council of government, and through it to the Emperor and King of Italy himself, what I should say and declare at the meeting at Bayonne, if it were in my power to be present, before I would enter upon the discussion of the objects for which it seems to be convened.

It is intended to cure evils, to repair losses, and to improve the fate of the monarchy and nation; but on what principle and foundation is this intended to be done? Have the means or remedies stood the test of experience? Does there exist for that purpose any firm authority acknowledged by the nation? doth it choose to subject itself, and doth it expect to be saved in this manner? and are there no infirmities which are rendered worse, and more exhausted by medicines; of which it has been said, *tangant vulnera sacra nulla manur.* (*Let no hands touch sacred souls.*)

And doth it not appear, that the remedies which the mighty protector, the Emperor Napoleon, has administered to his ally, and to the royal family of Spain, are of that description? These evils have been aggravated to such a degree, that there is reason to despair of their recovery. We see them shut up in the French empire, in a country which banished them for ever, and where the elder branch was cruelly cut off by the fury and violence of a senseless and sanguinary revolution, and such being the case, what has Spain to hope? Will her cure render her situation more favourable. The means and remedies to be employed do not warrant that hope. The abdications of her Kings in

Bayonne, and of her Infants in Bordeaux, where they are not supposed to be free, and where they are considered as being surrounded by artifice and force, and deprived of the talents and assistance of their faithful subjects; abdications which cannot be conceived, nor indeed appear possible, if the natural impressions of paternal and filial love, the honour and lustre of the whole family, in which all honest men feel so deeply concerned, be taken into consideration; abdications which have been rendered suspicious to the whole nation, and from which depends all the authority which the Emperor and King in justice can assume, demand for their validity and firmness, or at least for the satisfaction of the whole Spanish monarchy, that they be ratified by the kings and infants, who made them, in a state of perfect freedom from compulsion and fear. And there is nothing which could reflect more glory on the great Emperor, Napoleon I. who feels so deeply concerned in their happiness, than to restore to Spain her august monarchs and their family; *to dispose that in her bosom, and in a general assembly of the states of the realm, they may act as their free and uncontrouled will shall direct; and that the nation, with that independence and sovereignty which belong to it, may proceed in consequence thereof, to acknowledge him as their lawful king, whom nature, right and circumstances, shall call to the Spanish throne. This magnanimous and generous proceeding would prove the greatest eulogium of the Emperor; it would be greater and more worthy of admiration than all the victories and laurels which encircle his brow, and distinguish him among the monarchs of the earth.*—Spain would be rescued from the calamitous fate with which she is threatened, recover from all her infirmities, enjoy perfect health, offer up thanks to God, and pay the tri-

bute of unfeigned gratitude to her saviour and true protector; then the greatest of the Emperors of Europe, the moderate, the just, the magnanimous, the benevolent Napoleon the Great.

For the present, Spain cannot but look on him in a widely different light; he appears, unless he proves the contrary, the oppressor of her princes and herself. She must consider herself as chained and enslaved, while offers of felicity are held out to her; chained and enslaved by artifice, violence, and a numerous army, which was admitted as friends, either by imprudence and fear, as perhaps by fraud and base treachery, serving to sanction an authority, which it is no easy task to esteem lawful.

Who was it that appointed his serene highness the Duke of Berg deputy governor of the realm? Is this not an appointment made in Bayonne, in France, by a pious King, worthy of the most sincere respect and love of his subjects, but who is in the hands of imperious advisers, and controuled by the force and power to which he subjected himself?—And is it not an artful, fantastical idea, to appoint the commanding general of an army by which he is threatened, deputy governor of his kingdom, and immediately after to abdicate his crown? Did Charles IV. wish to be restored to his throne only for this reason, that he might despoil of it his children? And was it necessary to appoint a deputy governor, in order that by means of that authority, and of his military power, he might be able to prevent Spain from adopting measures to obstruct the consummation of a project of that nature? I much doubt that, not only in Spain, but in all Europe, one upright person can be found, who does not in his bosom declaim against acts so extraordinary and suspicious, not to say more. To conclude, the nation is with-

out a king, and at a loss how to act. The abdication of its king, and the appointment of a deputy governor of the realm, are acts done in France, and in sight of an Emperor, who conceives that he secures the happiness of Spain, by giving her a dynasty, springing up from that lucky family, which fancies to be incapable of producing princes, who do not possess the same talents for governing nations, as the invincible and victorious Napoleon, the legislator, the philosopher, the great Emperor. The supreme council of government, controuled by an armed president, and surrounded by an army, cannot but consider itself deprived of liberty; all public boards and tribunals of the capital are in the same situation. What confusion! what chaos! what source of calamities for Spain! They cannot be warded off by a meeting convened without the kingdom, and the members of which can neither possess, nor believe themselves possessed of liberty. And should the tumultuous commotions which may be apprehended within the realm, be joined by pretensions of foreign princes and powers, by succour offered or solicited, and troops should come to fight in her bosom against the French, and the party which sides with them; is it possible to conceive greater devastation and a scene more calamitous than would then ensue? The compassion, love, and solicitude of the Emperor and King, evinced in her favour, so far from healing her wounds, will increase her disasters.

I therefore request, with all due submission, the supreme council of government will take into its most serious consideration, what appear to me just apprehensions well worthy of their deliberation, and of being represented to the great Napoleon. It has hitherto been in my power to reckon on the rectitude of his mind, free from ambition, and

abhorring a crafty and artful policy. And I still hope, that being perfectly satisfied, that the prosperity of Spain cannot be secured by enslaving her, he will not apply himself to chain her down in order to perform her cure, *because she is neither insane nor mad*. Let first a lawful authority be established; and afterwards her cure be taken in hand.

PEDRO. Bishop of Orense.

Orense, the 29th May, 1808.

To his Excellency Don Sebastian Pinuela.

PROCLAMATION
OF THE COUNCIL GENERAL OF
THE PRINCIPALITY.

Loyal Asturians!

Beloved Countrymen your first wishes are already fulfilled. The principality, discharging those duties which are most sacred to men, has already formally declared war against France. You may perhaps dread this vigorous resolution: but what other measure could or ought we to adopt! Shall there be found one single man among us, who prefers the vile and ignominious death of slaves to the glory of dying on the field of honour, with arms in his hand, defending our unfortunate Monarch, our homes, our children, and our wives? If the very moment when those hordes of banditti were receiving the kindest offices and favours from the inhabitants of our capital, they murdered in cold blood upwards of 2000 people, for no other reason than their having defended their insulted brethren, what could we expect from them, had we submitted to their dominion? Their perfidious conduct towards our King and his whole family, (who they deceived and decoyed into France, under the promise of an eternal armistice, in order to chain them all) has no precedent in history. Their conduct towards the whole nation is more iniquitous than we had the right to expect from a horde of Hotentots. They have profaned our

temples; they have insulted our religion; they have assailed our wives; in fine, they have broken all their promises, and there exists no right which they have not violated. To arms, Asturias, to arms! let us not forget that Asturias, at the time of another invasion, which undoubtedly was less unjust, restored the monarchy. Let us aspire to the same glory on the present occasion. Let us recollect, that no foreign nation could ever lord it over us, whatever exertion it may have made for that purpose. Let us offer up our prayers to the God of hosts. Let us implore the intercession of our Lady of Battles, whose image is worshipped in the most ancient temple of Covadonga; and perfectly sure that she cannot forsake us in so just a cause, let us rush upon our detestable enemy, and annihilate and drive out of our peninsula a people so base and treacherous. This demand is addressed to you, in the name of your representatives, by the procurator-general of the principality. **ALVARO FLOREZ ESTAUDA.**

Then follows a manifesto from the province of Arragon, signed by Palafox, the captain-general, and governor of the province, in which it is stated that "Providence has preserved in Arragon an immense quantity of muskets, ammunition, and artillery, which have not treacherously been sold, or delivered to the enemies of our repose." It then proceeds—"Fear not, Atragonians; let us defend the most just of causes, and we shall be invincible. The enemy's troops now in Spain are not able to withstand our efforts. Woe betide them, should they dare to repeat in any other Spanish town what they did in Madrid on the 2d. of May; sacrificing without pity, and calling those seditious and assassins, of whom they had but very lately received honours and favours, which they did not deserve."—It concludes by declaring, "That the French Emperor,

all the individuals of his family, and every French general and officer, shall be personally responsible for the safety of the King, and of his brother and uncle.—That in case any violence should be attempted against lives so valuable, in order that Spain may not be without a King, the nation will make use of their elective right in favour of the Archduke Charles, (of Austria), as nephew of Charles III. in case that the Prince of Sicily, or the Infant Don Pedro, and the other heirs, should not be able to concur.—That should the French army commit any robberies, devastations, and murders, either in Madrid or any other town invaded by the French troops, they shall be considered as guilty of high treason, and no quarter shall be given to them. That all transactions which have taken place, shall be considered as illegal, void, and extorted by violence. That whatever may hereafter be done in Bayonne shall also be considered as null and void, and all who shall take an active part in the like transactions shall be deemed traitors to their country.—All other provinces and kingdoms of Spain, not yet invaded by the enemy, are invited to meet by deputies at Terma, or any other suitable place, to nominate a lieutenant-general, whose orders shall be obeyed by the particular chiefs of the different kingdoms."

THE PROVINCE OF VALLADOLID,

TO ALL THE PROVINCES OF
SPAIN.

Noble Castilians!

The common foe of mankind was the traitor who tore from our bosom our amiable Ferdinand VII. and the whole royal family. He carries his audacity the length of holding out to us offers of happiness and peace, while he is laying waste our country, pulling down our churches, and slaughtering our brethren. His pride cherished by a set of villains who are constantly anxious to offer incense

on his shrine, and tolerated by numberless victims, who pine in his chains, have caused him to conceive the fantastical idea of proclaiming himself lord and ruler of the whole world. There is no atrocity which he does not commit to attain that end. The respectable name of the great Emperor of Russia; the political dissimulation of the German Emperor; the timorous condescension of the holy father of the church; the opinion of true Frenchmen, exposed more than others to the severity of their iron sceptre; in short, the most sacred laws of humanity have been trampled under foot with the utmost contempt, to pronounce the dreadful sentence of the extirpation of the house of Bourbon. Shall all these outrages, all these iniquities remain unpunished, while Spaniards, and Castilian Spaniards, yet exist? No, it cannot be. Your minds glowing with generous ardour for your religion and your country, have resolved to renew the heroic scenes, in which Castilian valour shone with immortal lustre, saved the country, and consolidated our religion. The stratagems which hitherto secure victories to the tyrant, vanished the moment when Europe saw with her own eyes the artful snares and devices by which he seduced the unwary, until he bent their neck under his yoke. Let us then shed the last drop to resist that dominion. Let us all become gallant soldiers, full of discipline and subordination. Let us breathe but obedience and respect for the great man by whom we are governed, one of the best generals of Spain, his excellency Don Gregorio de la Cuerta. To arms, Castilians, to arms; let us die for our country, our religion, and our King.

ADDRESS TO THE FRENCH
SOLDIERS.

Frenchmen!—You possess no longer either laws or liberty, nor any good whatever; with streams of

blood shed by yourselves and your children, you have been compelled to enslave Europe. A family, not French reigns over you, and several European nations, without the least benefit to France, or any other people. Spain, your constant ally, has contributed, you know, by a variety of means, to your triumphs; and yet she has been despoiled of her laws, her Monarch, and greatness; her very religion is threatened; and all this has hitherto been achieved, not by gallantry and valour, but by treachery and fraud, in which you are forced to co-operate; your valiant arms are defiled; you are made to assist in deeds of infamy, inconsistent with your generous character, and with the name of the great nation, which you have acquired.

Frenchmen, the Spanish nation, your ally and generous friend, invites you to withdraw from banners, which are destined to enslave all nations, and to enlist under our's, which are raised for the best of causes, to defend our laws and our king, whereof we have been robbed, not by force of arms, but by fraud, treachery, and ingratitude of the deepest dye. We all will die, and you shall die with us to wipe off the stain which will otherwise indelibly disgrace your nation. The Spaniards tender you the just reward for such an action; with open arms will they receive you, and fight by your side; and when the war shall be terminated with that success, which they have every reason to expect, land shall be given you, which you may cultivate unmolested, and pass your remaining days amidst a nation, which loves and respects you; and where impartial justice shall incorruptibly protect all your fair enjoyments.

Italians, Germans of all the provinces of that great nation, Poles, Swiss, and ye all who compose the armies called French, will you fight for him, who oppressed and despoiled you of what you held most

sacred; For him, who has dragged you from your families and hopes, robbed you of your property, your wives, your children, your native country, which he has enslaved? and will you fight against a nation, generous like the Spanish, from whom you experienced the kindest reception, which loves you with the tenderest attachment, and which at the zenith of its glory and dominion respected your rights, because it looks upon all men as brethren. Will you fight against a nation, which it is intended to subdue and enslave, not by dint of arms, as brave men would do, but under the cloak of alliance and friendship, by fraudulent treachery, detestable and horrid beyond any precedent in history, even among barbarous nations? We hope you will not. Come to us, and you shall meet with valour, generosity, and true honour. We tender the same rewards to you as to the French; and we trust, you and your posterity

will enjoy them in happiness and peace.

DON J. B. ESTELLER, 1st. Sec.
DON J. B. DE PEDRO, 2d. Sec.
Seville, May 29.

PROCLAMATION OF PEACE

WITH

England and Sweden her Ally.

[Published at Oviedo, June 20, 1808.]

FERDINAND VII. KING OF SPAIN,
AND IN HIS ROYAL NAME:

The supreme junta of this principality declares a general peace with England, and at the same time the closest alliance with that nation, which has with the greatest generosity offered all the succours and assistance that have been asked of her. They also declare peace with Sweden, and order that all our ports should be open to the vessels of both nations, and that this royal resolution be communicated to all the justices of the principality.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, June 8.

This day the Lords met pursuant to adjournment. Counsel were farther heard in the competition for the Roxburgh estates. Several bills were brought from the Commons.

Thursday, June 9.

On the motion of the *Lord Chancellor*, the bill of divorce applied for by Mr. Bland against his wife, was rejected, on the ground that the petitioner had not come into the house with clean hands, it being proved that he himself had lived in adultery with a strange woman.

Friday, June 10.

Counsel were farther heard in the Roxburgh competition cause.

Saturday, June 11.

Lord *Hawkesbury* delivered to the

house a message from his Majesty respecting a treaty of alliance and subsidy with his Sicilian Majesty, similar to that delivered on Friday in the house of Commons.—Ordered to be taken into consideration on Monday.

Monday, June 20.

An address was voted *nem. con.* to his Majesty, approving of the treaty with the King of Sicily.

The local militia bill was reported, and an amendment proposed by Earl *Fitzwilliam* to exempt from its operation those who had been balloted under the training act, was negatived, on a declaration by ministers that there was no intention of carrying the act into effect.

Tuesday, June 21.

The bill for allowing an accumulated per centage to Mr. Palmer

upon the revenues of the post-office, in requital of his having projected the admirable plan upon which the conveyance of the mails is established, was rejected by a majority of 34 against 10.

Wednesday, June 22.

Lord Grenville presented a petition from the Roman catholic merchants and bankers of Dublin, praying that they might not be excluded from acting as directors and governors of the bank of Ireland. His lordship afterwards moved that it be an instruction to the Committee on the Irish bank charter bill to make provision accordingly.—On a division the numbers were, Contents 63, Non-contents 101.

Thursday, June 23.

The Royal assent was given by commission to the West India commissioners accounts bill, the barrack commissioners accounts bill, the auditors accounts bill, the Irish loan bill, the Irish drawback and bounties bill, the Irish spirit regulation bill, Irish malt duty bill, hackney-coach bill, &c.

Friday, June 24.

Several bills were brought up from the Commons, which were read a first time.

Saturday, June 25.

The Royal assent was given by commission to 8 public and 6 private bills.

Monday, June 27.

On the bringing up of the appropriation act, Earl Lauderdale objected to the grant of 1,500,000l. to the East India company being comprehended in that act, by which means the Lords were precluded from the right of inquiring into the propriety of it. He therefore moved that a message be sent to the Commons, desiring a copy of the report of the Committee on the affairs of the East India company.

After a few words from Lords Suffolk, Hawkesbury, and Holland, the motion was negatived.

VOL. IV.

On the second reading of the stipendiary curates bill, Lord Sidmouth moved that it be read a second time this day three months.—After some discussion, a division took place—Contents 17—Non-contents 36. The bill was then read a second time.

Tuesday, June 28.

In the committee of privileges on the Roxburgh peerage, it was made an instruction to the committee, that Mr. Bellenden Ker was not entitled to be heard, but that Lady Essex Ker was entitled to be heard.

Previous to reading the order of the day for the second reading of the stipendiary curates bill,

The Earl of Buckinghamshire, with a view to obtain information which he thought important to the discussion of the bill, moved for a return of the number of benefices exceeding the value of 400l. per annum, distinguishing those in which the incumbents did not reside, and where curates were employed, &c.

Some conversation ensued between Lords Hawkesbury, Harrowby, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Viscount Sidmouth, the Duke of Norfolk, and other lords. The difficulty of procuring the desired information, and the impossibility of obtaining it, with a view to discussing the bill now, was contended on the one hand, and the necessity of having this information previous to discussing the bill, and the propriety of putting off the bill until such information could be procured, on the other. Lord Harrowby moved an amendment, to leave out the words "distinguishing those," on which the house divided, that the words stand part of the motion.—Contents, 19—Non-contents, 28.

On the order of the day for the second reading of the bill,

The Bishop of London urged the expediency of passing the bill, in order to render more comfortable and more consistent with the duties they had to perform, and their edu-

cation and station in life, the situation of the curates, who were at present in many instances in a state of great distress, having large families to support with very inadequate means. His lordship combated the objection that this was an invasion of property, by observing that it was no more so than the property tax, or than the acts for making a better provision for curates, which the legislature had already passed, and it was a sound principle in legislation to make the appropriation of a portion of private property subservient to the public good. As to the power vested in the bishops, his lordship contended that a similar power had long been vested in them, which had never been abused.

The Earl of *Moura* strongly objected to the bill, which he still considered as an unjust violation of private property. His lordship decidedly disapproved of the present bill, which he thought would tend to place the incumbent and the curate in continual hostility towards each other.

Lord *Harrowby* defended the bill, which he thought called for by every consideration of justice. The property of the church was, he contended, vested for the performance of certain conditions, and the object here was, that a portion of that property should be given to those who performed the duty. It was but just that the incumbent who did not reside should pay the portion of his income, which this bill prescribed to the curates who did reside and do the duty.

Lord *Viscount Sidmouth* condemned the measure as harsh and unjust towards the incumbents, and as one not called for by the existence of any actual evil so far as appeared to the house. His lordship concluded by moving to postpone the second reading of the bill for three months.

The Earl of *Suffolk* instanced two

cases, in one of which the incumbent with a living of 1000*l.* per annum, gave his curate who did the whole duty 60*l.* a-year, with the addition of 4*l.* for surplice fees, and in the other where the living was 500*l.* per ann. the curate had 50 guineas for doing the whole duty, and out of this the rector had deducted 5 guineas for the property tax, and the commissioners 5 guineas more, leaving the curate only 40 guineas. These instances, his lordship urged, were strongly in favour of making the provisions prescribed in the present measure, which he thought a good bill, and which he should therefore support.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* could not give his support to the bill, because no case was made out to justify its introduction, and in his opinion, it was neither more nor less than a bill of pains and penalties against the beneficed clergy of this country. It was also founded upon a principle which went to affect the security of the whole of the church property, a principle which, in times like the present, it was highly dangerous for a moment to countenance.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* supported the bill as being consonant to the ancient established constitution of the church, which recognized the same powers vested in the bishop by the present bill, and thinking as he did, that it was perfectly constitutional, and would not be attended with any of the bad effects which other noble lords were of opinion that it would produce, he should give it his support.

The Duke of *Norfolk* was against the bill, as tending to violate property.

Lord *Lauderdale* differed materially, in many points, from several of the doctrines laid down by a right reverend prelate (the bishop of *London*.) He thought that the residence of the clergy was very desirable, but it did not follow that it should

be enforced by act of parliament, much less by a bill such as that now before their lordships, *He thought it would be much safer to leave the relations between the curates and rectors upon the same footing with those which subsist between the manufacturer and the workmen whom he employs. Curates were generally young men, actuated by views of professional ambition; and by putting them at once in a comfortable situation, and thus annihilating this ambition, their lordships would be doing a material injury to the church!* He should therefore vote for the amendment proposed by the noble viscount.

The house then divided upon Lord Sidmouth's amendment.—Contents, 17—Non contents 36.

The bill was afterwards read a second time, and committed for Thursday.

Wednesday, June 29.

The judgment of the court below in the appeal cause, *Lucina v. Crawford*, was affirmed. The Welsh coals bill was thrown out on a division, 44 against 36.

Thursday, June 30.

Earl Grosvenor put a question as to the rumoured erections in Hyde Park, but the discussion was thought unparliamentary.—The stipendiary curates bill was negatived on the third reading without a division, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Rochester, Bristol, and Carlisle were of opinion it would do more harm than good.—On the third reading of the appropriation act, Lords Holland and Lauderdale, and the Duke of Bedford, reprobated in strong terms the diminished grant to Maynooth college.

Friday, July 1.

A short conversation took place between Lord Holland and Lord Hawkesbury relative to Spain, when the latter declared it to be the resolution of Government to act towards that country both as to the orders in council, and in every other respect,

with the utmost generosity and liberality.

Saturday, July 2.

The royal assent was given by commission to the appropriation, the assessed taxes, the stamp duties, the annuities, the ale licenses, the oysters fishery, and several other bills.

Monday, July 4.

Their lordships met shortly after three o'clock, and in the interim waiting the commission by which parliament was to be prorogued.

Lord Suffolk rose to call the attention of the house to the critical situation in which we now stood with respect to Spain. It was generally understood that a large armament was to be sent to assist the patriotic exertions of that nation in resisting the tyranny that would oppress its liberty, and in enabling it to assert its independence. Who was to command that expedition? Its fate might, perhaps, be closely connected with the auspices and command under which it was to serve. He did not know that we had now any responsible minister. In former administrations Mr. Pitt, Lord Sidmouth, and latterly Lord Grenville, stood forward as the avowed responsible ministers of their day.

The Lord Chancellor rose, not to reply to the speech of the noble lord, but to order the black rod to the Commons, to desire their attendance in that house, to hear the commission read.

The Commons shortly after attended, headed by their Speaker, when, previous to reading the speech the royal assent was notified to the sugar distillery bill, the Scotch judicature, and the Scotch local militia bills, and to one private bill.—The following speech was then delivered, in his Majesty's name, by the Lord Chancellor:—

My Lords and Gentlemen,

We have it in command from his Majesty to express to you the great satisfaction which he derives from

being enabled, by putting an end to the present session of parliament, to terminate the laborious attendance which the public business has required of you.

The measure which you have adopted for the improvement of the military force of the country, promises to lay the foundation of a system of internal defence eminently useful, and peculiarly adapted to the exigencies of these times.

The sanction which you have given to those measures of defensive retaliation, to which the violent attacks of the enemy, upon the commerce and resources of this kingdom, compelled his Majesty to resort, has been highly satisfactory to his Majesty.

His Majesty doubts not that in the result the enemy will be convinced of the impolicy of persevering in a system which retorts upon himself, in so much greater proportion, those evils which he endeavours to inflict upon this country.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

We are commanded by his Majesty to return his most hearty acknowledgments, for the cheerfulness and liberality with which the necessary supplies for the current year have been provided.

His Majesty directs us to assure you, that he participates in the satisfaction with which you must have contemplated the flourishing situation of the revenue and credit of the country, notwithstanding the continued pressure of the war; and he congratulates you upon having been enabled to provide for the exigencies of the public service, with so small an addition to the public burthens.

His Majesty commands us to thank you for having enabled him to make good his engagements with his allies; and to express to you the particular gratification which he has derived from the manner in which you have provided for the establishment of his sister, her royal highness the Duchess of Brunswick.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Majesty has great satisfaction in informing you, that, notwithstanding the formidable confederacy united against his ally the King of Sweden, that sovereign perseveres, with unabated vigour and constancy, to maintain the honour and independence of his crown. No effort has been wanting, on the part of his Majesty, to support him in the arduous contest in which he is engaged.

The recent transactions in Spain and Italy have exhibited new and striking proof, of the unbounded and unprincipled ambition which actuates the common enemy of every established and independent nation in the world.

His Majesty views with the liveliest interest the loyal and determined spirit manifested by the Spanish nation, in resisting the violence and perfidy with which their dearest rights have been assailed.

Thus nobly struggling against the tyranny and usurpation of France, the Spanish nation can no longer be considered as the enemy of Great Britain; but is recognized by his Majesty as a natural friend and ally.

We are commanded to inform you that communications have been made to his Majesty from several of the provinces of Spain, soliciting the aid of his Majesty. The answer of his Majesty to these communications has been received in Spain with every demonstration of those sentiments of confidence and affection, which are congenial to the feelings and true interests of both nations: and his Majesty commands us to assure you, that he will continue to make every exertion in his power for the support of the Spanish cause; guided in the choice and in the direction of his exertions by the wishes of those in whose behalf they are employed.

In contributing to the success of this great and glorious cause, his Majesty has no other object than that of preserving unimpaired the

integrity and independence of the Spanish monarchy. But he trusts that the same efforts which are directed to that great object, may, under the blessing of divine providence, lead in their effects, and by their example, to the restoration of the liberties and peace of Europe.

A commission was then read for proroguing the parliament.

The Lord Chancellor in his Majesty's name, and by virtue of the said commission, declared the parliament to be prorogued to Saturday, the 20th. day of August next, to be then and there holden.

The lords commissioners withdrew from the house, and the commons retired from the bar.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, June 8.

Mr. Brand presented a petition from John Cartwright, of Enfield, against the local militia bill, as ineffectual for the attainment of its object, and contrary to the spirit of the constitution.—Ordered to lie on the table.

In a committee of supply, the following sums were voted:—foreign and secret services, 1808, 68,787l. 10s.—Expense of buildings on Tower Hill, 54,000l.—Salaries of officers in houses of Lords and Commons, 1,913l. 12s. 4d.—Bounties on fish for supply of the London markets, 6,000l.—Caledonian canal, 51,250l.—Works about both houses of parliament, 12,100l.—French emigrant clergy and laity, 20,000l.—For our settlements on the coast of Africa, 23,000l.

Mr. Curwen thought this a proper opportunity to mention the valuable discovery of Capt. Manby, for saving the lives of seamen and others, which had been proved an effectual preservative in shipwrecks on the coast, by throwing a rope over the vessel from a mortar on shore.

Admiral Harvey, Mr. Yorke, and Mr. Perceval, agreed in thinking that the invention would answer. Its efficacy, however, had not yet been certified by a reference to the admiralty board.

Mr. Curwen hoped, that, though the

gallant officer asked nothing, his merit would not be over-looked.

IRISH BUDGET.—In a committee of ways and means, Mr. Foster stated the various items required for the service of the year in Ireland, amounting to 9,767,000l. and to meet this, enumerated the ordinary revenue, 4,800,000l.—The loan for Ireland negotiated in this country, 2,780,000l. Irish currency; the loan from the bank of Ireland, 1½th. million; and the loan to be raised in Ireland 750,000l. making together, 9,768,000l.—The interest of these three loans was 280,462l. which he proposed to provide for by extending the malt duties to raw corn used in distilling, which would produce 333,000l. a duty on foreign spirits, 22,500l. and by an improvement in the management of the public debt, he calculated on a saving of 7,500l. making together 363,000l. and thus exceeding the interest required by 82,538l. The Irish loan he stated had been concluded in the 3½ per cents. on terms equally advantageous with the loan concluded in England, namely, at an interest of 4l. 14s. 6d. per cent. He then put his several resolutions, which were agreed to.—He also obtained leave to bring in bills for the better regulating and collecting different branches of the Irish revenue.

Mr. Perceval moved the order of the day for going into a committee on the curates' bill. On the question of the Speaker's leaving the chair, a debate ensued, when Mr. Perceval moved for leave to withdraw his first motion, that he might move that it be an instruction to the committee, to make provision for extending the bill to Ireland.

Sir J. Newport at first opposed this, but afterwards assented to it, and it was ordered accordingly.

The question being again put, that the Speaker do now leave the chair.

Lord Porchester conceived that there was no call for the bill. This was a case of reform; and he asked if there ever was a question of reform agreed to without the case being made out. When the worthy baronet near him (Sir F. Burdett) as he himself should be inclined to do, called on the house to reform abuses of which he complained, what was the language of the very persons who now pressed the present measure, "That he must make out his case." This he now called on those gentlemen to do, which not having done, he must esteem the

present to be a measure altogether uncalled for, and unnecessary.

Mr. Tyrwhit Jones strongly supported the measure.

The question being called for, the gallery was cleared for a division. The numbers were—for the original motion 131, against it 17.

The house went into a committee, when Lord Milton urged most forcibly his objections to the proposition of Mr. Perceval, for extending the operation of the bill to Ireland.

Lord H. Petty, Mr. Windham, and Sir J. Newport, followed on the same side.

Mr. Perceval defended his proposition, and was supported by Sir A. Wellesley, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Huskisson, &c.

Upon a division the numbers were—Ayes 55, Noes 18.

Thursday, June 9.

The report of Mr. Palmer's annuity bill was brought up.

Mr. Banks moved two amendments to the preamble, and one to the body of the bill, upon which the gallery was cleared, but they were negatived without a division.

The report of the select committee on Mr. Palmer's account was brought up and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Beresford presented a petition from the Roman Catholics of the county of Waterford, praying the removal of the disabilities under which the Catholic body labour.—Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Rose submitted to the house a resolution expressive of the advantages resulting from vaccination, and of the necessity of a central institution being formed in London, under the authority of government, the heads of which to be chosen from the college of physicians and surgeons, to whom all cases of failure should be submitted, and who should be empowered to grant certificates to proper persons, to enable them to propagate vaccination according to the most improved method.

Mr. D. Giddy thought the discovery should be allowed to take its course without any legislative interference.

Sir T. Turton and Sir F. Burdett thought at all events, that a committee should first be appointed.

The house divided—Ayes 60, Noes 5.

Mr. Parnell withdrew his motion relative to the commutation of tithes in

Ireland, on understanding that government was to take it up.

Mr. Huskisson obtained leave to bring in a bill for the better prevention of smuggling.

The report on the Dublin police bill was ordered to be received on Monday.

Friday, June 10.

Mr. Canning delivered to the house a message from his Majesty to the following effect:

"G. R.—His Majesty thinks proper to inform the house of Commons that he has concluded a treaty of alliance and subsidy with his Sicilian Majesty, a copy of which he has ordered to be laid before the house; and his Majesty trusts that his faithful Commons will make good the engagements contained therein."

Ordered, on the motion of Mr. Canning, that his Majesty's Message be referred to the committee of supply.

Mr. Canning said, that although the treaty was not laid before the house till now, it was by no means a new matter, but one which had been entered into so long ago as the year 1805, and under which it was agreed to pay to his Sicilian Majesty a sum of 300,000*l.* a year, to aid in the defence of Sicily.

On the question being put for the third reading of the local militia fine bill, Mr. Windham, in a long speech recapitulated his former objections, and spoke on the danger of lessening the value of military distinctions, by extending them to those who were not really officers.

Sir F. Burdett said, that he was unwilling to detain the house, but he could not let this last opportunity go by, of expressing his objections to a measure the most unconstitutional and obnoxious which he had ever heard proposed in that house. In his opinion it united every possible evil. It was a measure oppressive and severely burdensome, and yet it was without energy. This bill deserved the name of a bill of pains and penalties, rather than a bill for the defence of the country. It created no less than eleven new penalties, besides exposing the persons liable to it to imprisonment, transportation, and all the provisions of the mutiny act. When he looked at the present situation of this country, loaded with taxation, and covered with tax-gathers, and still more oppressed by the present bill, he thought it would not be in the power of the

noble lord, with his voluminous eloquence, to paint a country in a more distressing situation. His main objection to the bill was, that it subjected every man in the country to be torn from his home by compulsion, and placed in a situation where he was exposed to be flogged. There was no flogging in the French army; and there was a very remarkable case recently, when some French soldiers had suffered themselves to be disarmed at Madrid. The punishment was, that as being young soldiers they should for a certain time carry sticks, instead of swords; but the Emperor added, that if they had been old soldiers their punishment should have been, not flogging, but that they should be turned out of the army; and yet this might be considered as a very serious military offence. How humiliating was it to contrast with such punishments the flogging which was practised in the British army? There was, however, one clause in the bill which he thought could not but be fatal to it; because he thought there would not be time to alter it, which enacted, that for certain omissions there should be inflicted, at the discretion of the magistrates, a fine of not more than 20s. nor less than 5l!—(*A loud laugh.*) How the noble lord could suffer a bill to pass with such a clause as this, he was totally at a loss to guess.

Lord Castlereagh answered the different arguments urged against the bill.

After some further discussion, the question being loudly called for, a division took place, when the numbers were—For the passing of this bill 104,—Against it 26.

Sir J. Newport gave notice that he should, early in the next session, move for a more equal distribution between landlord and tenant, in Ireland, of the assessed taxes, to which the tenant was at present entirely subjected.

Saturday, June 11.

The house in a committee on the coffee duty bill, resolved that all duties now payable on coffee imported cease and determine, and that in lieu thereof, there be payable an import duty of 3d. and an excise duty of the like sum per lb. on all West India coffee imported; an import duty of 6d. per lb. and an excise duty of 6d. per lb. on all East India coffee imported, and 2s. per lb. import duty on all other coffee imported.

Monday, June 13.

On the motion of Mr. Rose for vesting in the power of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports the appointment of sixty additional pilots for Dover and the Isle of Thanet, the committee divided, when the clause was carried in the affirmative.

Mr. Perceval delivered to the house a message from his Majesty, the same as usual at the close of every session, for the accustomed vote of credit toward the incidental exceedings of the year in the defence of the country.—Referred to the committee of supply.

The order of the day being read for the house to resolve itself into a committee of supply, and a motion being made for referring thereto, amongst other subjects, the petition of the India company, praying aid; it was opposed by several members. The question, however, was carried in the affirmative.

Mr. D. Saunders resumed the subject of India affairs, and observed that the sum he should move for, if granted, would carry the company through their difficulties, without any further aid from the public; and he moved that the sum of 1,500,000l. be granted to his Majesty, to enable his Majesty, to pay the same to the East India company, on account of the expences incurred by them for the public service in India.

After some discussion the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. Percival moved that a sum not exceeding 300,000l. should be granted to his Majesty, to make good the same sum stipulated in the treaty with the King of Sicily.

Mr. Whitbread was desirous, before he could agree to this resolution, to put a question or two to his Majesty's ministers. He wished, in the first place, to know the origin of this treaty. There was a stipulation in it regarding the remission of duties upon articles imported from this country. Had that stipulation been already carried into effect, and were those articles admitted free of duties?

Mr. Canning said, his Sicilian Majesty having incurred the hostility of France, on account of his adherence to us, it was our duty to give him support and assistance. After the disasters which fell upon Austria, the King of Naples must have either joined France, or sought for assistance from England. There was no alternative. The war

was not therefore of his own choice, but must sooner or later have been forced upon him. The payment of the subsidy was to commence from the period of those disasters. The subsidy was to be employed in putting Sicily into a state of defence, and bringing forward a great portion of the population of that island. The question on the resolutions was then put and unanimously agreed to.

After some observations from Mr. *Windham*, Sir *W. Curtis*, Mr. *Canning*, Mr. *Perceval*, and Mr. *Tierney*, the sum of 50,000*l.* was granted as compensation to the inhabitants of the town of Roseau, in the Island of Dominica, for losses sustained by the burning of the town in defending it against the enemy on the 22d. of February, 1805. For the expenses of the commissioners of military inquiry, 21,000*l.*—To the commissioners for distributing American claims, 14,000*l.*—To commissioners for the improvement of the British Museum 6,000*l.*—To commissioners for repairing Margate harbour, in consequence of the storm on the 14th of January last, 5,000*l.*—Towards improving the harbour of Holyhead, 10,000*l.*

When the latter resolution was read a division took place. For the grant, 121; against it, 42.

On the motion for a grant of 75,220*l.* for the purchase of land and houses in Palace-Yard,

Mr. *Windham* thought it necessary that the money should be spent with some common judgment and taste. He ridiculed in the happiest manner the dwarf gothic taste which was shewn in the new

front of the house of Lords. A number of little pipes and tubes were dignified with the name of towers; and although the very idea of a tower was something that would hold men for defence, yet those things which were called towers, would not even hold one man. Nothing could be more repugnant to true taste.

Mr. *Rose* completely coincided with the right hon. gentleman in disapproving of the new front of the house of Lords, which he thought was a specimen of such wretched taste, that notwithstanding the money that it cost, he hoped the right hon. gentleman would agree with him, that it would be necessary to incur another expence in having it pulled down again. He disclaimed having had any thing to do with the building.

A very long discussion took place, after which the motion was agreed to.

Sir *T. Twarton* moved that the sum of 54,702*l.* be given to John Palmer, Esq. as the balance on the per centage due to him from the 5th. of April, 1793, until the year 1808. On the question being put, the committee divided, and there appeared in favour of the motion 93, against it 73.

DISTILLERY BILL.

Lord *H. Petty* denied that any scarcity existed in the country, or at least not sufficient to originate such a measure. On a division there appeared for the third reading 74, against it 34. The bill then passed.

Mr. *Perceval* moved a lottery for the service of the year, not exceeding 60,000 tickets.—Agreed to.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

THOUGHTS ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

To the Editor.

SIR,

The following letter was sent to a member of parliament in the month of January last, and a copy of it was intended to be sent to your *Political Review*, at the same time; but other avocations retarded it for a few weeks, and upon reflection it was judged advisable to decline the publication until the new system adopted towards America should

so far develope itself as to impress the ministry themselves with a conviction of its absurdity.—It was supposed in the mean time, that the good sense of the country would, of itself, be a sufficient barrier against the ravings of Mr. Cobbett, and that the public were already in possession of sufficient information to enable them to form a very decisive judgment on his writings.

It would appear, however, that many of our countrymen hold their prejudices regarding America, and cleave to Mr. Cobbett's opinions, with an obstinacy

not easily to be shaken; and I observe that one of your worthy correspondents almost pronounces sentence of excommunication against you for not being sufficiently attentive to his reasonings.—In page 297 of your Review, for May, your correspondent, Mr. Burdon, addresses you as follows:—"Had you sufficiently and coolly attended to the *facts and arguments* of Mr. Cobbett on the dispute with America, you would not so grossly have misrepresented his writings, and till you can contradict them by contrary statements, your opinions will have little weight with impartial men."—Attention to the facts and arguments of Mr. Cobbett! and on the dispute with America too!! This is really too much. The facts and arguments of Mr. Cobbett on that subject are pretty generally known, as well as the *motives* which gave them birth, and there is very little doubt, in my mind, concerning the judgment which impartial men have formed respecting them.

The false system of politics adopted by the ministry continues in full sway; and I am sorry to find that the most of my conjectures, unfavourable as they were, are short of the reality. I find too that they are corroborated by the opinions of men of the most extensive information and judgment:—Mr. Baring's very able pamphlet upon the orders in council, and Mr. Brougham's admirable speech upon the same subject, in summing up the evidence before the house of Commons, are before the public, and ought to be read by every commercial man in these kingdoms.—Sanctioned by these, and by the evidence of facts, any further reserve would be improper. We cannot stem the torrent, but we can endeavour to open the eyes of our countrymen to see the sacrifice which many of them are so loudly calling for; and we can prepare such of them as are open to conviction, for what will infallibly be the issue if the system is long persevered in.—*Necessity may compel the American government to encourage their own manufactures for the present; and if they be once established, justice to the manufacturers may call upon it to protect them.* We run great risk of LOSING THE TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOR EVER. I am Sir,

A friend to the old system of Morality.

Glasgow, June 16, 1808.

VOL. IV.

SIR,

In the present eventful period of our history, when a war administration seems determined, by every act of aggression and folly, to drive their country to the utmost extremity of distress, I consider it the duty of every man who loves his country, to contribute his utmost efforts to save the state. I think I cannot use mine better than by a communication to you, selecting for my subject the relation between this country and America. I prefer making this communication to a public character because he has the power of making the best use of the facts communicated. I prefer making it to you because you appear to me to stand on truly independent ground: I prefer the subject of our relationship with America because I conceive it to be of the greatest national importance, and but indifferently understood; and because having recently been in that country, I am somewhat acquainted with it.

You are, of course, sufficiently aware of the great importance of the trade betwixt the two countries. The supply of nearly six millions of people with manufactures of every description must be an object of great consequence to a manufacturing country, and it is peculiarly beneficial to this country from the facility with which it can be carried on. The inhabitants of America speak the same language as ourselves—they have the same manners and habits,—they are in some measure governed by the same laws; and the articles they have to give in exchange are exactly such as we want.

Now Sir, it is my opinion that this commerce can, not only be carried on, but even increased to a much greater extent, unless it be interrupted by our own folly. I speak with confidence, from what I know of the people and government of the United States, that they are so much disposed to peace, and a

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cultivation of their trade, that nothing but imperious necessity will force them to relinquish their commerce with this country, far less to enter into a state of hostility; but, I am fearful that some of our late acts will drive them to the former of these cruel alternatives, and there is no saying how soon the present ministry may drive them to the latter also.

It would appear, however, that the ministry act upon no hostile *design* towards America; but it is sufficiently obvious that they have formed a very mistaken idea of American policy; and it is no favourable omen, that their hireling writers dwell with peculiar pleasure upon every topic calculated to give an unfavourable opinion of that country, and that in many instances they have used the language of insult. They are supported too, by a writer, who by a knack at making bold assertions, and of supporting them by low, bullying language, has acquired a very considerable degree of celebrity in this country—I mean Mr. Cobbett.—Now this Mr. Cobbett, although a man whose *avowed* tenets of political faith hold him up to public detestation, and whose rancour against America, the cause of which is well known, subjects every thing he has to say upon that country to at least a considerable degree of suspicion; yet having resided there, he certainly is looked up to for information. The boldness of his assertions makes them pass current with many, and produces an effect, upon the whole, which is far from being favourable. It is probable, too, his opinions have a wide spread in the country, for I have often heard very strange and inconsistent doctrines held by very well informed people, and Mr. Cobbett quoted as the authority.

Now, in opposition to all that Mr. C. and such writers have said, or can say, against the people and

government of the United States, I can affirm, from actual observation, that they possess a superiority over every other people and government in many important particulars: and because a review of some of them is necessary to illustrate my subject, I shall notice them, as briefly as possible.

The first great advantage of which the Americans may justly boast is, *that they come into the world on a footing of perfect equality.*—There are no laws of entail, or of promogeniture, to divide the people; and hence the mass of them are hardy independent republicans, cultivators of the soil they possess: few are so rich, as to be above the necessity of labour, and few are so poor as to be in a state of dependance; fewer still live on charity.—I resided in the country twelve months, and travelled through twelve of the states, comprehending a range of 1300 miles, and in all that time I never saw a beggar but once; he was from this country, and it turned out in the sequel that he was an imposter, and not really in want.

A second great advantage is the *excellent footing on which public education is placed*:—and I am sure it must give pleasure to you that I dwell a little upon this article.—It is necessary for the illustration of the subject to notice the sub-division of the country.—Each *state* is divided into *counties*, and these again subdivided into *townships* of 6 miles *square*, being a division somewhat similar to our parishes.—Every township has a charter of incorporation; and in these charters provision is generally made for the instruction of youth, and for the support of religion; the funds consist generally of lands, and the schools are mostly all free. Besides this there are numerous colleges, academies, and public libraries, supported partly by the state, and partly by individuals; and these seminaries are rapidly in-

creasing. I shall further illustrate the subject by taking the states in their order; and you may depend upon it that I shall bring forward nothing but facts.

In *Vermont* every charter of a township reserves two grants of land, of 350 acres each, one for the support of a school, and the other for the support of the first minister of any religious persuasion, who settles in the township. There is a college also at *Burlington*.

In *New Hampshire* there is a college in the township of *Hanover*, with a grammar school annexed to it, having 80,000 acres of land appropriated for its support. There are a number of academies in the state; one at *Exeter*, has a fund of 15,000*l.* one at *Ipswich* has a fund of about 1000*l.* one at *Atkinson* has 1000 acres of land, one has lately been formed at *Amherst*; and similar institutions are forming at *Charleston*, *Concord*, and other places. "The peculiar attention which has lately been paid to schools by the legislature, and the establishment of social libraries in several towns, afford a pleasing prospect of the encrease of literature and useful knowledge in this state."

In the district of *Maine*, there is a college at *Brunswick*; and academies have been formed and endowed by the legislature with handsome grants of public lands, at *Hallowell*, *Berwick*, *Fryburg*, and *Machias*; and a spirit of improvement is rapidly increasing.

In *Massachusetts*,—"According to the laws of the state every township having 50 householders or upwards, is to be provided with one or more schoolmasters, to teach children, and youth to read and write, and to instruct them in the English language, arithmetic and orthography; and where any township has 200 families, there is also to be a grammar school set up therein, and some discreet person

"well instructed in the Latin, Greek and English languages procured to keep the same, and to be suitably paid by the inhabitants. In Boston there are seven public schools supported wholly at the expence of the town, and in which the children of every class freely associate: the masters have each a salary of 666 dollars per annum. These public schools are under the inspection of a committee of 21 gentlemen chosen annually, whose duty it is to visit the schools at least once in three months, to examine the scholars in the various branches in which they are taught, to devise the best methods for the instruction and government of the schools, to give such advice to the masters as they shall think expedient, and by all proper methods to excite in the children a laudable ambition to excel in virtuous and amiable deportment, and in every branch of useful knowledge." Besides these there are several private schools, for instruction in the English, Latin, and French languages; in writing, arithmetic, the different branches of mathematics; and in music and dancing. Perhaps there is not a town in the world where the youth of both sexes enjoy a better education than at Boston, and the writer from which I derive my information adds—"When we consider how inseparably the prosperity and happiness of our country, and the existence of our present happy government are connected with the education of children, too much credit cannot be given to the enlightened citizens of this town for the attention they have paid to this important business, and the worthy example they have exhibited for the imitation of others. There are academies at *Newbury*, *Andover*, *Leicester*, *Tanton* and *Higham*;—designed to disseminate virtue and true piety, and to promote the education of youth in

"the English, Latin, Greek, and French languages; in writing, arithmetic, oratory, geography, practical geometry, logic, philosophy, and such other of the liberal arts and sciences, or languages, as may be thought expedient." There is a very extensive university at Cambridge, to which a library is annexed consisting of upwards of 12,000 volumes, and a philosophical apparatus which cost above 1500*l*. There is another university at Williamstown, where board and tuition are very low, and which from its situation, and other circumstances, has become an institution of extensive utility and importance.

In *Rhode Island* the state of literature is considerably behind the other parts of New England; but there is a thriving college at Providence, and an academy at Newport, with very handsome endowments; and there are various public schools throughout the state.

Connecticut stands high in point of education. Almost every township in the state is divided into districts, and each district has a public school; and the law directs that a grammar school shall be kept in every county-town throughout the state. Academies have been established at Greenfield, Plainfield, Canterbury, Norwich, Windham, and Pomfret. There is a college at Newhaven in a very flourishing state, with a public library containing above 3000 volumes, and an excellent philosophical apparatus.

In *New York* state, there is a thriving college in York city, and twelve incorporated academies are established in different parts of the state. The schools are numerous, and "a spirit for literary improvement is evidently diffusing itself throughout the state."

In *New Jersey* there are two colleges and a number of academies, with grammar and other public schools.

In *Pennsylvania* there are three splendid colleges, and numerous academies, and other schools, "endowed by donations from the legislature, and by liberal contributions from individuals. — The library, humane, and other useful societies, are numerous and flourishing in this state."

It would be tedious to go particularly through all the other states, and it would answer no particular purpose, as they may be all classed under one head. They differ materially from the Northern states; having a thin population they are not of course so favourably situated for education, but a very considerable degree of attention has been paid to the subject, both by the legislatures and individuals, throughout them all. I shall just mention the colleges. There are 2 in Maryland, 2 in Virginia, 1 in North Carolina, 3 in Tennessee, 1 in Kentucky, 1 in the new state of Ohio, and 3 in South Carolina. I shall close the account by a particular reference to the state of Georgia where the system of education "is laid on a plan that affords the most flattering prospects." There is a college at Athens most amply endowed, and provision is made for the institution of an academy in each county in the state. The funds appropriated for the support of education are, — about 50,000 acres of rich land, — 6000*l*. sterling in bonds, houses and lots in Augusta, and other public property to the extent of 1000*l*. sterling in each county.

I have dwelt long upon this subject, because it is of great importance, and because it is very generally believed, that in point of education, the Americans are far behind the British. The case is quite the reverse, — they are far before them, — I mean the mass of the people. I did not meet with a single native American above 12 years of age who could not both read and

write, and they are in general a very intelligent people. With politics they are well acquainted, and there are more newspapers read in America, in proportion to the inhabitants, than in any country in the world.

I shall just confirm this statement by an extract from *Morse's American Geography*, on the article *New England*. "In New England," he observes "learning is more generally diffused among all ranks of people than in any other part of the globe; arising from the excellent establishment of schools in almost every township and other smaller districts. In these schools which are generally supported by a public tax, and under the direction of a school committee, are taught the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic; and in the more wealthy townships, they are beginning to introduce the higher branches, viz. grammar, geography, &c. A very valuable source of information to the people, is the newspapers, of which not less than 30,000 are printed every week in New England, and they circulate in almost every town and village in the country." In a note he adds—"According to an accurate estimate made 10 years ago it appears that no less than 79,000 newspapers were printed weekly in the American States, which in a year would amount to 4 millions."—There is good reason to believe that the number has since nearly doubled. He goes on—"A person of mature age who cannot both read and write is rarely to be found. By means of the general establishment of schools, the extensive circulation of newspapers and the consequent spread of learning, every township throughout the country is furnished with men capable of conducting the affairs of their town with judgment, and discretion. These men

"are the channels of political information to the lower class of the people, if such a class may be said to exist in New England, where every man thinks himself as good as his neighbour, and believes that all mankind OUGHT TO POSSESS EQUAL RIGHTS."

A third great national advantage is—*That in religious matters THERE IS NEITHER TOLERATION NOR INTOLERATION, BUT UNIVERSAL RIGHT OF CONSCIENCE.* The Constitution of the United States provides equally against forming any religious establishment, and against any interference with the free exercise of religion. "Religion is there placed on its proper basis, without the unwarrantable aid of the civil power, supported alone by its own evidence, by the lives of its professors, and by the Almighty care of its divine author;" and every man may freely exercise his religious opinions, be they what they may, without at all interfering with his rights as a citizen.

A fourth great national advantage is—*That the government of the country is in the hands of the people.*—America is what is called a *Federal Republic*. Each state has a legislative and executive government to manage its internal concerns; and all the states joined together for mutual convenience and security form the general or federal government. It consists of the house of representatives, senate, and president,—elected by the people,—and to them certain powers are delegated by the several states, and among others the formation and regulation of all foreign relations. The federal revenue consists at present of a tax upon imports.

From hence it will obviously appear that the government of the United States is firm.—The good education of the people enables them to form a correct opinion on their rights, and their frequent elec-

tions affords them the necessary opportunities to assert them.—There is no privileged aristocracy to corrupt them, and there are no hireling priests, to mislead them. The government and the people can have no separate interest. Peace is the interest of the country, and the government will never declare war unless they have good grounds for it. At all events any war undertaken by the United States must be sanctioned by the people, and those persons reason very widely who suppose the government will rush blindly into a war without such sanction. Indeed I think I may venture to predict that while the present form of government remains, no war will ever be undertaken by the United States but in self-defence; and if that should become necessary it will be strong, vigorous, and efficient.

Having thus delineated the peculiar circumstances of these states, so far as to shew how much the government is dependant upon the people, and how much they are interested in preserving the relations of peace and amity with all mankind; I shall now advert to the state of parties—the disposition of the present executive government; and shall conclude by noticing the dispute with this country.

The parties are distinguished by the names of *Democrats* and *Federalists*; they equally lay claim to the appellation of *Republicans*. During Washington's administration very little party spirit appeared. When Adams succeeded he introduced the maxims of what is called—firm government—a *standing army*, and a *navy*.—To pave the way for these, a batch of internal taxes became necessary; and that the hands of the executive might be sufficiently strengthened, the necessary places and pensions were created. He almost instantly lost ground in the country, but his *rigorous* measures attached to him a number of the

place hunting gentry in towns; many of the rich merchants and money jobbers, who were aiming at contractorships, some of the rich landholders who were itching for titles, and several of the clergy whose heads were aching for mitres. The next election for President gave the parties an opportunity of trying their strength, and the result showed the democratic party to be by far the strongest; and they are likely to continue so: in truth no reason can be given, why a people should not manage their own affairs, except ignorance, and from what I have stated, it will be seen that the inhabitants of these states are far from being ignorant. A spirit for mental improvement, is every day gaining ground, and with its increase, strength will be added to the democratic party; so that if our government calculate upon any change of sentiment arising from a change of party, they calculate, in my opinion, very wide of the mark.

But in truth, a change of sentiment more favourable to Britain would not result from the ascendancy of the federal party. They flatter English vanity by avowing hatred to France, and by holding English maxims of government; but that is the mere language of party, which would vanish the moment they got into power, while their maxims would come into operation, and cause new maritime questions to arise to disturb the peace of the world, and their standing army would only inflate their pride, and make them more obstinate in quarrel, or in negotiation. I have always observed, these vigorous measures men are very bad neighbours.

The present administration of America are favourable to peace, because it is the interest of the country. They are, however, differently represented here. We generally sum up the whole of the executive government in the person of Mr. Jef-

ferson, and because he is not sufficiently obedient to our views, he must, forsooth, be under the influence of Bonaparte; because Bonaparte, being our arch enemy, nothing can happen on the face of the earth, in the least contrary to our wish; but he is at the bottom of it. Mr. Jefferson and those who act along with him, are, however, no more under the influence of Bonaparte than I am. Their maxim is TO CULTIVATE A GOOD UNDERSTANDING WITH ALL THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH—TO QUARREL AND ALLY WITH NONE.

But they will only cultivate a good understanding with other powers upon the footing of perfect equality. They are inclined to do as they would be done by, and they have a right to expect the same treatment in return. This is all that any honest man can wish for; but I am much afraid our present ministry are not inclined to recognize this simple, but substantial basis.

The present dispute arose in consequence of certain spoliations on the American trade in 1805; but because it would be tedious to notice all the grounds of complaint, I shall select one instance, singular in its nature, and extremely offensive in its operation. At that time several of our ships of war were stationed in the mouth of the Mississippi to intercept the Spanish vessels in the navigation of that river, to the great annoyance of the trade of New Orleans; while these very ships of war had special orders to allow Spanish vessels to pass and repass to and from our own West India islands. This, among other circumstances, led to the non-importation act. A short time after, a naval force was stationed off the entrance to New York harbour, and intercepted every thing that came in their way. But their conduct was peculiarly offensive in firing upon coasting vessels, and at length the death of Pearce, who was

killed by a shot from the *Leander*, lighted up a flame throughout the whole continent. This wanton act of aggression has been palliated and frittered away by writers on this side the water, but having examined into all the circumstances of the case, I have no hesitation in saying that had a similar circumstance occurred to one of our vessels, upon our own shores, ample reparation must have been made, or war would have been the inevitable consequence.

Fortunately that enemy to the human race, PITT, was by this time off the stage, and the Americans had a rational and pacific administration to deal with; who, I have no doubt, would have healed the breach long before this time, had they remained in power. I know to a certainty that the American government had confidence in them; for in a conversation which I had with the President in October, 1806, he expressed himself to that effect; and he observed in particular, *that Mr. Fox was a man of the most enlightened and liberal politics, an ornament to society, a friend to his country, and to the human race.*

But in an evil hour for Britain, and for the world, the present ministry got into power by avowedly trampling upon the religious rights of man. They are said to be *energetic*, and they have certainly “exerted their energies” with a vengeance. They have quarrelled with nearly all Europe, and not content with that, they seem fully determined, by the folly of their measures, to force America into a quarrel also. I pass over the foul act on the Chesapeake, because it appears to have been unauthorised, and might, taken singly, have been easily adjusted. But the late orders in council appear to me to be the most impolitic measure that ever this or any other government adopted, towards a neutral and friendly power. America cannot possibly act upon the

principle which these orders recognize without surrendering her independence as a nation, and violating her neutrality, in which case it is very obvious she would immediately have a quarrel with France and her dependencies, and *that* she will take care to avoid. Indeed I have little doubt but one great reason for passing those hateful orders, was to bring the question to that very issue—to force America into a war with France.

Still, however, I do not dread an immediate war with America.—The ministry, impolitic as I esteem them, do not appear to have formed any hostile design against that country; but much evil may result from their domineering, bullying spirit before matters are adjusted; and as they appear to be totally ignorant of the American character, there is no saying how far they may carry their “vigorous measures” if the Americans stand firm; and this they assuredly will. From what I know of the American character, I am confident they never will submit to the restrictions we have been imposing upon their trade for years; and, in particular, they never will submit to these orders in council.—What! allow their ships to be forced into this country—searched—taxed—and licenced, before they proceed to France or her dependencies!—They are truly bold politicians who have dared to suppose they would. It is very true it may be alleged that the French government have forced us to adopt these measures by their blockading decrees; but it is strange that the policy of France towards America should be completely overlooked, viz.—That no sooner were these blockading decrees issued than the French government avowed, in the most distinct terms, that they had no reference whatever to the trade betwixt America and Britain, but that the treaty in existence betwixt America and France should

have full effect.—They not only continued to act upon this principle up to the date of our orders in council, but they gave orders to Spain to release certain American vessels which were carried into that country in virtue of similar decrees, alleging that the Spanish government had misconceived their meaning.—If further proof be wanted, it is only necessary to look at the rate of insurance on American and British vessels for twelve months back.

But whatever the French government intended to do before, it is very certain they will resort to most “vigorous measures” now; for they have already passed decrees, not only to set aside the effect of our orders in council, but they proceed a step farther, and declare that if American vessels even suffer themselves to be searched by our ships of war, a measure they cannot help, they will be *denationalized* and liable to confiscation: so that betwixt the two contending nations the American trade is brought into a most awkward situation: our orders in council are decidedly the cause, and the remaining inquiry is, what is likely to be the consequence? Will the present ministry revoke them? No—they have vaunted too much about their energetic measures! Will the American government submit to them? They will not. Will France and her dependencies acquiesce in them? No—Bonaparte does not seem to possess a spirit sufficiently accommodating to warrant us in thinking they will. The most plausible conjecture therefore is, that America will suspend her trade with Europe—throw herself upon the defensive, and in that posture remain till the fighting folks of Europe come to their senses.—When that will be God knows, but I am much afraid it will not be while the present administration remain in power. I attribute the accumulated distress which is pressing

upon my country to the false system of politics which has been acted upon for many years past; and I am firmly persuaded that we shall never enjoy repose, nor prosperity, till her councils are swayed by men "who will do to others as they "would be done by."—This, it is my firm belief, the present ministry never will do, and therefore I sincerely hope, and pray, that God in mercy to mankind will be pleased shortly to remove them, and that he will substitute in their place—men of uprightness and integrity—who fear God and hate covetousness.

I am, &c.

Jan. 25, 1808. J. M.

P. S. Jan. 27.—Since the foregoing letter was written, advice has been received that what I anticipated has partly taken place by an embargo being laid on in America, and it is easy to see the disastrous consequences which must be the result.—However, some of our energetic politicians here are talking very big about reducing the *Yankees* to obedience, &c.—No doubt they anticipate glorious sport resulting from a war with America; and to gratify them, perhaps their masters may carry it that length: if they do I have yet one piece of news in store for them.—The Americans never will make peace until the *Freedom of the Seas* be completely and unequivocally recognized as a basis!

MR. BURDON'S REPLY TO W——.

To submit in silence even to anonymous abuse, never was nor ever will be in my power, I must therefore attempt to reply to the gross and insulting calumnies of my antagonist; and though Mr. Flower, you should refuse me that justice which you refused to my last letter, and which you have granted to your correspondent W. I shall have the satisfaction of thinking that the cause

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I defend will not suffer from my want of exertion, however it may suffer from my inability.—That every man who writes hastily, which all periodical writers are compelled to do, will now and then fall into inconsistencies and contradictions; I believe will not be denied by any candid and liberal person, particularly when a man forms his opinion from circumstances, and does not uniformly praise or abuse without regard to difference of conduct or situation. Such being my case, I will not deny that I have hastily uttered opinions one month which I have seen reason to alter or qualify the next; but this neither will nor ought to injure me in the estimation of those who *know* that I have uniformly been actuated by a desire of promoting the good and happiness of mankind; and as the means of doing this must vary according to the different events and characters which arise in the world, it is impossible at all times to adhere to those rigid and unbending maxims which compel a man to act under all circumstances with the same unvarying regard to principles. Thus when such a man as Bonaparte is to be dealt with, he must be opposed sometimes with his own weapons, or he will infallibly overcome those who scruple to employ the means requisite for their defence.—Thus much by way of preface.

I must now reply more particularly to the accusation of W——. Blinded by the splendid victories of Bonaparte in Prussia and Poland, and the apparent extinction of all spirit on the continent, I will acknowledge that I hastily pronounced him invincible, when there seemed to be no continental power any longer able to contend with him: but on more mature reflection, I found that we never could rest in safety without preserving the full strength of our naval power, and without depriving him of some part of that im-

mense length of coast, by means of which he might during peace recruit his ruined marine, and make it a match for ours. Under this persuasion, I said that I thought it morally impossible *ever* to make peace with him, as it did not seem probable without continental assistance that we ever could deprive him of his present extended dominion.—I have always thought so except at the moment, for which I think I have sufficiently accounted. It was not Mr. Flower, because you did not constantly apply to Bonaparte the gross epithets of "fiend, devil, ruffian, villain," that I blamed you, but because you did not express, even in temperate language, those sentiments of abhorrence with which his conduct ought to be treated by every consistent friend of liberty: I am no friend to that angry, feminine scolding, which consists in mere abusive words; but I like to express, and I like to hear others express, the genuine feelings of indignation even against successful villainy, and to use no measured terms of abhorrence against the enemies of human happiness, virtue, and liberty;—and when I remember that you have never spared those abusive epithets which your correspondents asserts, are "indicative of the worst passions of human nature," to those whose conduct or sentiments you disapprove, I must own I did wish to see you express without caution or reserve, the truth and the whole truth when you spoke of Bonaparte: but there are some people from whom it is impossible to get the truth, when their passions are excited:—it is not so with me, for I must speak what I think without any regard to persons, parties, or consequences, and this it is which I believe has excited the indignation of you, and your *virtuous* correspondent.

Mr. W. accuses me of treating the constitution and the administration

of the country with too little delicacy. Of the former I have never spoken but with respect and admiration; that its best parts are somewhat defaced through time and abuse, is no impeachment of its solid excellence; nor does it prove "that we have not yet much to be thankful for." That the same men of whose general talents and conduct I think ill, should sometimes do right, is by no means wonderful nor uncommon; so it is with the present administration.—I detest their sentiments and conduct on the subject of reform, of ecclesiastical policy, and on the government of Ireland; but I admire their method of treating Bonaparte, and I gave them credit for their vigour and dispatch on the Danish expedition, though I have little expectation of their acting wisely or honestly towards the Spanish patriots, because they fear the establishment of a popular government in Spain.

Notwithstanding your liberal correspondent has accused me of many inconsistencies, he has forgot that I have been uniform and consistent in my opinion of Bonaparte and the means of opposing him, since he became consul for life. To the principles of liberty I am firmly attached, though I sometimes vary as to the mode by which it may be best preserved: to all tyrants I have ever sworn the most unalterable hatred, and the justness of my opinions will I trust be speedily confirmed by the downfall of that bloody Moloch WHOM YOU AND MANY OTHERS, THE PROFFESSED FRIENDS OF LIBERTY HAVE SO LONG MADE THE OBJECT OF IDOLATROUS WORSHIP!!! I have never swerved from my devotion to the true deity, the goddess of liberty; and I trust that no motives of fear or interest will ever draw me from the homage which I owe her as the only source of happiness and every social comfort:—mistake me not if I have sometimes ap-

proved measures apparently inconsistent with her maxims; it has been only for the purpose of more surely preserving her against the attacks of those pretended friends like a Bonaparte, who, though they profess much in her name, never cease to injure her by every action of their lives.—When either you or your correspondent will prove that I have praised any one apparently bad action of the present ministry, which had not for its object the overthrow of Bonaparte's power, I will consent to be abused by any epithets you may be pleased to bestow on me; till then it is impolitic, and unkind in you to revile and reprobate a man against whom you can bring no well-founded charge of tergiversation or inconsistency.—Mistake me not that I mean to deprecate your censures; all I require is to be allowed to speak for myself, and in my own defence.

A postscript almost as long as his letter, gives your correspondent room to express or affect his ignorance of my name and character; and yet for all this he may be one of my friends and acquaintance, so much latitude does an anonymous writer give for suspicion, and so impossible is it to guard against such attacks. The *laudable* object of his whole letter is by means of partial extracts, without any regard to their general spirit and tendency, to degrade my opinions in the estimation of your readers, and thereby prevent their general efficacy.—With regard to your having misrepresented Mr. Cobbett I need only refer your readers to his manly and convincing letters to Mr. Roscoe; and to all the events which have fully confirmed his opinions of the American character, and their behaviour in the present contest.

Let me now notice your reasons for not inserting my letter of the 10th.—First, because it bears the marks of haste and carelessness—so far I thank you for your intention,

but taking upon myself the whole responsibility for my own productions, I had rather they were inserted with all their faults, than withheld, when I well know they contain some things that ought to be published; for the sentiments I then expressed on the affairs of Spain have since been fully confirmed by events.—I there said that a spirit of liberty and independence was rising in Spain which would prove a thorn in the side of the Corsican; I said too that the whole of his conduct had been base and treacherous, and deserved the resentment of every generous Spaniard—and that those who had first resisted him and perished in the attempt were to be envied in comparison of those who survived; if he succeeded in gaining possession of Spain.—I have spoken too freely I find, of your conduct towards Bonaparte, and it was for that I suppose, you declined inserting my letter—perhaps I have been imprudent—but I feel strongly, and I speak what I think: pardon me if I am mistaken: you have been too long and too warmly the advocate of Bonaparte. I have hitherto respected you, because I believed you, like myself, independent:—you are free from any bias of interest, but on the subject of Bonaparte, not free from an undue partiality. I thank you for your promises of defending my reputation—and you have fulfilled them by the insertion of W's letter!—he is a liberal, candid and dispassionate gentleman! I have not often been charged with arrogance, and in truth no man is more diffident of his own opinion, nor more willing to retract an error: hence the charge of inconsistency. I have long expected to see something good from the Spanish nation; but having been so often mistaken in my hopes, alone prevented me from expressing them earlier. I am sorry that you will not yet acknowledge the atrocity of Bona-

parte's conduct to the royal family and whole nation of Spain, and that you will not contrast his whole behaviour with the professions and sentiments respecting the new government of that country:—how wide the distance has always been with him, between promise and performance. It was their easy credulity and confidence in his promises, which ruined the court of Spain. Let the old government have been what it will, that is not the question; the question is, had Bonaparte any right to interfere in it?—Certainly not—and every nation has a right to chuse its own government; and whatever government the Spanish nation chuses to adopt they have my fervent wishes for their success in asserting and maintaining their independence; and if our ministers are sincere in their offers of unconditional aid, the Spaniards will not think the less of their friendship, because they commenced the war by taking four millions of their property which were about to fall into the hands of Bonaparte.—It was against their stupid government that we waged war, and not against the Spanish nation. The Spaniards cannot all at once become liberal and enlightened; they have been too long under the dominion of priestcraft and statecraft to expect it:—it is sufficient if they are inspired with a wish to free themselves from the dominion of Bonaparte:—let them once establish their independence, and the rest will come in the due course of things: do not be angry with them because they do not think as you do;—they have not had the means and opportuni-

ties; they have performed much already;—they have shewn a spirit worthy of imitation by all Europe; and if the flame spreads to other countries, which no doubt it will, that which you have hitherto treated with so much contempt, the deliverance of Europe, will soon be accomplished. All violent courses are abort, and Bonaparte will be his own ruin; at least there is no hope of it from any other quarter:—he has over-shot himself by his conduct in Spain; and I dare say he now repents it: but it is too late; the die is cast: had he been content to be Emperor of France, he and his family might have reigned there for ages, but by aiming at all, he has lost all, or will lose it before many years are completed; if he does not he ought; for never did any man so little deserve the esteem and confidence of his country or mankind.

Mr. Cobbett too has I trust nearly run his career; for notwithstanding my admiration of his talents, he has shewn such a revolutionary and jacobinical spirit; when he writes on the affairs of Spain, he is so completely blackguard, that it is easy to see through his aim in all his pretences of patriotism.—The topic of Spain has served him only as a vehicle to transmit his coarse abuse against the higherranks of this country, and to shew, that provided he can pull them down, he has no other end or motive.—I trust you have read and duly estimated his three last numbers, which teem with ordure and filth. I remain, &c.

W. BURDON.

Hartford, near Morpeth, July, 5.

ORIGINAL POETRY.

LINES ADDRESSED TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

Oh sent by Heaven, in these degenerate days,
In every breast to kindle Freedom's blaze,

To snatch the covering from the statesman's heart,
And awful truths, without a fear, impart.
Though ministerial thunders round thee roll,
They roll in vain, nor daunt thy manly soul;
Thy country's rights thy constant labours claim,
And with a SIDNEY's join thy honour'd name.

Superior thou to every threat shalt rise,
And from the hand of rapine wrest the prize;
Thy tongue shall vice in all her wiles reveal,
And biassed senators its vengeance feel;
Nor shall corruption unmolested stand,
Sap all our rights, and sink a venal land:
True to thy conscience to thy country true,
Thou shalt detect, and dash her conquests too.

Patriot proceed! in Freedom's glorious cause,
O! save thy country, and thy country's laws;
The wiles of statesmen without fear disclose,
And be a foe to all thy country's foes:
Then, should'st thou e'er be doom'd the power to feel,
(Which heaven forbid) of grim oppression's steel;
Still shall posterity thy virtues see,
And Britain own a patriot soul in thee.

July 6.

AMOR PATRIA.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTES.

Downing Street, July 9.

A dispatch of which the following is a copy, together with inclosures, have been received from Major-Gen. Spencer, by Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, dated of Cadiz, June 12, 1808.

Atlas, off Cadiz. June 12.

MY LORD,—The French squadron consisting of five sail of the line and a frigate, having placed themselves in a defensive position, in the channel leading to the Caraccas, and out of the reach of the works of Cadiz, and having refused to listen to any terms, I have great satisfaction in reporting that the Spanish gun and mortar boats, and the batteries erected for this purpose, on the isle of Leon, and near Fort Louis, commenced hostilities against the French ships, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th, and the firing continued without interruption on both sides till night. It was renewed on the part of the Spaniards on the morning of the

10th, and partially continued till two, when a flag of truce was hoisted by the French, but the terms proposed being inadmissible, the Spaniards intend to re-commence hostilities with an additional battery, to the eastward of Fort Louis, consisting of thirty 24-pounders. Admiral Purvis and myself wished to have co-operated in this attack, but the Spaniards, feeling themselves confident in their own force, have declined our offers of assistance.

The supreme council of Seville have nominated commissioners, and applied last night for passports and a frigate to convey them to England, and they were also equally anxious to send feluccas with dispatches to South America. Information having been received that a small French corps was assembling at Tavira, with a view of entering Spain by the river Guadiana, we have been requested to proceed against this corps and either to attack them on the coast, or endeavour to prevent the further

prosecution of their plans against Spain, I accordingly propose to sail immediately for this object. Lord Collingwood approving of it.—Admiral Purvis had already detached three ships of war off the mouth of the Guadiana, and has offered every other necessary assistance, which Lord Collingwood has since, confirmed.—I have the honour to be, &c.

B. SPENCER, Major-Gen.

Copy of a Letter from General Morla, Captain-General of Andalusia and Governor of Cadiz, addressed to their Excellencies Admiral Purvis and Major-General Spencer.

Admiral Rossilly, as your excellencies will observe by the annexed copy, has proposed to disarm, but upon conditions which I thought were inadmissible. Whatever may be his terms of surrender, I shall in no manner deviate from my promise; it is therefore necessary that I should have your consent, as I have already said in my first conference with Brigadier General Smith and Capt. Sir John Gore, to whom I have pledged myself with simplicity and good faith.

It will afford me considerable satisfaction to consult with your excellencies on all occurrences, incidents, and circumstances conducive to our common advantage, and contrary to the interest of the common enemy. Nothing gives me more real pleasure than the absolute confidence of your excellencies, in my candour and sincerity, with which I remain your excellencies most affectionate devoted servant. THOMAS MORLA.

Cadiz, June 11.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Rossilly, addressed to General Morla, dated on board the Admiral's ship, Hero Bay, off Cadiz, June 11.

Captain General,—Obliged to defend myself on account of the inquietude inspired into the people of this province by my imposing attitude, I yesterday, to tranquilize them, proposed to your excellency to quit the bay. In case the English cannot accede to this proposal, I suggest the idea of disembarking my means of attack, and keeping my ships' companies on board; no colours shall be displayed on my squadron. Hostages shall be given for our security, our sick, and all the French people in the province, with their national and individual property. Hostages will be equally given on my part. The refreshments,

water, and provisions necessary for my squadron shall be provided on my paying for them, as has hitherto been done. In short, I shall demand no conditions but those which are necessary for my honour, and that of the people serving under my orders, and such as are compatible with the public tranquillity.

Deprived by my proposal of the means of defence against the exterior enemy, I demand security against them.

Receive, Captain-General, the renewal of my distinguished consideration, with which I am your excellency's most humble servant, ROSSILLY.

Answer of General Morla to Admiral Rossilly.

Excellent Sir, Admiral Rossilly,—In answer to certain proposals, and official demands, transmitted by your excellency, which, although dictated by your honour, are unquestionably incompatible with mine, as must be evident to your excellency, I have to acquaint you that I cannot accept any terms but an unconditional surrender. My honour and character not allowing me to depart in any way from my promises; I therefore inform you, that my orders from the superior council being positive with respect to the surrender of the squadron commanded by your excellency, I cannot enter into any conditions without previously consulting them. It is likewise my duty to consult with the English commanders, as, without their consent, I cannot compromise myself.

For these reasons I shall suspend my attack, until I have dispatched these two expresses, availing myself however of the intermediate time to prepare other means for the attack.

Nothing opposes the individual esteem entertained for your excellency, by your faithful servant, THOMAS MORLA.

Cadiz, June 11, 1808.

Downing Street. July 12.

Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have been received from Major-General Spencer, by Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Extract of a Dispatch from Major-General Spencer to Viscount Castlereagh, dated on board his Majesty's ship Windsor Castle, off Ayamonte, June 17.

MY LORD,—I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the passing of the Nautilus from Lord Collingwood to Sir Charles Cotton, to congratulate your

lordship on the surrender of the French squadron, of five line of battle ships and one frigate, in the harbour of Cadiz, to the Spanish arms, on the 14th. instant; on which day the Spanish colours were flying in all the French ships. The particulars of this important and interesting event will, no doubt, be fully communicated to your lordship by Lord Collingwood.

It is also very satisfactory for me to inform your lordship, that the movement I have made to this quarter, at the request of General Morla, has been attended with the happiest effects. The French troops are retiring in every direction towards Lisbon, except some very insignificant parties left to occupy the different small forts and posts on this side of Portugal. The Portuguese people are rising in all parts, encouraged greatly by our presence here; and the Spanish frontier on the Guadiana is thus effectually secured from any attack of the French.

I have the honour to be, &c.

B. SPENCER, Major-Gen.

Extract of a Dispatch from Major-Gen. Spencer to Viscount Castlereagh, dated on board his Majesty's brig, Scout, off Lagos, June 21.

MY LORD.—The French fleet having surrendered on the 14th. and the Spanish commissions having since embarked for England, I beg leave shortly to recapitulate the different events which have led to these desirable objects, and to state to your lordships the present situation of Spain and Portugal, as far as I have obtained correct information. —The general feelings of the Spaniards had been for some time excited to the utmost degree of indignation at the conduct of the French. The information of the forced renunciation of the crown of Spain by Charles the Fourth, Ferdinand, and all the royal family, in favor of Bonaparte, appeared to be the signal of universal opposition to the views of France.

The council of Seville, one of the principal provincial jurisdictions in Spain have laid hold of some statutes in their constitution, which authorise their rejecting the orders of the supreme council of Madrid, when that capital shall be in the power of foreign troops. They have therefore assumed an independent authority in the name of Ferdinand VII. whom they have proclaimed

King; and after some previous steps, they have formally declared war against France, and have appealed to the Spanish nation to support them; and their supremacy has been acknowledged by the councils of several other provinces. In Andalusia they collected from fifteen to twenty thousand regular troops, and have put arms in the hands of upwards of sixty thousand peasants. General Castaneos is appointed commander in chief; and I understand they propose, out of the first levies, to augment the establishment of the old regiments to double their present numbers. Provincial assemblies are also forming in most of the large towns, and different depots fixed upon for raising volunteers. —They have a proportion of near 4000 cavalry, and a large quantity of artillery, as Seville is a foundry, and one of the largest depots in Spain.

All accounts agree, that in every part of Spain the insurrections have commenced almost at the same period; many small detachments of the enemy, and many officers have been cut off. General Dupont was on his march to Seville, and had already passed the Morena mountains, when the insurrection took place. He has pushed on to Cordova, and, by the intercepted dispatches we learn, he is strengthening himself there, and proposes to wait for reinforcements. In the mean time, the Morena passes in his rear have been occupied by 5000 Spaniards, the road is broken up: and, I trust, all communication has been cut off.

General D'Asril had received orders to join him at Seville with 4000 men, who were to assemble at Alcorentin, but our arrival off Ayamonte, and the arming of all Spain, and the alarms in Portugal having prevented this movement, I trust that General Junot will not now be able to detach any troops from Portugal, though we understand a French corps has been collected at Elvas, but I do not think it can exceed 4000 men, though the reports of its strength are very various.

At Faro the Portuguese have already risen, have taken or destroyed a detachment of about 200 men, have seized the arms and ammunition of the province, which the French had collected in a depot, and also about 40,000 dollars in gold, which the French General had amassed.

Admiralty Office, July 12:

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, to the Hon. W. W. Pale, dated Ocean, off Cadiz, June 14, 1808.

SIR.—In my letter of the 19th instant, by the *Alpha*, I informed you that application had been made for a ship to carry to England commissioners appointed by the supreme council of Seville, to treat with his Majesty's ministers on such matters as are important to the interest of both countries. The Admiral, who commands in the port of Cadiz being one of the deputed, they did not choose he should depart until the surrender of the French ships, which took place this morning.

The Spaniards having constructed an additional battery of thirty heavy guns, and numerous gun and bomb-vessels having taken their stations, the French ships struck their colours at seven o'clock this morning, and soon after the Spanish were hoisted on board them. The French ships, I understand, are not at all injured, as the Spaniards wanted them for their own use; nor has there been much loss of men on either side. The governor some days since (and before I came here) requested of Major-General Spencer to proceed to Avamante, to oppose a detachment of the French army, which was said to be marching from Portugal by the coast; and yesterday the transports proceeded, under the protection of the *Zealous*, to that quarter, where the *Windsor Castle* had conducted a detachment the day before.

June 15.—The Governor of Cadiz has notified to me, that the commissioners will be ready to embark in two days. As the *Revenge* has been stationed near the town, where Sir John Gore has had much intercourse with the governor and chiefs in command during the late operations, and witnessed the temper and disposition of the people, I have ordered that ship to receive them, that he may give to his Majesty's ministers the information they may desire of what has come within his observation as to the present state of this part of Spain.—Application has been made to me this evening by the supreme council at Seville and the governor of Cadiz, to give a passport to a Spanish frigate and four dispatch vessels, to carry to the

several governments and presidencies in the West Indies, information of the events which have happened in Spain, and their instructions to the governors; and also that a sloop of war may take out officers, to that country, whose presence there is important; this they urge in preference to their going in a Spanish vessel, as it will convey a proof of their connection with Great Britain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) COLLINGWOOD.

Extract of a Letter from Sir C. Cotton, Bart. Admiral of the Blue, &c. to the Hon. W. Wellesley Pole, dated on board his Majesty's ship, the Hibernia, off the Tagus, June 22.

SIR.—Inclosed I transmit, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, the copy of a letter received by me from Captain Creyke, of his Majesty's sloop *Eclipse*, detailing the state of affairs at Oporto.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. COTTON.

Eclipse, off Oporto, June 20.

SIR.—Since the account I had the honour of delivering to you on the 10th June, Oporto has undergone two revolutions, and has been successively in the hands of the French and the subjects of the Prince Regent. After the Spaniards had delivered the forts into the custody of the Portuguese, and the national colours were every where hoisted, the French were again able to establish their authority, in consequence of the weak and undetermined measures of the governor, Louis D'Oliveira, who is now confined as a traitor, and maintained it till the 15th, the day of Corpus Christi, a great national festival, when it had been usual for the Portuguese regiments to attend with colours flying. The governor, d'Oliveira, in consequence of orders from Junot, attempted to establish the French flag instead of the Portuguese at the procession. This violent attack on the national custom drew forth the murmurs of the populace to so great a degree, that an attempt to compromise on the part of the governor had no effect; and on the 18th, in the evening, the day before my arrival here, they were excited to such a degree of fury, that, countenanced by the priests, the people rose in masse, broke open the depots, and supplied themselves with 25,000 stand of arms, and, together with the regulars, formed a most deter-

mined and enthusiastic army. From this moment all French authority ceased; and every man, either French, or suspected of being inclined to the French interest, was arrested.—The Bishop of Oporto was elected as the new governor, and an army of 20,000 men sent to meet the French, who had advanced to the amount of 900 within six leagues of Oporto.—The enthusiasm has communicated from one to the other, and the Portuguese provinces of Tralos, Montes, Minho, and the northern part of Beira, in imitation of the Spaniards, have risen in arms, determined to extirpate the French from their kingdom. From the most moderate accounts, besides what afe at Oporto, I may estimate them at upwards of one hundred thousand men. All the regular regiments disbanded by the French are forming again with the greatest alacrity, and will soon join them. I have this day had an interview with his excellency the governor, conducted to him amidst the shouts and huzzas of the populace. To-morrow I send a party of men to mount the guns of a large Brazil ship, the command of which is given to an Englishman, and destined as a floating battery to defend the bridge, in case the French should have the temerity to approach, though such an event is not to be apprehended. If any requisition is made for powder, I shall comply with it, but they have at present abundance of arms, ammunition, and provisions. The detestation of the Portuguese to the French is so great, that Captain Jones and myself, after having begged the life of the French intendant of police, had the greatest difficulty in conveying him a prisoner to the boat, and the unbounded love and respect to the English alone prevented the enraged populace from tearing him to pieces.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) G. A. GREYKE.

Admiral Sir C. Cotton, Bart. &c.
Extract of a Letter from Captain Digby, of his Majesty's ship the Cossack, addressed to the right hon. Lord Gambier, Admiral of the Blue, &c. and transmitted by his Lordship to the Hon. W. Wellesley Pole.

Cossack, off St. Andero, June 25.

MY LORD,—The last opportunity I had of writing to your lordship, I acquainted you of my intention to go to St. Andero immediately, and afford

every assistance in my power to the loyal inhabitants, and bring off any British subjects that might wish to come away, in the present uncertain state of the country; and I had intelligence that the French frigate in Passage, accompanied by several gun-boats, was expected to make a descent on that part of the coast. Owing to the strong easterly winds and long calms, I did not get there till the 21st. The signal-post displayed a flag of truce, which was answered by both ships. The Captain of the Port, Don Vincento Camino, came on board, he told us the French army were soon expected to make an attack on the pass in the mountains that guarded the approach to the town; he invited us to anchor in Sardenero Bay, which we did at five p. m.; until he had made his report to the bishop, who was the present governor, he wished us not to land. No boat returning by one o'clock the next day, I concluded some sudden attack, or unexpected event must have taken place. In the afternoon a brig came out of the harbour, full of people of all descriptions, who had left the town on the report that the French were advancing. I immediately got under weigh, and sent Captain Daly, of the Comet, up the harbour, to gain some confirmed intelligence, and should the report prove true, to reconnoitre the fort, and find out where the principal magazine was, and, if it was possible, to destroy it. Between eight and nine p. m. Capt. Daly returned with certain information, that the French army had gained the pass, and had halted only a few miles from the town, and were expected to enter that night or next day.

Captain Daly also made every possible observation, and had himself spiked the guns in two forts near the town, and he requested to go and destroy the magazine, and the guns in the forts that guard the entrance of the harbour. I should certainly have sent the boats that night, but the great chance of their being taken by surprise, should the enemy advance, and the night being very dark and squally, with every appearance of bad weather, made me defer it till the next morning; at day-light we stood into the bay, and manned and armed two boats from each ship, under the orders of Captain Daly; he was accompanied by Lieut. H. M. Herbert, of the Cossack, and

Lieut. Read, of the Royal marines, and several of the younger officers, who all volunteered their services; they left this ship soon after six o'clock, and landed about eight, spiked all the guns in fort St. Salvador de Ano, and fort Sedra, and wedged shot in the chambers of them, which renders them quite useless; the magazine was at some little distance, and had five hundred whole barrels of powder in it, besides quantities of other stores; all which were completely destroyed, great part by throwing it over the cliffs into the sea, leaving sufficient to blow up the magazine; the train was laid for a considerable distance, and it was let off about ten o'clock, which instantly levelled the whole building to the ground; finding some more powder in fort Sedra, a train was laid to it, which took effect, and blew part of the house and storehouse in it up; the two other forts on the west side of the bay they could not attempt, as the surf was so high it was impossible to land, and to walk round was too far from the boats, as they had not a moment to spare; having heard before they set fire to the first train, that the French had entered the town, and they expected a strong guard at the forts; the boats left the shore by eleven o'clock, and had just got round the Point of De Ano, when a considerable body of French dragoons appeared on the hill, and took post near the smoking ruins of the magazine. I am sorry to say, Capt. Daly, and Lieutenant Read, of the marines, are much scorched, particularly Lieutenant Read, in setting fire to the last train, but am happy to find his eyes are safe, and he is doing well. Captain Daly speaks in high commendation of the zeal and exertion of every officer and man employed with him.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE DIGBY.

PROCLAMATION OF PEACE OF
HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY WITH
THE SPANISH NATION.

*At the Court of the Queen's Palace,
the 4th of July, 1808, Present, the
King's Most Excellent Majesty, in
Council.*

His Majesty having taken into his consideration the glorious exertions of the Spanish nation for the deliverance of their country from the tyranny and usurpation of France, and the assurances which his Ma-

jesty has received from several of the provinces of Spain, of their friendly disposition towards this kingdom; his Majesty is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered.

1. That all hostilities against Spain on the part of his Majesty shall immediately cease.

2. That the blockade of all the ports of Spain, except such as may be still in the possession or under the controul of France, be forthwith raised.

3. That all ships and vessels belonging to Spain shall have free admission into the ports of his Majesty's dominions, as before the present hostilities.

4. That all ships and vessels belonging to Spain, which shall be met at sea by his Majesty's ships and cruizers, shall be treated in the same manner as the ships of states in amity with his Majesty, and shall be suffered to carry on any trade now considered by his Majesty to be lawfully carried on by neutral ships.

5. That all vessels and goods belonging to persons residing in the Spanish colonies, which shall be detained by any of his Majesty's cruizers after the date hereof, shall be brought into port, and shall be carefully preserved in safe custody, to await his Majesty's further pleasure, until it shall be known whether the said colonies, or any of them, in which the owners of such ships and goods reside, shall have made common cause with Spain against the power of France.

And the right hon. the Lord Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and the Judges of the Courts of Vice-Admiralty, are to take such measures herein as to them may respectively appertain.

STEPHEN COTTRELL

The Gazette of the 29th ult. contains official advices from Sir E. Pellew, of the success of his expedition to the island of Java. Sir Edward dates his dispatch from Griesse harbour, Dec. 14, and states that he had caused the *Revolutie* and *Pluto*, of 70 guns, Kortenaar of 68 guns, (sheer-hulk) and *Rutt-koff*, Company's ship, of 1000 tons, pierced for 40 guns, to be burnt, (they having been previously scuttled by the Dutch;) that all the guns, military stores, &c. in the garrison of Griesse, had, together with the battery of *Sambelangan*, on the island of *Madura*, been most effectually destroyed.—Lieut. Col. Lockhart commanded the troops.

[From the Foreign Gazettes.]

DECLARATION OF WAR
AGAINST THE EMPEROR OF
FRANCE, NAPOLEON I.

*Ferdinand the Seventh, King of Spain
and the Indies, and in his name the
Supreme Junta of both.*

France, under the government of the Emperor Napoleon the First, has violated towards Spain the most sacred compacts—has arrested her Monarch—obliged them to a forced and manifestly void abdication and renunciation:—has behaved with the same violence towards the Spanish nobles whom he keeps in his power—has declared he will elect a King of Spain, the most horrible attempt that is recorded in history—has sent his troops into Spain, seized her fortresses and her capital, and scattered her troops throughout the country—has committed against Spain all sorts of assassinations, robberies, and unheard-of cruelties; and this he has done with the most enormous ingratitude for the services which the Spanish nation has rendered to France, for the friendship it has shewn her—thus treating it with the most dreadful perfidy, fraud, and treachery, such as were never committed against any nation or monarch, by the most barbarous or ambitious King or people. He has, in fine, declared that he will trample down our monarchy, our funda-

mental laws, and bring about the ruin of our holy catholic religion. The only remedy therefore for such grievous ills, which are so manifest to all Europe, is in war, which we declare against him.

In the name, therefore, of our King Ferdinand the Seventh, and of all the Spanish nation, we declare war by land and sea against the Emperor Napoleon the First, and against France. We are resolved to throw off her dominion and tyranny, and command all Spaniards to act hostilely against her; to do her all possible damage according to the laws of war; to place an embargo upon all French ships in our ports, and all property and effects, in whatever part of Spain they may be, whether belonging to the government, or to the individuals of that nation. In the same manner we command that no embarrassment nor molestation be done to the English nation nor its government, nor its ships, property or effects, nor any individual of that nation.—We declare that there shall be open and free communication with England; that we have contracted and will keep an armistice with her; and that we hope to conclude a durable and lasting peace.

Moreover, we protest, we will not lay down our arms till the Emperor Napoleon the First has restored to Spain our King Ferdinand the Seventh, and the rest of the royal family; has respected the sacred rights of the nation, which he has violated, as well as her liberty, integrity, and independence. and this we declare, with the understanding and accordance of the Spanish nation. We command that the present solemn declaration be printed, posted and circulated among all the people and provinces of Spain and America, that it may be known in Europe, Africa, and Asia.

*Given in the Royal Palace of Alcazar
at Seville, this 6th. of June, 1808.*

By order of the Supreme Junta, &c.

Address of the Government to the Inhabitants of Cadiz.

The French squadron has surrendered at discretion, relying on the humanity and generosity of the inhabitants of Cadiz, as has already been made known. The measures which have been pursued, have prevented our squadron from sustaining the least damage, nor have the forces employed to reduce the French squadron sustained any considerable loss, and the effusion of blood has been less than in a combat of two small armed vessels; the loss in killed does not exceed four men. The French ships, their arms, and warlike stores, remain at our disposal, and the prisoners taken will be exchanged for our troops. Nothing of that kind could have been attained by red-hot balls, or similar means. Had no measures of prevention been taken, which require time, our loss would have been much greater. I therefore trust I have acquitted myself in a manner worthy of the inhabitants of this town, who have given me so many repeated proofs of their confidence and respect, that I shall at all times entertain the highest sense of the approbation with which they have honoured my conduct.

But now I demand, exact, and ordain, that all disturbances shall cease; that every thing shall return to order; that all persons, according to their different ranks and stations, shall submit to the constituted authorities, who all depend upon the supreme council of government, at all times solicitous to promote the public welfare, and to procure the best alliances and means to secure a successful issue of our undertaking. Let the laws reign, and all arbitrary proceedings be avoided. *The most enlightened and civilized people upon earth disgraces itself by demanding the death of any individual. The field of battle, where force is repelled by force, authorises alone the effusion of blood, which is otherwise illegal. The Sove-*

reign himself is not master of the life of an offender, unless he has forfeited the same by the laws of his country.

These laws prohibit in all countries, even among the most barbarous nations, sedition and disturbances of every description; we are bound to obey and respect them. This is the only means to secure a successful issue of the contest in which we are engaged, and not to offend either against the God of hosts, or the sovereign whose sacred rights we have sworn to defend.

In order to avoid an unnecessary multiplication of publications, I now address the French, who reside in this city. The supreme council has used towards you the utmost lenity and respect; after having taken the oath of fidelity to the Spanish nation, you are permitted to remain in this country, and your property is respected. Grateful for this valuable blessing, you should not be vipers, which sting the bosom that gave them shelter. On the contrary you are bound to shew the utmost loyalty and respect for a government which treats you in so generous a manner; by such conduct you will not only avoid the odium of the good inhabitants of this town, but also obtain their love. Should you act otherwise dread their justice, they will punish with the utmost rigour, and without the least mercy; even meetings which you may hold among yourselves, and disloyal expressions which you may make use of in opposition to our cause. Should any one of you be so far devoid of reason as not to respect it on account of its equity and justice, he will fall a victim of his wickedness or pride.

MORLA.

Cadiz, June 14.

Copy of a Letter of the French Admiral Rossilly to the Governor of Cadiz, on his agreeing to surrender to the Spaniards the fleet under his command.

Hero, Bay of Cadiz, June 14.

Captain General,—I find myself compelled, in consequence of the means

exercised against me, to give up the fleet under my command, without further resistance; seeing that it is the interest of both nations not to destroy the ships.

Although your excellency has not announced to me, that the crews of the ships under my command, as well as their property, should be respected, I reckon too much on Spanish honour, and the known generosity of your own character, to entertain fears on those subjects.

I request that your excellency will only send a few troops at first, that the crews may evacuate, ship after ship, in order to avoid the confusion which has on such occasions taken place.

According to the laws of war, I request that you will permit, or procure permission for me to send an officer to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, in order that I may be enabled to give him an account of the events which have taken place.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, your excellency's most humble servant,

(Signed) ROSILLY,

The supreme council of government has communicated to the council of this city, an edict, which is of the following tenor:—

Don Ferdinand VII. King of Spain and the Indies, and in his name the supreme council of government of both,—

In order to carry into full effect the declaration of war against the Emperor Napoleon I. decrees as follows:—

I. Within four days from the publication hereof, every Frenchman, or person who has served under the French banners, and is desirous to enjoy the advantages of the Spanish service, shall present himself in this capital at the chamberlain's office, and make his declaration: and, after having taken the oath of allegiance, he shall remain free from all molestation, and enjoy all the privileges which pertain to him. And the same shall be done in all other places and cities, and attended to either by the boards of government or common council,

where the former shall not yet have been formed.

II. Every Frenchman, or other person, who has served under the banners of that nation, and shall not present himself within four days, as aforesaid, shall be considered as a person desirous of remaining perfectly French; and all his property, of whatever nature or description it may be, shall be confiscated.

III. All merchants, and all other persons who have in their possession on any ground or title whatever, any goods, claims, or effects belonging to Frenchmen, or to persons who have served under the French banners, shall keep them in their possession, and not dispose of them on pain of being accountable for the same; and they shall within four days make a declaration upon oath of the said goods, claims, and effects, and deliver it to our board of exchequer, and all persons who offend against this order, shall be prosecuted according to law.

Given in the Royal Palace of Alcazas, in Seville, the 7th of June, 1808.—By command of the supreme council.

J. B. PARDO, Sec.

M. M. AGUILAR, Sec.

And in obedience to the said supreme injunction, the council of this place orders the same to be published and posted in the usual places, and give notice that the committee appointed for that purpose shall acquaint the Frenchmen who reside here, with the day when they are to make their appearance, and comply with the said supreme injunction.

Cadiz, June 13.

The General of Saragossa to the Aragonese. Conquerors of the Haughty French!

ARAGONESE!—You have proved yourselves to be worthy of your name. That multitude of proud warriors, triumphant in every other part of Europe, ceased to retain the

character of conquerors when they came before you. You are inferior both in discipline and numbers; because one-twentieth part of our forces have not entered into action, having been incapable of uniting. But your zeal has overcome every difficulty. The musketry, in which your enemies place so much confidence, are weak instruments of their power when you appear before them: you look at them with courage, and they fall at your feet.

Aragonese! the result of our first attempt has been to leave on the field of battle 18,000 enemies, composing a complete army, which had the audacity to provoke our resentment. We have had the good fortune to get possession of all the property and baggage, of which the people have been infamously plundered, in the countries through which this army passed. Our loss consists only of from 1700 to 2000 killed, and an equal number wounded: a loss bearing no comparison to the triumph we have obtained. Their precious blood is shed in the field of glory, on their own territory, and these blessed martyrs demand new victims; let us prepare for the sacrifice, Aragonese! be not impatient. The enemy against whom we fight is rash, and will afford frequent opportunities for you to exercise your skill and your courage. If, especially, the lawless bands which violate our city of Madrid, and the Commander, Murat, should venture to approach us, we should receive the intelligence with the highest satisfaction; we would anticipate their expectations, and meet them half way.

Aragonese! if the battle of Saragossa had been gained by these intruders, we should have heard their babbling of the victories of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, acquired by the same valour. Although the conquest we have effected has been sanguinary, yet it has been glorious.

Do you consider it as a trifling commencement of your future triumphs under the powerful assistance of your illustrious leader and patron;

PALAFOX.

Head-quarters at Saragossa, June 17.

A mail from Malta has brought Gibraltar papers to June 19. The Gibraltar Chronicle of the 18th. contains an account of an affair between Dupont and the patriots, at the bridge of Alcolea and at Cordova. The account is not very detailed or clear. It should seem as if General Eschevarri had advanced to Cordova, and that a detachment had been posted to defend the pass of the bridge of Alcolea. After a brave defence, the patriots fell back upon Cordova, and on the afternoon of the 7th the French appeared before the town, and began to batter it. There must have been a very long contest, for the French are said to have begun to batter the town before two in the afternoon, and that the action had begun about four in the morning. The armed inhabitants unhappily gave way, or the French, it is said, would have been annihilated. Eschaverri, (the leader of the patriots,) finding it impossible to keep Cordova, retired with his troops to Ecija.—This account evidently relates to the first action, in which the patriots were defeated. No attempt however is made to varnish the transaction, or to insinuate that the patriots had not sustained a loss. On the contrary, the supreme board of government published the official letters relating the disaster, and accompanied them with the following public notice:—

“For general satisfaction that all may know the real extent of the misfortune which has befallen our troops at Cordova, and that it entirely arises from this circumstance, that the troops composed of inhabitants did not fight so bravely as they ought to have done, since had they acquitted themselves properly, the

French army would have been completely destroyed; and that the people may thereby be excited to wipe off this trifling blot from their 'scutcheon by their ardour and steadiness in the field;—this supreme board of government orders the publication of the two following letters, one of which is from the officer commanding the van, confidently expecting and enjoining every one, for the safety of the country to display in such actions as may be fought for the future, the discipline, vigour, and steadiness, which have ever been characteristic of true Spaniards, and which are so necessary in the existing critical circumstances, under which they become an imperious duty."

Letters from Gibraltar, dated the 17th of June, represent the Spaniards to be in possession of the passes of the Sierra Morena, and to have succeeded in intercepting a convoy of 1000 mules and carts, with ammunition and provisions going from Madrid to join General Dupont at Cordova; the escort of 400 men was cut off to a man.—The strong fortifications of the Figueras, which command the eastern pass of the Pyrenees, are also said to be taken; and the garrison to the amount of 600, cut off by the Spaniards.—The French are still in possession of the citadel at Barcelona, but the Spaniards were preparing to besiege it.—All the transports in the bay (the letters add) are to sail to-day to bring down the Spanish garrisons from Majorca and Minorca to Cadiz, to join the grand army under General Castanos, near Seville.

Great exertions appear to be making by Bonaparte to send troops to Spain. The army under General Augereau has been ordered to march thither in detached parties from Germany; the Polish army also under Prince Poniatowsky has received the same route; as has likewise the division of Davoust, which was in-

tended to march to India; the troops in Pomerania, and wherever else they can possibly be spared. In the mean time, however, a disposition to revolt strongly manifested in Italy has compelled him to send part of his troops to that country, which he had intended for Spain. In order to counteract the effect of his proceedings with respect to the Pope, he has, it is said, consented that his holiness shall remain in the Vatican as bishop of Rome, with a revenue of 3,000,000 florins.

Extract of a Letter from an Officer on board his Majesty's ship Magnificent, dated Cadiz, June 14.

I have the happiness to acquaint you, that the French ships, consisting of five sail of the line and one frigate, surrendered to the Spaniards after an obstinate engagement of two days; and I am sorry to say that we were merely spectators of this business, in consequence of their not permitting us to take an active part, from the circumstance of their conceiving it would be a degradation of our sharing in the first blow that they were determined to strike against the common enemy, and more especially from the conduct of the then governor, whom they suspected of being in the French interest, which exasperated the multitude to such a height, that in their rage they poignarded him; for after the ships had been taken possession of, they discovered that he had clandestinely conveyed on board of the different vessels nearly all the arms and ammunition, and powder belonging to the garrison, with eight millions of dollars; and owing to this having been made known to the inhabitants, the Spanish officers are actually afraid to land the prisoners, fearful that they should be all massacred by the Patriots.—They are all very fine ships, and we are very sorry that we could not get hold of them, after so much trouble and fatigue.—We have landed between 3 and 4000 men within the distance of 20 miles of Cadiz, with orders to intercept, if possible, a French army destined for that quarter.—This is good news for Old England, as it will be the means of opening a market for the sale of our manufactured commodities.—Many of the French officers are married to ladies of the most respectable families in Cadiz.

Dutch Papers to the 14th instant, and German to the 28th ult. have been received. The courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg appear to meditate an attempt to restrain Bonaparte's usurpations, and to induce him to revoke his late orders respecting the Pope. They have each sent ministers to Paris, to remonstrate against the seizure of the ecclesiastical states.

The military exertions of Austria are of a nature that indicate the alarm and jealousy which the conduct of Bonaparte has excited in her councils. The measures which she now has in execution are twofold:—the one for organizing a national *levy en masse*, by calling out the entire male population of the country, capable of bearing arms; and the other for establishing, by ballot, an army of reserve of 52 battalions, or 59,800 men, to be exercised at given periods, and to recruit the regulars.

The French ambassador, Andreossi, had remonstrated on the subject of this armament, and delivered a letter, written by Napoleon, from Bayonne, in which the latter declared his surprise and regret that Austria should engage in so extensive a system of preparation, at a period, too, when the situation of the continent neither called for nor justified such armament.—The Austrian Emperor answered, that a period of general tranquillity was alone the time for arrangements, the sole object of which was to secure the continuance of peace.

Russia, by virtue of her treaty with the Turks, has taken definitive possession of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia.—The Russian minister at Vienna, Prince Kurakin, received intelligence to this effect on the 15th of June, and immediately after held conferences with Count Stadion and General Andreossi, in consequence of which a body of Austrian troops, on their march to

the frontiers of Bosnia, had been countermanded.—Lieut. General Kuschinikow has been appointed governor of Wallachia, and two other Generals have been entrusted with the governments of Moldavia and Bessarabia. Gawrill, the late Metropolitan of Kiow, has been appointed head of the church in the ceded provinces.

It is the misfortune of this country to agree as little with its friends as with its enemies.—It is well known that we had prepared a force of 15,000 effective men for the Baltic, and much was expected from this co-operation to the cause of Sweden, nor was it least in our thoughts that our army had nothing to fear but from its ally.—Odd, however, as it may seem, such is the fact; Sir John Moore narrowly escaped captivity in the very city he was sent to assist; and our expedition has come back without any other laurel than that of having rescued its commander in chief from a dungeon in Stockholm.

The cause of disagreement between the commander of our expedition and the King of Sweden, is thus stated in the ministerial prints:—His Majesty having demanded from General Moore the uncontrolled command of the British troops, in order to employ them in a manner which the general conceived to be contrary to the instructions he had received; the latter refused compliance, alledged that he had been appointed commander in chief by his sovereign, the King of England, and of course, could not resign it to any other person on earth. On this the King of Sweden informed the general that powers had been vested in him by the British government superior to those held by the general. Sir John then said,—“If your Majesty will condescend to produce those orders to me, they shall be punctually obeyed.” This so enraged his Majesty that he ordered him to be placed under arrest; but the general

escaped in the following manner:—Johnson, the messenger, was at Stockholm, and had a cart in waiting a short distance from the city, to which Gen. Moore found means of access in the dress of a private gentleman—and by this conveyance he arrived at Gottenburgh at five o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday the 29th. of June, after an astonishing short journey of 46 hours. He first visited his apartments at Gottenburgh for the purpose of ascertaining that his papers had safely been carried on board the Victory; which having ascertained, he proceeded along side that ship, disguised as he had travelled from Stockholm.

Advices are received from Sir T. Dyer, dated Benevento, July 16, which state, that a battle took place between the French and Spanish armies, commanded by Generals Lasoles and Cuesta, on the 14th, at Rio Seco, near Valladolid, which lasted from eight till half past twelve. The French force consisted of 10,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and artillery, and a large proportion of cannon; that of the patriots amounted to 14,000 infantry, with only 800 cavalry, 26 pieces of cannon, and a body of peasantry. The ardour and impetuosity of the new levies in the patriot army were not to be restrained, and consequently they fell in upon the French, and, in the first onset drove the enemy back, capturing four pieces of cannon, which they spiked. The country, however, being open, and the French being greatly superior in cavalry and artillery, the brave patriots were unable to maintain the advantage they had gained. They however retreated in good order to Benevento, under cover of the Spanish regiment of Carabineers, leaving behind them 13 pieces of cannon; but the French had suffered so desperately in the action, that they were not in a condition to enter Rio Seco till four

hours after the battle, and they made no attempt to pursue the patriots to Benevento, where General Cuesta continued at the date of Sir Thomas Dyer's letter, receiving reinforcements, which would speedily enable him to court another meeting with his adversary, and with every prospect of a different result. It must, however, be admitted, that in the plains of Leon and Castile, the enemy, whilst they maintain a superiority in cavalry and horse artillery, fight with great advantage against raw troops, inadequately equipped.—The loss, in killed and wounded is not mentioned. It was reported that the French General Lasolles was killed, as his horse was said to have been found without a rider. Such are the leading particulars of this battle, upon the accuracy of which the public may rely.

PROCLAMATION.

Badajos, June 27.—The following notice was received at nine o'clock at night from his Excellency the General of the Province.

Soria, June 18.

It appears that the divine blessing again attends us and the generalissimo. *Our Lady of Pilar has given us a new proof of her favour and protection.* After the French had fallen in the battles of Tudela, Mallen, Gaul, and Arragon, in which places they appeared to the number of 5 or 6000, an army of 12,000 French had orders to enter Saragossa on the day of Corpus Christi, and the command was, that the town should be penetrated, although only one soldier remained to descend from the ramparts. *By the miraculous interference of the Holy Virgin*, a battle was fought by the patriots against these troops, at the distance of only gun-shot from Saragossa. All the French were put to the sword, not a single man remained to tell the dismal narrative to his countrymen. The Arragonese fought like furies, and as they approached the enemy,

they threw away their muskets and rushed upon the plain regardless of life. Four hundred horses which remained, and 27 baggage waggons were taken after this victory. Our loss, it is supposed, has been great; but without considerable sacrifices no such triumphs can be acquired; conquest however will amply repay us the losses we sustain.

This is communicated to the public, for its satisfaction, by order of the junta. A. BERGER, Sec.

By order of the supreme junta of government, this is published.

J. B. PARDO, Sec.

Seville, June 29:

The Portuguese schooner *Angelica*, Captain De Costa, is arrived at Falmouth, with dispatches for the Portuguese ambassador, from the provisional government of Oporto, and also two Portuguese deputies. The *Angelica* left Oporto on the 11th inst. The dispatches brought by her announce the arrival of Col. Brown, at Oporto, after a passage of five days from England. His mission was partly to make a tender of British assistance, of which the Portuguese immediately availed themselves.—They have requested arms, ammunition, and money. There is scarcely a man in the North of Portugal who has not made a voluntary tender of his services to march against the French. Those who are possessed of arms have already been incorporated with the regulars, and have marched against the enemy.

The French General Loison, who, according to the last accounts, had advanced to Armazante, had retreated to Mizaofrio, about six leagues from Armazante, where he had entrenched himself, but was soon surrounded by the patriotic band, who cut off all his resources. In this state he requested permission to be allowed time to draw up terms, upon which he would consent to capitulate. His request was com-

plied with; and in a few hours he sent in a flag of truce, assuring the leaders of the patriots that he would surrender his army to any general officer of the Portuguese army; he did this to save the effusion of blood; being acquainted with the determination of the Portuguese people to shew no quarter.

This task was consigned by the patriots to General Bernardine Friere, who is now at the head of the Portuguese army in the North of Portugal, and who had proceeded to Mizaofrio, to receive the capitulation of Loison. In this army Laborde has a command; he is the person who was at the head of the detachment directed to put to death the few persons in Lisbon, who had been taken up for having betrayed a disposition to revolt against the doctrines of the French on their first entrance into Lisbon. The patriots, it is said, had protested against the life of Laborde. Bernardine Friere is a General of most distinguished merit; he served under General Forbes at Rossilon: on the entry of the French he resigned his commission in the Portuguese army, and refused to serve in that of France. All the French at Algarve have been put to death by the patriots. At Sardo, a body of Portuguese marched eleven leagues in one day, in very hot weather, and through the worst of roads, to attack 900 Frenchmen; they fell in with them, and put nearly the whole to death.

By the extraordinary Gazette of Saragossa of the 3d instant, it appears the preceding accounts of victories signed by M. Palafox (one of which we have given to our readers) is unfounded. The town was severely bombarded, but the French were finally repulsed. There are various reports of other battles, but they do not appear sufficiently authentic to merit the attention of our readers.

The letters by the Gottenburgh

mail corroborate the important fact mentioned in the Hamburgh letter in our last, of the French Ambassador, General Andreossi having quitted Vienna in disgust, and of the probability of a speedy rupture between Austria and France. Some accounts say, that Andreossi took the route of Paris, while others assert, that he proceeded direct for Bayonne. It is added, that advices had been received in Sweden, of the Russians being in the utmost state of activity on the side of Poland, and that a very large army was assembling in that direction. The Swedes appear to have abandoned the invasion of Norway. On the side of Finland, they are said to have suffered considerable loss near Wasa. There was a report at Yarmouth on Sunday, of an action having been fought between the Swedish and Russian flotillas, on the 8th inst. in which several of the latter were captured; but we find by the mail, that so late as the 10th, both fleets continued inactive.

His Majesty's ship *Revenge* is arrived at Portsmouth from Cadiz, having on board the Spanish Admiral, and three other Spanish officers, as commissioners from the provisional government at Seville to this country. In consequence of orders previously received, the *Revenge* was exempted from quarantine; and on the landing of the strangers, they were received with the most marked demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants of Portsmouth.

The Bittern sloop of war, which lately arrived at Plymouth, brought his excellency Sidkig Effendi, as Turkish ambassador from Constantinople. When his excellency put off from the ship to land, he was saluted with seventeen guns. His dispatches are said to be of the greatest importance, and supposed to relate to peace between Turkey and this country. The Bittern spoke the ship *Adair* was carrying out Mr.

Adair, who when on board the Bittern, and finding the dispatches of importance, sent home his secretary, with the Turkish ambassador, for fresh instructions. The Bittern landed at Vigo, and was informed there that 1800 French had been killed in different engagements with the Spaniards. The report also was, that the French Admiral Rossilly, at Cadiz, was mortally wounded by the fire of the Spanish batteries, and that he had since died of his wounds.

LETTER FROM MR. JEFFERSON.

To the Delegates of the Democratic Republicans of the City of Philadelphia, in General Committee assembled.

The epoch, fellow citizens, into which our lot has fallen, has indeed been fruitful of events, which require vigilance, and embarrass deliberation. That, during such a period of difficulty, and amidst the perils surrounding us, the public measures which have been pursued should meet your approbation, is a source of great satisfaction.

It was not expected, in this age, that nations, so honourably distinguished by their advances in science and civilization, would suddenly cast away the esteem they had merited from the world, and, revolting from the empire of morality, assume a character in history, which all the tears of their posterity will never wash from its pages. But, during this delirium of the warring powers, the ocean having become a field of lawless violence, a suspension of our navigation, for a time, was equally necessary to avoid contest, or enter it with advantage. This measure will indeed produce some temporary inconvenience, but promises lasting good, by promoting among ourselves the establishment of manufactures hitherto sought abroad, at the risk of collisions no longer regulated by laws of reason or morality.

It is to be lamented that any of our citizens, not thinking with the mass of the nation as to the principles of our government, or of its administration, and seeing all its proceedings with a prejudiced eye, should so misconceive and misrepresent our situation as to encourage aggression from foreign nations. Our expectation is, that their distempered views will be understood by others, as they are by ourselves.

But should war be the consequence of these delusions, and the errors of our dissatisfied citizens find atonement only in the blood of their sounder brethren, we must meet it as an evil necessarily flowing from that liberty of speaking and writing which guards our other liberties; and I have entire confidence in the assurances that your ardour will be animated, in the conflicts brought

on, by considerations of the necessity, honour, and justice of our cause.

I sincerely thank you, fellow citizens, for the concern you so kindly express for my future happiness. It is a high and abundant reward for endeavours to be useful; and I supplicate the care of Providence over the well being of yourselves and our beloved country.

May 25.

T. JEFFERSON.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

Mr. Duff has left London for Portsmouth, from whence he will immediately sail in a frigate already appointed for his reception, for Cadiz. From thence he is to proceed to Seville, as minister to the supreme junta. The frigate which conveys Mr. Duff to Spain, takes out one million of dollars for the use of the Spanish patriots, which are to be placed at the disposal of the supreme junta of Seville.

One hundred and fifty-one transports from the Baltic, under General Moore, were last week victualled at Portsmouth in 48 hours, the number of troops on board were 19,000. They are expected to sail immediately.

The British regiments on board the transports at Spithead are the 4th, 28th, 52d, 79th, 92d, three companies of the 95th regiment, and a proportion of artillery; with several battalions of the King's German legion, amounting in the whole to 13,000 men.—They are to be joined by 5,000 more, who have embarked at Ramsgate. Lieut.-General Sir Hew Dalrymple (commander of the forces at Gibraltar) is to have the chief command; Sir Harry Burrard, to be second; and Sir John Moore, third in command.

Several regiments of volunteers have offered to extend their services to any part of Spain. The 1st brigade of guards, now at Deal, which lately returned from Sicily, have

likewise petitioned to be sent to assist the Spaniards, and in consequence, the order for the 2d brigade of guards to be in readiness for immediate embarkation, has been countermanded. Transports are preparing for the reception of this distinguished corps, and it is expected it will be embarked in time to sail with the troops now collecting at Portsmouth.

Shipments of ammunition and stores of every description, continue to be made for the supply of the Spanish and Portuguese patriots. The quantity of gunpowder under orders to be sent off consists of not less than 10,000 barrels of 1 cwt. each.

On Wednesday the 20th. 2 waggons, loaded with dollars, were taken from the bank to proceed to Portsmouth, COURT OF KING'S BENCH, June 25.

THE KING *v* HART and WHITE.

This was a second information filed by the Attorney-General against the defendants, for a libel upon Lord Ellenborough.

Sir Vicary Gibbs opened the case at considerable length.—The libel for which he prosecuted was contained in The Independent Whig, published on two successive Sundays in January last.—The gist of the libellous matter was contained in a most foul imputation against Lord Ellenborough, upon the circumstance of his charge to a jury, at the trial of Boyce *versus* Bayley, in the King's Bench.

From the several letters which were published in The Independent Whig, upon this trial, Sir Vicary Gibbs extracted the libellous matter which was

was imputed to his lordship; inferring that the tendency of these libels was to pull down the lord chief justice from his seat,—to blast not only his judicial but his moral character; to institute a parallel between his lordship and judge Jefferys, and, in the person of my Lord Ellenborough, to bring into contempt as far as the authors were able, the whole administration of justice in the kingdom, criminal as well as civil.

The Attorney General then read to the jury the libellous matter which was put upon the record.—In one part Lord Ellenborough is accused *with a strong bias to arbitrary power, and that his disposition this way was so evident, that one might suppose that we lived in the reign of James the Second, instead of in that of George the Third.*—The writer then proceeded to talk of Scroggs and Jefferys, and as far as he could openly do it, institutes a parallel between Lord Ellenborough and those judges who had disgraced the bench.

After reading to the jury much of the same sort of matter, he concluded an able speech with anticipating a verdict for the crown.

The printing and publication of the papers in question being proved upon the defendants:—

Mr. Clifford, for the defendants, delivered a most animated, eloquent, and learned speech.—He traced the history of libels almost from the dawn of our constitution: he investigated the characters of the different judges, and analysed the motive and legality of the various prosecutions upon similar charges.—He endeavoured principally to shew, that it would have been more magnanimous in my Lord Ellenborough's advisers, for whom he professed the highest respect, to have wrapped themselves up in the conscious dignity of his innocence, than to have begged that character from the verdict of a jury, which the world was always ready to give him.

He maintained that there would be no end of prosecutions, if the intemperate language of every periodical writer was to pass the fiery ordeal of such an Aristarchus as an attorney-general; that Locke, Burke, Junius, and the immortal Chatham, would, under such a reign of literary terrorism, as was now attempted to be established, have been totally eclipsed, and pushed out of the hemisphere of science and liberal dis-

cussion. He added, that where the general motive of a man's writing appeared to be virtuous and honest, where his sentiments flowed from a genuine love of liberty, and indignant hatred of abuse—that, in cases of this sort, it was unbecoming, and meanly captious, to take down the statute book, and criticise such a man's writings, in order to punish a little excess and intemperance of language, which, in the warmth of feeling, was not easily guarded against.

He stated likewise, that the defendants were generally speaking, ignorant and innocent men; that they knew not, in these letters which they published, that they were exposing themselves to the animadversion of a court of justice. They admitted them into their columns as matter of fair discussion; they meant well in the publication, and what was written against Lord Ellenborough, however intemperate it might be, yet, as it was intended rather as a premonition and an expostulation, than as a libel, it would have been wiser to overlook it; and that the jury would, perhaps, better satisfy themselves and the public, and, perhaps, even the feelings of the noble lord himself, by a verdict of *Acquittal*.

“At least (said Mr. Clifford) this is not the time, gentlemen, to abridge the liberty of the press; and if the verdict which you deliver this day be against the defendants, I shall then suspect that it is intended to stab it to the heart. God forbid! but times are ominous, and those who have not the inspiration to predict, may at least forebode.

“Upon the rupture of the peace of Amiens we may all remember, it was urged as one of the popular motives for war, that Bonaparte was desirous to abridge the liberties of the British press; that he complained, that not a vessel came over to France which did not contain a cargo of libels against him and his government: that these libels must be extinguished, or it was impossible to maintain any terms of amity with the English nation.

“Our government replied to him, that the liberty of the press was not theirs to concede—that it was essential to the English constitution—that they could not admit into discussion any proposed restraint upon it, for that it made as free with them as it could possibly do with France.

"This, Gentlemen, was a noble answer. It was a motive of resistance alone well worthy of a war. Let us not then crush or abridge, by the verdict of a court of justice, what we have refused to the sword of the enemy: Let us preserve this palladium, though the temple burn around us, and let us lodge it in its proper sanctuary, and commit it to its best defenders, the jury and the jury-box."

After much other matter, in which Mr. Clifford endeavoured to explain away the malignity of the imputed libels, he concluded with a most pathetic address to the feelings of the court. He spoke nearly four hours.

The Attorney-General made a short reply.

Mr. Justice Grose, in a brief summing up, pronounced the letters submitted to the court to be the most flagrant libel he ever remembered to have read.

The jury, after a few minutes conference, returned a verdict of **GUILTY** against the defendants.

The trial lasted eight hours. The court was crowded in every part.

On the 29th. a motion was made in the court of King's Bench by Mr. Holroyd, and argued by Mr. Clifford, for a new trial in the case of Hart and White, on account of the informality of evidence as to the publication of the paper, which was however refused; and on Saturday July 2d. Mr. White, editor, and Mr. Hart, printer, of the Whig newspaper, appeared in the court of King's Bench, to receive sentence for the publication of the two libels, of which they had been found guilty, on Judge Le Blanc and Lord Ellenborough. Mr. Holroyd and Mr. Clifford addressed the court in extenuation of punishment, for Mr. White, on account of ill health, (who it appeared from the affidavits of two eminent medical men, ran great risk of his life by a long confinement) and as not being himself the author of the obnoxious libels, which were written by Mr. Gale Jones, and Wm. Augustus Miles, Esq. and for Hart as being merely the printer, and by no means accessory to any intentional offence. Judge Grose passed sentence as follows:—That the defendants be imprisoned three years, White in Dorchester, and Hart in Gloucester jail; and that at the expiration of that time, they give security for their good behaviour for

five years, each in 500*l.* and sureties in 250*l.* each. Mr. White and Mr. Hart were conveyed to their respective prisons on the following Thursday.

On the 4th. inst. the Attorney-General moved the judgment of the court of King's Bench on the editors and printers of seven of the London newspapers for a paragraph reflecting on the conduct of the jury who acquitted the Captain of the slave ship referred to in the case of White. As they had suffered judgment to go by default, the court after an admonition, fined them 25*l.* each, and dismissed them.

An inquisition was held on the 20th. before the Under Sheriff of Middlesex, and a special jury, to assess damages in this case, the defendant, Sir A. Paget, having allowed judgment to go against him by default. Mr. Parke, for the plaintiff, stated that the case was aggravated by the way in which Sir A. P. made his visits at the plaintiff's house being uniformly in his absence. He was also in the habit of meeting Lady B. in the mornings in Kensington Gardens, where she went to give her child an airing, on which occasions the lady and gentleman uniformly walked one way, and the nurse and children the contrary.—To prove the happy state in which Lord and Lady B. lived together, Lord Anlherst, the Hon. G. Villiers, Sir W. Elford, Dr. Vaughan, the Rev. Mr. Hade, &c. were examined. The servants also proved the constant visits of the defendant in the plaintiff's absence, and their meetings in Kensington Gardens. Mr. Garrow, for the defendant, argued, that this was far from being an aggravated case, as there was no breach of the rights of hospitality, nor had a single witness traced the defendant once to the plaintiff's table. The calamity, he was satisfied, was attributable solely to the fashion of the present day, which led the husband one way and the wife another. He contended that no criminality had taken place till the lady was questioned by her husband, when, feeling that he did not possess her undivided affections, she was unable to look him in the face, and had, in consequence, thrown herself into the arms of the defendant, who would have deserved the most vindictive damages to be imposed on him could he, a gallant soldier, have acted otherwise than he had done! On the whole, he said, it was apparent, that this was a case of

misfortune rather than of guilt!! After a suitable charge from Mr. Barchall the under sheriff, the jury gave a verdict—Damages 10,000/.

On Friday the 15th. about nine in the evening, there was a storm, near Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, in its appearance and consequences exceeding any thing that has, for a long series of years, been known to this country. The thunder and lightning were tremendous; and the shower of hail, which formed a part of this tremendous phenomenon, was of a nature that would scarcely justify belief, if we had not a perfect confidence in the gentleman who communicated the account. The storm appeared to have spent its chief fury between Piper's Inn, on the road from Wells to Bridgewater, and the village of Ashgate. Here the corn was laid flat; the roads were inundated; the apple-trees, which abound in that country, were stripped not only of their fruit, but of their very leaves; and almost every pane of glass in the latter village was broken. The large hail-stones, which were of an irregular form, measured six inches in circumference; and the lesser ones, or rather balls of ice, were about half that size. The inhabitants were so much alarmed at this extraordinary visitation, that they trembled for their lives; and few of them, to use their own expression, expected to behold the return of day.

Accounts from different parts of the country, communicate numerous distressing consequences of the late extraordinary heat of the weather. A man, at Corby, Lincolnshire, on Wednesday evening, while hoeing thistles, was so overcome by the heat that he died in the field.—A woman employed in making hay in a field adjoining the town of Huntingdon, complained of being ill from the heat, and died before she could get home.—A woman at Bellesdon, in Leicestershire, on Wednesday, died of the excessive heat.—Two hay-makers, who had been working in a field near Hampstead, were found dead; and three persons, belonging to the same place, are suffering so severely from the same cause, as to render their recovery doubtful.—The horses in Mr. Patterson's carriage, going to Cronier, stopped on the road, unable to proceed, and on unharnessing them, one fell lifeless. Many horses have died in the different mail and other coaches.

Mr. Coko's annual sheep shearing at Holkham was numerously attended.—Mr. F. Smith exhibited various beautiful specimens of ladies' Merino dresses, scarfs, shawls, stockings, coatings, cassimeres, and stocking knit; most of which were manufactured from Mr. Coke's Wool, by himself and Mr. Paul. A pair of the worsted stockings were of so delicate a fabric, that the two stockings passed at the same time through a lady's ring. A manufacturer had ordered a dozen pair at the price of 18 guineas per dozen.—Before the company separated, Mr. Coke strongly recommended the granting of leases.

Those who are fond of fanciful prophecies and astrological predictions, may find some amusement in the following curious document respecting the DOWNFALL OF BONAPARTE!

A Divine of no less eccentricity than erudition, and a great admirer of Fleming's commentaries on the Revelations, says, that the downfall of Bonaparte is nigh at hand, grounding his assertion on particular texts in the 13th chapter of the book of Revelation:—*The beast rising out of the sea (Corsica), with seven heads and ten horns, and upon his ten horns ten crowns*—is Bonaparte. This beast was to have reigned *forty and two months*.—As Emperor of France, Bonaparte has nearly reigned this exact number of months. The Dragon (*i. e. the Devil*) gave him his power and great authority; and he caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their hand—*i. e.* Bonaparte has caused all persons to submit to his tyranny.—The beast's number was *six hundred three score and six*, which exactly corresponds with the numerical calculation of all the letters in Bonaparte's name, reckoning the letters according to the number affixed to each before the introduction of figures.—N—40, A—1, P—60, O—50, L—20, E—5, A—1, N—40, (the letters of his christian name;) B—2, U—110, O—50, N—40, A—1, P—60, A—1, R—80, T—100, E—5, being the letters in his surname, amounting altogether to 666, the identical number of the beast—*i. e.* Bonaparte. This divine adds, that without the smallest doubt, as the truth of Revelation can never be questioned, so it follows that the Spanish Patriots are destined to put an end to the reign of this beast—(BONAPARTE.)!!!

THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST PRICE OF STOCKS FROM JUNE 25, to JULY 23, 1896: including

By JOHN HENNING, Broker, No. 8, Capel Court, Bartholomew Lane, London.

Days	Bank Stock.	India Stock.	3 pr. Ct. Reduced.	3 pr. Ct. Consols.	4 pr. Ct.	5 pr. Ct.	Long Term	Omn.	India Bonds.	Exchange Bills.	Stocks are all open.
June 25			67 1/2		83 1/2		18 1/2	20.	par 1p.	3. 5p.	
27			68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	21.	par 1p.	3. 4p.	
28	240 1/2		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	22.	par	3. 4p.	
29			68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	23.	2d. par	4. 4p.	
30			68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	24.	1. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
July 1	241		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	25.	2. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
2			68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	26.	3. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
3			68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	27.	4. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
4	242 1/2		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	28.	5. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
5	242 1/2		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	29.	6. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
6			68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	30.	7. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
7	242 1/2		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	31.	8. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
8	242 1/2		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	32.	9. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
9			68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	33.	10. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
10	243		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	34.	11. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
11	243		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	35.	12. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
12	242 1/2		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	36.	13. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
13	242 1/2		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	37.	14. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
14	242 1/2		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	38.	15. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
15			68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	39.	16. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
16	240 1/2		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	40.	17. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
17			68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	41.	18. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
18	243 1/2		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	42.	19. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
19	243		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	43.	20. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
20	243		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	44.	21. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
21	242 1/2		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	45.	22. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
22	242 1/2		68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	46.	23. 2d. par	4. 4p.	
23			68 1/2		84 1/2		18 1/2	47.	24. 2d. par	4. 4p.	

N. B. The days omitted are Sundays, or Holidays.—The blank spaces denote that nothing was done in that fund.—
P. stands for Premium and D. for Discount.

THE MONTHLY REGISTER,

FOR AUGUST, 1808.

STATE PAPERS.

THE POPE OF ROME.

Answer of his Eminence Cardinal Gabrieli, first secretary of state, to the note of his Excellency M. Champagny, addressed to M. Le Fevre, charge d'affaires from the Emperor of France, April 19, 1808.

After your excellency had made known to the Holy Father, that it was the decided wish of his Majesty the Emperor and King, that he should enter into an offensive and defensive league with the other powers of Italy, as had been declared by M. Champagny to the Cardinal Caprara, by note of the 3d. current, the dispatch of the said cardinal has been received, which brought the original note of the above minister.

The holy father, after having attentively read and considered the said document, has ordered Cardinal Gabrieli, first secretary of state, to make known to your excellency, his holiness's sentiments on its contents; beginning with that which forms the cardinal point among all the others. His holiness has seen with pain, that even the final proposition therein contained, of the offensive and defensive league, should be accompanied with the threat of depriving him of his temporal dominions, in case of his non-compliance. If worldly considerations had at all influenced the conduct of the holy father, he would from the first, have yielded to the wish of his Majesty, and not have exposed himself to suffer so many calamities; but the holy father is regulated alone by the consideration due to his duty and his conscience; both have prevented

him from agreeing to the federation, and they equally hinder him from consenting to the offensive and defensive league, which differs but in name; its nature, however, does not except any prince, to whom the pope, according to the nature of the times, might not become an enemy.

His holiness feels, moreover, that this article, far from improving, detracts from his situation. In the articles presented to Cardinal de Bayan, the federation was proposed as alone against heretics and the English. But this is couched in general terms, pointing out no people as an enemy, yet excluding no government, no nation, from the contingency of becoming one. If, then, his holiness declined, from conscientious motives, to be a party to that federation, so he is equally withheld from this league. The holy father would not merely bind himself to a defence, but to an aggression. Then would be seen the minister of the God of Peace placing himself in a state of perpetual warfare; then would be seen their common father in arms against his children, and the head of the church exposing himself, by his own act, to a deprivation of his spiritual connection with the catholics of those powers against which the league would make it imperative on him to act hostilely. How then can his holiness shake off his power and natural character, and sacrifice, as must be the consequence, the interest of religion?

His holiness, unlike other Princes, is invested with a two-fold character, namely, of sovereign pontiff, and of temporal sovereign, and has given

repeated evidence that he cannot, by virtue of this second qualification, enter up engagements which would lead to results militating against his first and most important office, and injuring the religion of which he is the head, the propagator, and the avenger. His holiness, therefore, cannot enter into any offensive and defensive league, which would, by a permanent and progressive system, drag him into hostility against all those powers upon which his Majesty may think proper to make war; since the Italian states, now dependent upon his Majesty, can never avoid taking part of such wars. His holiness would consequently be obliged to become a party in them by virtue of this league. Such an engagement must begin to be acted upon by the pope from this moment, and against any catholic Prince; thus waging war against him without a motive. Further, it must be waged against all those powers, whether catholic or not, who may, upon whatever grounds, be the enemies of any Italian Prince.

Thus is the head of the church, accustomed as he is to rule his estates in peace, driven in a moment to a state of warfare, offensive against hostile powers, and defensive of the others. This engagement is too repugnant to the sacred duties of his holiness, and too injurious to the interests of religion, to be entered into by the head of that religion. His holiness feels that it would be a dereliction of truth to enter into the league; he would announce by such a resolution, his refusal of any accommodation, any peace with the Emperor, and would even declare hostilities against him. How could it ever be supposed, that his holiness should be capable of declaring war against any power? He has long been enduring the most hostile treatment, and is therefore prepared to endure the threatened loss of his temporal dominions.

Heaven is witness of the purity of his holiness intentions, and the world will judge if it was possible to have conceived so extraordinary a scheme. Ardently desiring to compromise, and to be in peace with his Majesty, he manifested, in his note of the 28th. of January last, his compliance, as far as it was possible to comply; his Majesty, however, does not practice all those concessions which he might practice towards the holy see: he persists inflexibly in demanding what his holiness neither can nor will accede to, in binding him to a war, and to a perpetual and aggressive war, under the pretence of securing the tranquillity of Italy. What can Italy have to fear, if his holiness should not enter into the proposed league?

Surrounded as the papal dominions are by those of his Majesty, no rational fear could be entertained but of the ports; yet his holiness having offered to shut them during the present war against the enemies of France, and to guard the coast, he thus proposed to contribute as far as was in his power, without betraying his sacred duties, to the security and tranquillity of Italy. If in spite of all this, his Majesty shall take possession, as he has threatened, of the papal dominions, respected by all, even the most powerful monarchy, during a space of ten centuries and upwards, and shall overturn the government, his holiness will be unable to prevent this spoliation, and can only, in bitter affliction of heart, lament the evil which his Majesty will commit in the sight of God; trusting in whose protection, his holiness will remain in perfect tranquillity, enjoying the consciousness of not having brought on this disaster by imprudence or by obstinacy, but to preserve the independence of that sovereignty which he ought to transmit uninjured to his successors, as he received it; and to maintain, in its integrity, that conduct which may se-

cure the universal concurrence of all Princes, so necessary to the welfare of religion. For this fidelity to his sacred duties, his holiness will receive consolation from the words of his divine master, "Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness sake."

With respect to the article relating to the dismissal of the cardinals, his holiness, in the complaints alledged, had no need of examining the principle of their allegiance. Presuming on that freedom which the rights of nations allow to every man, to live under that sky which is most congenial to him; presuming on that new allegiance acquired by the domicile of many years, his holiness remarks, that primitive allegiance cannot avail against the sacred obligations undertaken by the cardinals in the church of God, the oaths they take on receiving the purple, and their eminent office of councillors to the sovereign pontiff in his spiritual concerns: and that, therefore, they cannot be torn from his bosom.

With regard to the cessation of the functions of the legate, and to his departure, his holiness could hardly have expected that they would have been attributed to the motives assigned in M. Champagny's note. His holiness will repeat them once more. After having tried every method to recal his Majesty to his previous sentiments towards the papal see, and to concert the desired reparation of so many religious innovations; after having endured for such a length of time, with unsubdued patience, and with unalterable meekness, so many outrages and insults; after having seen how fruitless were all the remonstrances urged against the hostile proceedings of the French; after having peaceably borne the humiliation of imprisonment; and seeing these insults, these contempts, these violations, increase with every hour, his holiness found it necessary, though with the deep-

est regret, to determine on the recal of his legate, in order to overthrow at least, in the face of the world, the false and scandalous opinion, that whatever might occur, even the most flagrant wrongs, would receive his tacit consent.

In this very recal, the precise period of which could not have been anticipated by his holiness, he professed along with those affectionate regards which he entertained for his Majesty, that could he but consent to the demand of the evacuation of Rome, and be satisfied with those concessions which are compatible with the duties of his holiness, the legate might continue in conformity with his instructions, to exercise his functions. But his Majesty proved inflexible, and instead of receding a single step, preferred the discontinuance of the legation, and the departure of the pontifical representative.

It is not, therefore, his holiness, who by this hypothetical recal of his legate, has declared war against the Emperor; it is the Emperor who chooses to declare war against his holiness; and not content with declaring it against his temporal sovereignty, he threatens to raise in his spiritual, a wall of division between the catholics of France and the sovereign pontiff, in the assurance, according to M. Champagny's note, that the cardinal legate, having given up his functions, the Gallican church resumes its doctrine in all its integrity.

His holiness has too good an opinion of the illustrious clergy of France, to doubt that the Gallican church, however jealous of its prerogatives, is yet so attached to the chair of St. Peter, that it will maintain itself unshaken in its true principles, without asserting rights which it does not and cannot possess; nor become schismatic, by separating itself from the catholic unity.

It is not then—the repetition is important—it is not his holiness who

seeks the rupture. A pacific Prince, notwithstanding he was obliged to witness the spoliation, in defiance of all right, of his states of Benevento and Ponte Corvo; notwithstanding his enormous expence of maintaining French troops; notwithstanding the usurpation of his capital, the usurpation of almost all his sovereign rights; notwithstanding the violent dismissal of so many spiritual persons, composing his holy senate; and notwithstanding all the other acts, by which his dignity has been degraded, all that his holiness, did, was to command his people, when the French army entered Rome, to shew it respect; all that his holiness did was to receive it in the most hospitable manner, and implore of his Majesty, in the mean time, relief from so many aggravated evils; and all that his holiness now does in this extremity is, to mourn between the vestibule and the altar, in invoking the pity of heaven upon his people, and that by a return to better counsels, the most potent Emperor Napoleon will not suffer the inheritance of the Roman see, given by Providence to the head of the catholic church in full enjoyment, to be lost and rooted out.

Thus has his holiness made war! Thus has he conducted himself to the present hour towards his Majesty, however distressing and unfortunate has been the result. Still his holiness will cherish the hope that his Majesty, rejecting the counsels of the enemies of the holy see, who have had recourse to every art to change his disposition, will revert to their former friendly correspondence, and satisfied with the concessions made in the note of 28th January. If, by the hidden purposes of the Most High, this should not take place, and his Majesty, regardless of his own glory, and deaf to the calls of justice, should put his threats in execution, and take possession of the states of the church

by right of conquest, overturning the government in consequence, his holiness will be unable to remedy such fatal occurrences; but he solemnly declares, that the first will not be a conquest, as his holiness is in peace with all the world, but will be an usurpation more violent than history can furnish; and the second will not be the result of conquest, but of that usurpation. He declares, at the same time, that it will not be the work of political genius and illumination, but an awful visitation of that God from whom all Sovereignty is derived, and especially that given to the head of the church.

Bowing, in that event, with profound adoration to the decrees of heaven, his holiness will find consolation in reflecting, that the Creator and Redeemer willed these things, and that all concurs to accomplish his purposes when his appointed time arrives.

This is the answer which the undesignated is commanded by his holiness to give to the note of M. Champagny, and to communicate to your excellency.

GABRIELLI, Cardinal.

SPAIN.

Proclamation of the Supreme Junta at Seville.

Seville could not resist the impulse of her heroic royalty, of which she has set the example in all ages. The King, to whom we all swore allegiance with emotions of joy, unprecedented in history, has been decoyed from us. The fundamental laws of our Monarchy are trampled under foot; our property, our customs, our wives—all which the nation holds most dear, is threatened with imminent danger. Our holy religion, our only hope, is doomed to perdition, or will be reduced to mere external appearances, without

support and without protection. And all this is done by a foreign power, not by dint of arms, but by deceit and treachery, by taking advantage of our good nature, and by converting the very persons who call themselves the heads of our government, into instruments of those atrocious acts; persons, who either from the baseness of their sentiments, from shameful fear, or perhaps from other motives, which time or justice will unfold, hesitate not to sacrifice their country. It therefore became necessary to break the shackles, which prevented the Spanish from displaying that generous ardour which in all ages has covered them with glory; that noble courage, with which they have always defended the honour of the nation, their laws, their Monarchs, and their religion.

The people of Seville joined accordingly the 27th May; and, through the medium of all their magistrates, of all their constituted authorities, perfectly united, and of the most respectable individuals of every rank and description. This supreme council of government was formed, invested with all necessary powers, and charged to defend the country, the religion, the laws, and the King. We accept the heroic trust; we swear to discharge it, and reckon on the strength and energy of the whole nation. We have again proclaimed DON FERDINAND VII. our King, again we swore allegiance to him, swore to die in his defence, —and this was the signal of happiness and union, and will prove so to all Spain.

A council of government had scarce been formed, when it violated the most sacred laws of the realm. A president appointed without any authority whatever, and who, had he had any lawful title, hastened to forfeit it. In addition to his being a foreigner, which was a legal objection to his promotion, he acted

with the utmost duplicity, and co-operated for the destruction of the very Monarchy, from whom he received his appointment, and of the laws, which alone could sanction his authority. Under these circumstances we could not restrain our loyalty, and much less could we violate the sacred engagements, which we had before contracted, as Spaniards, as subjects, as christians, as freemen, independent of all foreign authority and power.

Nor could the authority of the first tribunal of the nation, the council of Castile, check or controul our exertions. The weakness of that council became obvious from the wavering and contradictory proceedings it adopted. The most momentous and most critical situation in which the nation ever hath been placed, and in which the council should have displayed that heroic firmness, with which numberless motives and its own honour compelled it to act. The order tamely to submit to, and circulate and obey the act of abdication in favour of a foreign Prince, was the consummation of its weakness, perhaps of its infamy, for that act was evidently void and illegal from want of authority in him who made it, *because the Monarchy was not his own, nor was Spain composed of animals subject to the absolute controul of their rulers*; his accession to the throne was founded on his Royal descent, according to his own confession, and on the fundamental laws of the realm, which invariably regulate the hereditary succession; and with regard to which the council is not invested with any other power, than the sacred duty to enforce their observance. It is void on account of the state of violence and oppression in which it was made, and which is far more evident than the abdication itself; it is void, because the published act of abdication of King Ferdinand VII. and of his uncle

and brother, was made in the same state of violence and compulsion, as is expressly declared, in the very act of abdication; it is void, because many Royal personages, possessed of the right to claim the crown, have not relinquished that claim, but preserve it entire. Add to this the horrid treachery which has been employed to sacrifice and degrade the Spanish nation. It is to our alliance, and our sacrifice that the French are indebted for what they call their triumphs: France withdrew our gallant troops from their native land, and sent them to the most distant countries; she made them fight for her interests, without having any occasion for them, for the obvious purpose of weakening us, and despoiling us of our strength. Her armies afterwards entered Spain, under continual professions and of an anxious desire to promote our prosperity, and under the pretext of co-operating in expeditions against an enemy, of whom no farther mention is made. The people, by a generous effort, prevented the departure of their King, a measure which the French should have hailed with shouts of joy; but far from so doing, they kept a profound silence with regard to that departure, and what is still more, converted it into a motive to oppress us.—France affected to perceive divisions in the nation which did not exist; the Spanish nation having never been more united in the love and defence of its King. The latter was decoyed into the French territory by deceitful insinuations and professions; with a degree of generosity, of which perhaps there does not exist a precedent; the King with implicit reliance on on those vain professions, threw himself into the arms of the French, who with the basest treachery unprecedented in the annals of civilized nations, made him their prisoner, treated him in a manner the most disrespectful, and forced him to the deeds of horror, which all Europe has witnessed with astonishment, and every Spaniard with indignation and the most poignant grief. In a manner equally deceitful they invited the royal parents to their country, and compelled them to unjust and illegal acts; acts which must hand down their memory to the latest posterity branded with disgrace; they also dragged away the rest of the Royal personages, to whom their tender age would have proved an inviolable shield, even among the most barbarous nations.

The French ruler summoned the Spanish nation before him; he chose such deputies as best suited his purpose; in a despotic manner of election of other deputies, appointed to deliberate in a foreign country on the most sacred interest of the nation, while he publicly declared a private and respectful letter, written to him by Ferdinand the Seventh, at the time when he was Prince of Asturias, a criminal performance, injurious to the rights of Sovereignty, although the same foreigner, who now affects to consider it as an offence, perhaps induced him to write it. *It is indeed a heinous offence, it is rebellion, when an independent nation submits to the controul of a foreign Prince, and discusses in his presence and under his decision, its most sacred rights and public welfare!* and neither Seville, nor any Spaniard, will lower himself to a degree of disloyalty and meanness, which could induce him to a rebellion so atrocious, that even slaves would scorn to disgrace themselves by deeds of infamy like this.

He has resorted to many other indecorous means to deceive us. He has distributed seditious libels to corrupt the public opinion, in which under the strongest professions of respect for the laws, and for religion, he insults both, leaves no means untried, however infamous

they may be, to bend our necks under an iron yoke, and make us his slaves. He carries his audacity and deceit the length of assuring the public, in one of his libellous publications, that the Supreme Pontiff and Vicar of Jesus Christ, approves and sanctions his proceedings, while it is notorious, that in sight of all Europe he has despoiled him of his dominions, and forced him to dismiss his cardinals, in order to prevent him from directing and governing the whole church, in the manner sanctioned by our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Spaniards, every consideration calls on us to unite and frustrate views so atrocious. No revolution exists in Spain; nor did we declare war against any power; our sole object is to defend what we hold most sacred, against him, who under the cloak of alliance and friendship, intended to wrest it from us, and who, we have reason to fear, will despoil us, without fighting, of our laws, our Monarchs and our religion. Let us, therefore, sacrifice every thing to a cause so just, and if we are to lose our all, let us lost it fighting, and as brave men.

Join us, therefore, all; the people are ready to take up arms; let us commit to the wisest among us in all the provinces of Spain, the important trust to preserve the public opinion, and refute those insolent libels replete with the most atrocious falsehoods. Let every one combat in his way; and let even the church of Spain incessantly implore the assistance of the God of Hosts, whose protection is secured to us by the evident justice of our cause.

And what do you fear? There is not in Spain the number of the enemy's troops which they proclaim in order, to intimidate us. Those who occupy part of our country are composed of different nations, dragged into service, and who anxiously desire to break their chains. The

positions they have taken are exactly those in which they can be conquered and defeated in the easiest manner. They are besides weak and dismayed, because the consciousness of guilt makes a coward of the bravest man.

All Europe will applaud our efforts, and hasten to our assistance. Italy, Germany, and the whole North, which suffer under the despotism of the French nation, will eagerly avail themselves of the favourable opportunity held out to them by Spain, to shake off their yoke and recover their liberty, their laws, their Monarchs, and all they have been robbed of by that nation. France herself will hasten to erase the stain of infamy which must cover the tools and instruments of deeds most treacherous and heinous. She will not shed her blood in so vile a cause. She has already suffered too much under the idle pretext of a peace and happiness, which never came, and can never be attained but under the empire of reason, peace, religion, and laws, and in a state, where the rights of other nations are respected and observed.

Spaniards, your native country, your property, your laws, your liberty, your Kings, your religion, nay your hopes in a better world, which that religion can alone devise to you and your descendants are at stake, exposed to great and imminent danger.

By command of the Supreme Council of Government,

J. B. ESTELLER, Sec.

J. PARDO, Sec.

Seville, June 2, 1808.

Address to the People of Cadiz.

The commotion more or less violent, which has taken place in the whole peninsula of Spain, has been of eminent service to rouse us from the state of lethargy in which we indulged, and to make us acquainted with our rights, our glory and the inviolable duty which we owe to

our holy religion and our monarch. We wanted some electric stroke to rouse us from our paralytic state of inactivity; we stood in need of a hurricane, to clear the atmosphere of the insalubrious vapours with which it was loaded. Fortunately the only antidote which could save us has proved efficacious. It is, however, necessary to know that if the use of heroic remedies be continued, after the good effect which was expected from them has been obtained, they destroy, annihilate, and kill; that excessive efforts bring on indirect debility, which is worse than direct weakness, because the very principle of strength is emaciated. Hence it is, that although the popular ferment which has pervaded all the provinces has been of considerable use, yet, if not checked, it will produce a state of putrefaction, or, in other words, prove extremely destructive. It is necessary to return to order, and to have confidence in the magistrates, who from their knowledge, studies, and experience, are able to deliberate, combine, and determine as circumstances shall direct. Without the most intimate knowledge, the wisest are liable to err, and how can a mob possibly steer clear of errors, which is mostly guided by the cries of women and boys.

But not restricting myself to this city, I really believe, that all these observations are perfectly useless, because the inhabitants of this city are more enlightened than any other, on account of their trade and intercourse with other nations. There are but few idiots in this city, who are merely guided as it were, by instinct; and much smaller is the number of those, who, from vicious habits, can only exist in confusion and disorder. These few have been joined by others of the neighbouring districts, who neither enlist for the honourable and glorious service in which we are engaged, nor apply themselves to reap

the plentiful crops with which Providence has been pleased to bless us. These are the men who have not looked out for any other employment, than that of disturbing the peace and tranquillity of this place, and of preventing the rest of the inhabitants, nay, the magistrates, from performing their duty. They are well known; and unless they amend their conduct, and all foreigners withdraw to their different habitations, they will certainly be punished. Well-disposed persons will be obliged to take up arms; they who are not able to bear arms, will be employed for other purposes; and boys neglected by their parents, and women who raise the hue and cry, shall be punished. The troops, the whole town, the sword of justice, and, above all, God himself, who avenges the crimes of those who misuse his mercies, authorise and support me. I make this known, that no person may plead ignorance, however disposed I shall always feel to follow the dictates of humanity and mercy. It will never be my wish to punish, but I shall, at all times, be happy to correct.

THOMAS DE MORLA.

Cadiz, June 15.

*Address to the People of Seville.
Spaniards,*

The most artful usurper of the throne of France, imagined that our loyalty and ardour had sunk in apathy; but experience is about to shew him how great an error he commits, in taking for a cowardly inactivity the promising offspring of the noble sentiments which are our characteristics.

The moment in which the most vile of tyrants throws away the mask is that for which we most anxiously waited, to prove to him that we are as intrepid, in the eternal enmity his perfidy has aroused, as we were patient in suffering the most condescending and fatal alliance.

From the tomb of our holy King Ferdinand the first standard was unfurled, which leads us to break the chains by which the Ferdinand we now shout for is disgracefully bound, and under which he groans.

"Oh prodigy! at this heavenly call, let those passions disappear, which in such a crisis, fatality places as a barrier to courage and bravery. Let patriotism which glows in our bosoms foment them, and unite us in the best of causes. God, who is always for the just, is our best guarantee, that the unheard-of conflict will be decided in our favour.

Bayonne, June 27.—On this day the Spanish junta met at noon, at the usual place of sitting.

The report of the precedingsitting having been read and approved, the president then announced that in consequence of a previous resolution, the members of the junta had given in their observations on the project of the constitution, which had been for some days submitted to their judgment and meditation. The president said, every member was at free liberty to give his opinion, and to vote in the manner which was found the most convenient in such numerous assemblies, namely, by sitting or standing. To come more easily to these conclusions, he acquainted them, that all the observations fit to be submitted to the junta, were reduced to the simple form of question and answer.

After this preface the deliberations began, article by article, and continued till six in the evening.

The meeting was then adjourned to the next day.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

was then delivered to the junta.—The following is a copy.

TITLE I.

ART. I. The catholic-apostolic and Roman religion is the predominant and sole religion of Spain and its dominions; none other shall be tolerated.

II.

2. Prince Joseph Napoleon, King of

X

Naples and Sicily, is King of Spain and the Indies.

3. The crown of Spain and the Indies shall be hereditary in the male issue lawfully begotten of the body of the said Prince, according to seniority of birth, to the perpetual exclusion of females.

In default of such issue male, lawfully begotten of the Prince Joseph Napoleon, the crown of Spain shall descend to us and our heirs male, and legal successors, either of our body or by adoption.

In default of such our male descendants and lawful successors, to descend to the issue male and lawful descendants of Prince Louis Napoleon, King of Holland.

And in default of such male descendants and lawful successors of Prince Louis Napoleon, to the issue and lawful successors of Prince Jerome Napoleon, King of Westphalia.

And in default of these, to the first born son, before the death of the last King of the eldest daughter of those who have male issue, and to his male descendants, and lawful successors; and in case the last king shall not have nominated that one of his daughters who has male issue, then to him whom he shall appoint by his will, either among his relations, or among those whom he shall deem most worthy to rule over Spain. This nomination shall be delivered to the Cortes for their acceptance.

4. The crown of Spain shall never be fixed upon the same head with any other crown.

5. In all the edicts and laws, the title of the King of Spain shall be — D. N. — by the grace of God, and the Constitution of the state, King of Spain and the Indies.

6. The King, on his accession to the throne, or on his attaining his majority, shall take an oath to the Spanish people on the gospel, in the presence of the cortes, the senate, the council of state, the council of Castile, the archbishops and bishops.

7. The form of the King's oath is:—

"I swear, on the holy evangelists, to reverence, and cause to be revered, our holy religion; to maintain the inviolability of the Spanish territory; to reverence, and cause to be revered, the liberty of the person; and to govern alone for the welfare, happiness, and glory of the Spanish nation."

III. Of the Government.

8. The minority of the King shall last

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till he has attained his 18th. year. During his minority there shall be a regent of the kingdom.

9. The regent must be at least 25 years old.

10. The regent shall be nominated by the preceding King, among the infants who have attained the age mentioned in the preceding article.

11. In default of nomination by the preceding King, the regency belongs to the prince the farthest removed from the throne, according to the law of succession, and who has attained the age of 25 years.

12. In case the prince farthest removed from the crown shall be in a state of minority, the regency belongs to the next prince, who shall continue to exercise his functions till the King shall have attained his majority.

13. The regent is not personally answerable for the acts of his administration.

14. All acts of the regency pass in the name of the minor King.

15. The yearly revenue of the regent shall be one fourth of the income of the crown.

16. In case the preceding King shall have nominated no regent, and all the princes shall be minors, then the government shall be carried on by the ministers who form the council of government.

17. All state affairs shall be determined by a majority of votes in the council of government.

18. The regency has no right to the personal custody of the King, during his minority.

19. The care of the King during his minority is vested in his mother, and in default of her, in the prince appointed thereto by the demised sovereign.

20. The board of guardianship, composed of the ministers, shall principally be charged with superintending the education of the young King; and the same shall be consulted in every matter of importance, relative to his person or establishment.

IV. *Property of the Crown.*

21. The palaces of Madrid, the Escorial, St. Ildefonso, Aranjuez, D'El Pardo, and all the others now forming part of the property of the crown, together with the parks, woods, domains, and estates, of what kind soever, constitute the property of the crown. The revenues accruing from the said property

shall be paid into the treasury of the crown; and should they fall below the yearly sum of a million of hard piastres, an addition of hereditary property shall be made, so as to make good the revenue to the amount stated.

22. The public treasury shall annually pay over to that of the crown a sum of two millions in hard piastres.

23. The King's son, on attaining the age of twelve years, shall receive the following annual revenues in the name of subsistence money, viz.—the heir apparent, 200,000 piastres; each infant, 100,000 piastres; and each infant, 50,000 piastres.

24. The dowry of the Queen is fixed at 400,000 piastres, and shall be paid out of the treasury of the crown.

V. *Of the Officers of the Royal Household.*

25. The chief and grand officers of the royal household are six in number—a grand almoner, grand chamberlain, grand cup-bearer, grand master of the horse, grand huntsman, and grand master of the ceremonies.

26. The noblemen of the chamber, the stewards, chaplains, and equerries, are officers of the royal household.

VI.

27. There shall be nine ministerial departments, viz. of police, religion, foreign affairs, domains, war, marine, the Indies, and general police.

28. A secretary of state, in the character of minister, shall sign all acts of government.

29. The King may commit several ministerial functions to one minister.

30. There is no other precedence among the ministers than what results from their priority of nomination in point of time.

31. The ministers, each in his own department, are responsible for the execution of the laws, and of his Majesty's orders.

VII. *Of the Senate.*

32. The senate is composed, 1. Of the infants of Spain, being 18 years of age. 2. Of twenty-four individuals, specially appointed by the King from among the ministers, captain-generals, ambassadors, counsellors of state, and members of the council of Castile.

33. The existing counsellors of state are members of the senate. No new nomination shall take place until they are reduced below twenty-four, as regulated by the preceding article.

84. The president of the senate is appointed by the King. He is chosen out of the senate, and his functions last for one year.

85. The senate meets by the command of the King, or on the application of the junta, or one of its officers for internal affairs.

86. In the case of an armed insurrection, or apprehensions concerning the safety of the state, the senate may, on the proposition of the King, suspend the operation of the constitutional act in a particular district, and for a time to be limited.

[The remaining articles of this title, and those of the 8th. title, relative to the council of state, contain little that is of general interest. The King presides in the council, which is to consist of not less than 30, nor more than 60 members, divided into six sections, viz. those of justice, religion, internal affairs, police, finance, war, the marine, and the Indies.]

TITLE IX.

57. The Cortes or Juntas of the nation are composed of 150 members, divided into three estates or orders, viz. those of the clergy, nobility, and people.

58. The order of the clergy shall consist of 25 archbishops or bishops.

59. The order of the nobility shall consist of 25 nobles, who shall have the title of *grandees* of the cortes.

60. The order of the people shall consist of 40 deputies from the provinces, 30 from the principal cities, 15 from the merchants, and 15 from the universities, to consist of the most celebrated for their attainments in the arts and sciences.

61. The archbishops or bishops, constituting the order of the clergy, shall be raised to the rank of members of the Cortes, by a writ, sealed with the great seal of the state. They cannot be divested of their functions, but by virtue of the sentence of a competent court, pronounced in due form.

62. The nobles must possess an annual income of at least 200,000 hard piastres, and have performed great services in the civil or military departments, to qualify them for being elevated to the *grandees* of the Cortes. They shall be raised to the rank by a writ stamped with the great seal of the state. They cannot be divested of their functions but by the sentence of a competent court, pronounced in due form.

63. The deputies from the provinces shall be nominated by the same, in the proportion of at least 1 to 300,000 inhabitants; for this purpose the provinces shall be divided into so many elective districts as shall be necessary to furnish the population giving a right to the election of a deputy.

[The articles from 64 to 70 inclusive, contain the forms to be observed in electing the deputies of the people, the commercial bodies, and the universities.]

71. The cortes shall assemble upon the summons of the King. They cannot be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, but by his orders. They shall meet once, at least, in three years.

71. The president of the cortes shall be appointed by the King, but shall be chosen out of three candidates to be nominated by the cortes by ballot, and an absolute majority of votes.

73 and 74. On the opening of such session, the cortes shall nominate three candidates for the presidentship, two vice-presidents, two secretaries, and three committees, each to consist of five members, viz. a committee of justice, of internal affairs, and of finance.

75. The sitting of the cortes shall not be public.—Their votes shall be taken by ballot.

76. Neither the opinions nor votes shall be printed or published. Any act of publication, in print or in writing, by the assembly of the cortes, or the individual members thereof, shall be regarded as an act of insurrection.

77. The alterations to be made in the civil or criminal code, or in the system of finance, shall be laid before the cortes for their decision thereupon, by the orators of the council of state.

80. Should the cortes conceive themselves to have just grounds of complaint as to the conduct of any of the ministers, a petition containing their alleged grievances and suggestions, shall be carried by a deputation to the foot of the throne. The King shall appoint a commission, consisting of six councilors of state and six councillors of Castile, to examine into the said petition.

81. The decrees of the King, issued in pursuance of the decision of the cortes, shall be introduced with the formula 'upon consulting the cortes.'

X.—Of the Spanish Colonies in America and Asia.

82. The Spanish colonies in America

and Asia shall enjoy the same privileges as the mother country.

83. Each kingdom and province shall always have deputies at the seat of government, charged to watch over their particular interests, and to serve as their representatives in the Cortes.

84. These deputies are 30 in number, viz. two from New Spain, two from Peru, two from the new kingdom of Grenada, two from Buenos Ayres, two from the Philippine islands, one from the island of Cuba, one from Porto Rico, one from the province of Venezuela, one from Chareas, one from Quito, one from Chili, one from Guatimala, one from Guadalaxara, one from the interior western provinces of New Spain, and one from the eastern provinces.

86. The said deputies shall exercise their functions during the period of eight years; and if, upon the lapse of the same, their successors shall not have yet arrived, they shall retain their functions until their actual arrival.

XI.—*Of the Administration of Justice.*

87. Spain shall be governed by one and the same code of civil laws.

88. The administration of justice is independent.

89. Justice shall be dispensed, in the name of the King, by judges and courts of justice, to be appointed by his Majesty. All courts claiming particular privileges, and all the exclusive jurisdictions of any orders or seigniories whatever, are abolished.

[*The remaining articles under this head contain nothing of interest.*]

XII.—*Of the Administration of the Finances.*

102. The royal vales are irrevocably declared a national debt.

103. The tolls in the interior, between district and district, and province and province, are abolished, and will be transferred to the frontiers and coasts.

104. There shall be an uniform system of taxation for the whole kingdom.

105. All existing privileges conferred upon corporations or individuals are abolished. An indemnification shall be made for the loss of those privileges which were acquired by a pecuniary consideration.

106. The nomination of all officers belongs to the King, or the authorities whom he empowers, according to the laws and regulations.

XIII.—*General Regulations.*

107. There shall be permanent alli-

ance by sea and land, offensive and defensive, between France and Spain.—The contingent to be furnished by each of the respective powers, in case of a continental or maritime war, shall be regulated by a separate treaty.

108. Foreigners who have performed, or may hereafter perform, great services to the state; who may prove useful from their talents, inventions, or zeal and activity; who may form great establishments, or purchase landed estates, paying a tax of 50 hard piastres—are admissible to the rights of naturalization in Spain. The King confers this indulgence through his ministers for internal affairs, upon consulting his council of state.

109. The residence of every inhabitant of the Spanish territory is an inviolable sanctuary. It can only be entered in the day time, and for a purpose commanded by law, or in execution of an order signed by the public magistracy.

110. No person domiciliated in the Spanish territory can be arrested, except in the actual commission of a crime, or by virtue of a lawful warrant in writing.

111. In order to the execution of a warrant of arrest, it is necessary—1. That the reason of the arrest shall be formally set forth therein, and that it shall state the law enjoining the same. 2. That it shall be granted by an authority formally empowered by law to grant it. 3. That its contents shall be communicated, and a copy thereof given to the person to whom it applies.

112. No jailor or prison keeper can receive or hold any one in custody, without entering in his register a copy of the warrant of commitment, indictment, or sentence; or, in a word every order whatsoever in virtue of which he holds the person in custody.

113. Every jailor or prison keeper shall be compelled, and no order whatsoever shall be considered as an impediment, to bring his prisoner, as often as he shall be required to do so, before the magistrate charged with the affairs of the police.

114. The relatives and friends of the prisoner shall not be prevented from entering the prison, upon their producing an order from the magistrate. A specific order from the judge to the jailor can alone justify the detaining of a prisoner in close custody.

115. Persons not authorised by law

to issue warrants of commitment, who shall give orders for arresting, or cause to be arrested, any person whatsoever, as well as those who, in cases of legal arrest, shall detain the prisoner in any place not known as a legal jail; and all jailors, contravening the three preceding articles, are guilty of the crime of arbitrary imprisonment.

116. The present constitutional statute shall successively, and according to the importance of the respective articles, be carried into execution by royal decrees or edicts, so that the whole shall be in operation before the 1st January, 1813.

117. The freedom of the press shall be regulated two years after the constitutional statute shall have been in operation. The cortes shall pass a law respecting the freedom of the press.

June 22.—In the sitting of the 18th, the President of the Junta delivered the following speech:—

“GENTLEMEN—The King wishes that not a moment should be lost by him in making his people enjoy that happiness which is the constant object of his vows and solicitude. Being animated by these sentiments of beneficence, his Majesty has signified to me that he wished to relieve his subjects from the burthen of that kind of contribution, which is more particularly hurtful to agriculture, which discourages the husbandman, and which augments the price of articles of the first necessity. I have pointed out to his Majesty, as producing these baneful effects, the temporary tax of four marvedis per quart of wine, and that of three per cent. upon all the produce which is subject to the tythes. I have, at the same time, represented to him that it would be granting a great benefit to his subjects to deliver them from so heavy a burthen, which is attended with this consequence, that the farmers, despairing of any amelioration in their situation, root up the vines from those lands which are destined by nature for their cultivation. His Majesty has vouchsafed to listen to my proposal; but not wishing to hazard reforms without mature reflection, and desirous of receiving every information from all those who are sincerely animated for the public welfare, he has ordered me to submit this object to the deliberation of the junta, in or-

der to make to him afterwards a separate report upon it. I hope that the junta will be eager to second his Majesty's wishes, and that the Spaniards will judge by this first benefit what they may expect from the prosperity of the kingdom, both from the intentions of the monarch and the labours of the junta.

The junta, after having heard this speech with the most lively satisfaction, unanimously decreed that they would inform his Majesty that the tax upon wine is ruinous to agriculture, and that that of 3 per cents upon the fruits produces a mere trifle, and is vexatious in collecting, so that the abolition of these two taxes would be a great benefit; that, finally, a deputation of four members should be chosen from among them, to lay at the foot of the throne the expression of the wishes and the gratitude of the junta. In the name of the deputation, the Duke del Infantado gave an account, in the sitting of the 20th, of the gracious reception he had met with from his Majesty. The King again assured them that he had no other view than to promote the happiness of Spain, and that they might depend upon the suppression of the taxes which attach to agriculture.

July 4.—His Catholic Majesty has made the following appointments:—

MINISTERS.

Their excellencies Don Louis Mariano de Urquijo, Secretary of State; Don Pedro Cevallos, minister for foreign affairs; Don Michael Joseph de Azanza, minister for the Indies; Admiral Don Joseph Massaredo, minister of the marine; General Don Gonzalo O'Farri, minister of war; Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, minister of the interior; Count Cabarrus, minister of finance; and Sebastian Pinuela, minister of justice.

CAPTAINS OF THE BODY GUARDS.

Their excellencies Duke del Parque, Grandee of Spain; Duke de St. Germain, Grandee of Spain.

COLONELS OF GUARDS.

Their excellencies Duke de L'Infantado, Colonel of the Spanish guards; Prince Castel Franco, Colonel of the Walloon guards; Marquis d'Ariza, great chamberlain; Duke de Hija, grand master of the ceremonies; Count Ferdinand Nunes, grand huntsman; Count Santa Colonia, chamberlain.

(All Grandees of Spain.)

The following chamberlains have been appointed to attend his Majesty on his journey:—

Their excellencies Count Orgaz, grandee of Spain; Marquis Santa Cruz, grandee of Spain; Duke d'Ossuna, grandee of Spain; Count Castel Florida, and Duke de Sola-Mayor, grandee of Spain.

DON JOSEPH NAPOLEON, by the Grace of God, and the Constitution of the State, King of Spain and the Indies.

SPANIARDS!—On entering the territory of a people, the government of whom Providence has confided to me, I feel it my duty to explain the sentiments which I entertain.

In ascending the throne, I rely upon finding among you some generous souls who will second my efforts to restore this people to the possession of their ancient splendour. The constitution, to the observance of which you are about to pledge yourselves by your oaths, secures the exercise of our holy religion, and of civil and political freedom. It establishes a national representation, and restores your ancient Cortes in an ameliorated form. It appoints a senate, forming the guarantee of individual liberty, and the support of the throne in critical circumstances, and constituting also an honourable asylum and reward to those who shall have performed signal services to the state.

The courts of justice, the interpreters of the laws, divested of passion and favour, shall, in pronouncing judgment, be impartial, free, and independent.

Merit and virtue shall be the only claims to the holding of public offices.

Unless I am disappointed in my wishes, your agriculture and commerce shall flourish, free from those restraints which have hitherto retarded their prosperity.

Desirous of ruling according to the laws, I will be the first to give an example of the honour which should be paid to them.

I enter among you with the greatest confidence, surrounded with those meritorious individuals, who have concealed from me nothing which they have thought necessary for your interests.

Blind passion, false rumours, the intrigues of the common enemy of the continent, anxious only to separate the Indies from Spain, have plunged some of you into the most dreadful state of anarchy. My heart bleeds at the view

of it; but this evil, however considerable it may be, may instantaneously cease.

Spaniards, only unite around my throne. Conduct yourselves so, as that internal disturbances shall not deprive me of that time which I wish to employ in labouring for your happiness, nor deprive me of the means of accomplishing this object. I esteem you enough to persuade myself, that you will make every exertion to obtain and merit that happiness, which is the dearest object of my wishes.

I, THE KING.

Vittoria, July 12.

By order of his Majesty,

The Minister Secretary of State,
MARIANO LUIS DE URQUIJO.

Paris, July 13.—On the 7th inst. the Junta at Bayonne held their twelfth meeting. It was the day appointed for the acceptance of the new constitution. In the chamber where they sat were erected a magnificent throne and a richly decorated altar, the service of which was performed by the archbishop of Burgos. His Majesty being seated on the throne, delivered the following speech:—

“Gentlemen Deputies,—I was desirous of presenting myself in the midst of you previous to your separation from each other. Assembled in consequence of one of the extraordinary events to which all nations, in their turn, and at particular conjunctures, are subject, and in pursuance of the dispositions of the Emperor Napoleon, our illustrious brother,——— *your feelings have been those of his age.* The result of these sentiments will be consolidated in the constitutional act, which will be forthwith read to you. It will preserve Spain from many tedious broils which were easily to be foreseen from the disquietude wherewith the nation has been so long agitated. The turbulence which still prevails in some of the provinces will cease, as soon as the Spaniards shall have been apprised that their religion, the integrity and independence of their country, and their dearest rights are secured; as soon as they

shall discover the germs of their prosperity in the new institutions—a blessing which the neighbouring nations have not obtained, but at the expence of bloodshed and calamities of various kinds. Were the Spaniards assembled here in one body, all of them, as having the same interests, would be animated with the same sentiments. Then should we not have to bewail the misfortunes of those, who, misled by foreign intrigues, must be subdued by the force of arms. The enemies of the continent, by the disturbances which they have excited in our country, expect to become masters of our colonies. Every honest Spaniard must open his eyes, and all must crowd round the throne. We carry along with us the act with ascertains the rights and reciprocal duties of the king and his people. If you are disposed to make the same sacrifices with us, then shall Spain be speedily tranquil and happy at home, and just and powerful abroad. To this we solemnly pledge ourselves, in the presence of God, who reads the hearts of men, and rules them according to his good pleasure, and who never forsakes those who love their country, and fear nothing but their own consciences.”

The Act of Constitution was then read over in a loud voice; and the members of the junta, on the question being put, unanimously declared their acceptance of it.

The President delivered a short address in answer to the King's speech, after which the several members took the following oath:—“I swear obedience and fidelity to the King, the Constitution, and the Laws.”

The Junta then attended his Majesty's levee to pay him their respects upon this occasion. His Majesty gave them the most gracious reception, and conversed with them more than an hour.

His Majesty, the King of Spain, set out from Bayonne at six in the

morning of the 9th instant, on his journey to Madrid. His Majesty the Emperor accompanied him for the first post. On the separation of the two sovereigns, the King took into his carriage M. d'Azanza, minister of the Indies, and the Duke del Parque, Captain of the life guards. His Majesty entered Spain by Irun, and was expected to reach St. Sebastian's at two o'clock on the same day, the 9th, where he was to remain until the following day. His Majesty has near a hundred carriages in his suite.

The members of the junta set off in three divisions; the first on the 8th; the second on the 9th; and the third on the 10th; each of which will alternately accompany his Majesty on his journey.

PORTUGAL.

Account of recent transactions, published at Oporto, July 6, by authority of the partizans of the Prince Regent, now calling themselves the Government.

The most important occurrence that could elevate the nation to glory and dignity was reserved for our days, which will serve to transmit to posterity the illustrious name of the heroic Portuguese, and to note in the records of this fine and opulent city, the immortal epoch of its restoration, and that she gave the alarm to the whole kingdom.—The most cordial love to the best of princes, stimulated all hearts in Portugal, to oppose the most unjust and most scandalous usurpation. The most unlimited oppressions, the violation of all rights, and the absolute disrespect of the most sacred duties, armed every inhabitant to shake off the tyrannic yoke that oppressed them. But the dispenser of empires had reserved to this city the prerogative of leading the way, and stimulating by its example every body to emancipate this kingdom. For this purpose he raised amongst us persons of genius, resolution, and

vigour capable of achieving so illustrious a purpose. The fatal day that deprived us of our lawful sovereign, whom the hand of the Omnipotent has preserved from the wicked one, who persecuted him, opened the way to the most disastrous events, which, after having overrun the continent with misery, desolation, and death, were about to effect the complete destruction of our happy peninsula: perfidy, simulation, and a combination of all artifices being the forerunner of this oppression and tyranny — violence and the most daring ambition, its followers of that monstrous man, the produce of the cruel revolutions, which, for these nineteen years, has upset so many thrones, and ruined so many people; who has made a traffic in kingdoms and in men; who has put on the mask of religion the more impudently to profane it; who has displayed to advantage all sorts of crimes, without being impeded by the least glimpse of morality, or kept back by remorse; that celebrated Napoleon, whom vile flattery and its followers, or, with more propriety whom the fear of his tyrannies, has raised to the most elevated unmerited titles; after having announced by his representative Junot to our desolate nation, that he would protect us, dared to conceive in his illusive ideas, and to utter without a blush “that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign in Portugal.” Unthinking man! What right, what convention authorizes this iniquity and usurpation? Who constituted Napoleon the universal tutor of kings and of nations? Who devolved on him the succession of thrones wrested by his tyranny from their legitimate possessors? Who entrusted him with that extraordinary and famous protection which authorises the spoliation of private property, and the trampling under foot of all rights and privileges, that destroys and confounds all order? The

most manifest hatred arose in the hearts of the nation, on its observing the accumulation of injustice and barbarity, with the most scandalous indecency; then began the vision of protection to dissolve: forty millions of crusades were levied on this unhappy country as an extraordinary contribution of war, a country which the absence of its beloved prince, the invasion by numerous troops, the total stagnation of commerce, and the discouragement of industry and arts, had reduced to the greatest distress: but this is not all, those 40,000,000 were for the redemption of all private property; how had this been forfeited? Was it by our unbounded patience in suffering their extortions? by the docility with which their hard and oppressive yoke was borne? by the meekness with which we received our tyrants? Posterity will hardly believe their impudence and immorality could ever reach such a length.—The promised protection went on in this way. The patrimony of the temples, the ornaments of the sanctuary, the inheritance of its sacred ministers, were all insufficient for the insatiable thirst of the oppressor of the continent. The national dignity disappeared — all public employments were given to the less informed and the less worthy, who, discountenanced in their own country, shewed amongst us a matchless effrontery, and who appeared to be influenced by the most insolent pride, and the most sordid avarice. Our limits prevent us from tracing the picture of the odious person styled the deputy of police in this city; it is more faithfully engraved in the indignation and remembrance of every one here. The moment of liberty was however approaching; our valourous neighbours the noble Spaniards, at length opened their eyes. The perfidious manner in which the reigning family of Spain were betrayed, roused the vengeance of that nation; and as

soon as we were able, we have shewn that we still are what we have been, and what our forefathers have been before us, the most faithful and the most loyal to our prince, and the most capable of restoring his wished for empire and our liberty. — At length the evening of the 18th. day of June, 1808, offered the most brilliant and pleasing scene to the generous Portuguese. These faithful and valorous men, who were strangers to fear, despised all dangers; and actuated by that energy and faithful character that distinguish our nation, erected the standard of restoration, and in the name of their religion, and in obedience to their sacred oaths, proclaimed anew the most exalted and powerful prince the lord don John, prince regent of Portugal, our lawful sovereign. In this moment of glory, however, we were surrounded by dangers: a column of the French army was marching to this city; without arms, without troops of the line, and with only two hundred artillerymen and some militia, we were in extreme danger; but we had value and genius equal to our situation. Those who endeavoured to liberate their country, have their eulogium in their own conduct. — Cannon and ammunition had been previously obtained, the necessary dispositions had been made for the defence of the bridge, and the passage of the river Douro: all the points of defence had been reconnoitred, as also all the entrances to the city. The execution of a plan was in contemplation among the Portuguese, and they had to conquer the illusions of some, and the fears of others, and the more necessity there was for delay, the more the project was menaced with ruin. The signal for the acclamation was given and for arming; the orders were issued and executed with equal ardour in a moment; 30 artillerymen, with four field-pieces, which covered the van and rear of

two bodies, of 10 men each, all that remained, prevented all opposition. The arsenals were opened, and the people took arms. Some corps of the militia were for a while irresolute, owing to the unexpected circumstances which had taken place, but these were soon determined; the royal standard was displayed, and the august name of his royal highness sounded from all quarters. All the officers whom they met joined them, and took the oath of honour, which excited enthusiasm and affection: the posts were distributed, and every one was at work; the Major Raymundo José Pinheiro, commander of the fort of St. Joan de Eoz, at the mouth of the river, known for his fidelity, energy, and love for our prince, concerted the most able dispositions for defence; and for directing the people. The enthusiasm and energy cannot be described; upwards of 50,000 persons were provided with arms and ammunition; and from that night the city was in a state of defence, and waited the enemy with impatience, but they fled. — On the morning of the 19th. the protection of the Almighty being implored, and prayers of thanksgiving having been offered up with as much piety as fervour, in the cathedral of this city, a provisional government was elected, composed of the most excellent and reverend Don Antonio, of St. Joseph and Castro, bishop of the diocese, president, and eight members of the different classes, viz. of ecclesiastics, Doctor Dezembargador; provisor of the bishoprick, Manuel Lopes Loureiro; and the Doctor Dezembargador, vicar general; José Dias de Oliveira, of the military; major Ant. de Silva Pinto; and the captain commanding the artillery of the body of magistrature of the relacam, the Dezembargador José de Mollo Freire; judge for the crownland; the dezembargador of Agravos, Luis de Sequiero de Game Ayala; and of the

body of the citizens, Antonio Matthews Friere de Andrade, and Antonio Ribeiro Bragae. In this junta the supreme authority is vested, until his royal highness shall order to the contrary, or the lawful government shall be restored in the capital: it is its duty to maintain the laws, usages, customs, and privileges of the nation, as far as they are consistent with the present circumstances and defence of the country. The most profound meditation could not produce a more judicious election, wisdom, dexterity, energy, disinterestedness; the most marked fidelity and most acknowledged patriotism, are the distinguished qualities that compose the character of the most excellent and reverend president, and the respective members of the supreme council. The most efficient measures have been taken for the uninterrupted security within, and defence without. The love of our sovereign and country is expressed by every tongue. The general emotion amongst the inhabitants, the continual chiming of the bells, and a splendid illumination in every quarter of the city for three nights, all announced the satisfaction with which every heart overflowed. Contributions have been voluntarily offered—valiant young men flock to the royal standard from all parts—the secular and regular clergy present a fresh and glorious testimony of their religious and social virtues; they form the corps for the defence of the state, and the guard of the city is under the command of the illustrious dean! The best order and harmony prevails amongst the inhabitants of every description, energy and valour increases every instant; these virtues must have their effect on the common enemy; he well knows that general Loyson, after crossing the Douro, has been chased by the people of Guimaraens, Braga, and Tras os Montes, that he died with precipitation, but cannot

avoid the valorous Trans Montane, who still follow him, making great havoc in his disbanded division, killing his superior officers, and taking from him important spoils. We shall give a more circumstantial account of these successes; they strengthen us in our confident hopes that the empire of usurpation, perfidy, and seduction, will be annihilated, and that the better cause will have the better end, and that the restoration of our amiable prince will crown our wishes and bring back those days of felicity so violently interrupted!—Great are the presages of our prosperity, from the prompt re-establishment of public order, the absence of crimes, the moderation and peace that prevail among all. A wise and vigilant magistrate presides in the police department, who punishes the wicked and protects the good subjects of his royal highness. It becomes us to observe a corresponding demeanour, by obeying, by confiding in our government, and by uniting among ourselves. Our objects are no less than the glorious re-establishment of our religion, and the restoration to the throne of our lawful sovereign.—It is therefore necessary that the characteristic marks of these two empires should be kept as distinct as their ends are opposite—that as crimes rendered the French Revolution abominable, so virtues shall signalize our restoration. That we may breathe nothing else but the love of our sovereign and our country, take care not to pollute the glorious end we propose to ourselves, that of calling back to us our august sovereign. — On the 18th. day of June last, the most excellent Bernardino Freire de Andrade arrived in this city, who had been appointed governor of the arms and of its district by the prince regent, and who had suspended this employment in consequence of the absence of our sovereign. He comes forth,

however, as soon as his royal government is restored, and the defence of the state gives him an opportunity of displaying his fidelity, and of augmenting the glory of his royal service.

PROCLAMATION OF THE MAGISTRATE REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE OF PORTO,—TERMED THE JUDGE OF THE PEOPLE.

People of Porto, noble subjects of an inimitable prince, and brave restorers of his legitimate rights.—On the 4th. inst. (July,) you elected me (by the votes of the representatives of the corporation) representative magistrate of the people of this noble and august city. After accusing you of a misplaced election, and imploring heaven to assist me in the faithful discharge of my duty, I crave your attention to what I am going to say.

You, on the 18th. of June, performed a deed, which, when inserted in the history of our country, will, perhaps, stimulate jealousy among the ashes of those heroes who have bled for it: you have performed a miracle, permit me the expression, for to die is but natural, and the act of bringing to resurrection is an attribute of Supreme Divinity; and the name of our august and amiable prince having been destroyed by the treachery of a tyrant, who substituted his own name, ordering before our eyes the commission of the most sacrilegious and most horrid of all atrocious crimes, *I mean the demolition of the sacred painting, which brings to our memory the five fountains which issued on the heights of Mount Calvary, to cleanse and wash the sins of the world; I mean the five wounds of our Redeemer, offered on the plains of Ourique to our first king, as emblems of honour to be blazoned on the standards: you brought every thing to resurrection on the said day of the 18th. as on this very day the name of our sovereign appears*

mounted high over the name of Napoleon, picturing thus to our imagination a true representation of the archangel St. Michael, and on this same day, ever memorable, from all parts rose instantaneously the arms of the royal house of Braganza, displaying much greater brilliancy than those thousand shields which were suspended from the tower of David! But what do I say, a miracle! My thoughts have misled me, the name of our august never died among us, it always attained its life, though sacredly preserved in our bosoms, where our hearts paid and devoted to him the most humble adorations, and if by an intrusive and treacherous exaction we rendered any vassalage to that *Monster of Iniquity*, to that man called *Emperor of the French*, it was the effect only of a refined hypocrisy. Have we not brought to resurrection the army of Braganza, which, although they were demolished in the edifices, always existed untouched in the image of Jesus Christ, painted with his most precious blood? Yes, what we have done with the permission of heaven, has been the natural result of the Portuguese bravery and valour, solely confined by the orders given to us by our august on the eve of his departure—not entirely conscious of the *perfidy of the Tyrant*, we knew the treachery of Bonaparte, marked under the cloaks of friendship; we know him to be the chief of the numerous banditti spread over Europe; we know finally that he was an individual, without faith, belief, or religion, and this prompted us to see the opportunity approaching, when we might teach that villain what is Portuguese valour, inherited from those who subdued great part of the universe, displaying their standards on almost the last barriers of the world, and this made us on the glorious 18th declare our independence, and proclaim in loud voices, which reached heaven, the

august name of our Don John VI. Prince Regent of Portugal; it was on this account that I saw ye, loved countrymen, like men converted into wild beasts, running towards the plain of St. Ovid, there to wait for the enemy, resembling hungry wolves who run towards lambs. Your hunger is not satiated, your rage increases, and you protest you'll feed on the blood of that portion of Frenchmen who infest august Lisbon; finally, nobody can repress you! Ah! what heroic traits of valour glow in the hearts of the Portonians, and what admirable examples of fidelity will they not leave to posterity! Continue then, my beloved countrymen, let the consummation of the glory of Port be perfect. But hear me for a while; don't allow that glory to be tarnished or diminished by any action that your overleaping rage may dictate to you without reflection;—honour, let honour be our guide; let us not do any thing which may displease the supreme council which governs us: reflect that it is composed of men as wise as they are virtuous; and who toil by day and by night to support the brilliancy of our glory: yes, government is the first to lose its life for the country, and who as readily will make every traitor suffer; but order is necessary in every arrangement; let us, therefore, consult government, let us obey their directions. Government represents the Prince, and who does not obey it, offends the Prince: if we act against their orders we destroy our own work, and it will be praising the Prince at one time, and offending him at another. See that justice is a part of God, and who offends justice offends God, and then greater evils will befall us than those caused by the tyrant.

I shall not treat you as your judge in the plenitude of authority, but as your friend, and the protector of your welfare; I therefore request

you will lay before me all your pretensions, which, if they exceed the limits of my jurisdiction, I shall offer them to the consideration of the supreme government, that it may resolve on your behalf. Let us not be despotic, for we offend heaven, and it endangers the harmony which should subsist among us; let us make our enemy bite himself with envy, to see that at the same time that we are brave warriors, we love one another with reciprocity. Let no tumults or discordant voices be heard among us, but only the repeated, cordial, and harmonious clamours of, Long live the Prince our Lord, and long live his faithful subjects,

JOAO DE ALMEIDA REBEIRO.

TO THE PORTUGUESE.

The haughtiness of the impious man exceeds in height the top of the cedars of Mount Libanus; but its existence is like that of the lightning, and as short as the noise of thunder. Such was the duration of that monster vomited out of hell to oppress mankind, overturn religion, plunder all earth, and tread under foot the most sacred rights of society, religion, and nature. His throne, built upon perfidies, upon thefts, injustice, and tyrannies, shook every time the tyrant seated himself upon it, having no other security but vanity, lies, and a vile troop of worthless and ignorant partizans, who have abjured honour, religion, the love of their country, and fidelity to their lawful Sovereigns, were anxious, like himself, to inspire into the nations that panic terror which only has helped them to spread their rapines, slaughters, commit sacrileges, and upset all order. This terror is at an end, and with it, if he be not already gone, will soon be levelled to the ground, the throne, the greatness, and the brutality of the impious, the ambitious, the wicked Bonaparte. His perfidies

have attained their highest pitch, and from that instant they began to decrease.

The wheel of fortune for him, and for us of mischance, turned at this point when his ferocities, outrages, and iniquities could go no further. History does not relate deeds such as Europe has beheld in our days. His system, wholly opposite to all rights and established ideas of policy, society, and religion, could not be lasting; nor could heaven suffer any longer a depredator, a barbarian worse than Nero, Caligula, or Dioclesian! Thanks to heaven that men's eyes are already opened, that his intrigues, his treasons, and his wickedness are made public. I always thought, and was persuaded that that which his partizans termed heroism and glory, was to be attributed to the panic terror he inspired, and the treasons he fomented, and that only the people rising *en masse* could be able to shake off the yoke with which he oppressed them, and crush the ferocious and proud beast, who, with a vile gang of others, worthy of himself, and equal in sentiments and character to him, wished to trample on them, and reduce them to slavery. Frenchmen are more weak than the inhabitants of other countries; they are, however, more deceitful and more intriguing than them; to these two crimes it is they owe the conquests they have acquired. You yourselves have seen that of Portugal, you have seen that of Spain; such have all his others been. Let them say what they will, give them no credit; their *protection* is *theft*, their *happiness* is *misery*, their *valour* is *fear*, is *weakness*. The French who yet exist amongst us, is a small band of children, for which one only, Portuguese, is more than a match. Have courage and valour to continue the glorious actions you have begun. Confide in the sage and provident

government you have chosen, and thus your courage will give an epoch in all histories, and we, or our children after us, shall have to repeat, Long live our august Prince, long live Portugal, honour, valour, and the loyalty of the Portuguese.

The REVDS. JOAQUIM SOARES,

N A P L E S.

July 3.—The council of state were specially assembled yesterday, to hear the following documents read:
PROCLAMATION.

Bayanne, June 25.

Joseph, King of Naples and Sicily, to the people of the kingdom of Naples:

Providence, whose designs are inscrutable, having called us to the throne of Spain and the Indies, we have found ourselves in the cruel predicament of withdrawing ourselves from a people who had so many claims to our attachment, and whose happiness was our most gratifying hope, and the only object of our ambition. He who alone can read the hearts of men, can judge of the sincerity of our sentiments, in opposition to which we have yielded to other impressions, and accepted a kingdom, the government of which has been put into our hands, in virtue of the renunciation of the rights to the crown of Spain, which our illustrious brother his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy had acquired.

In this important situation, considering that institutions are alone capable of duration, we reflected, with regret, that your social constitution was still imperfect, and thought that the further we had removed from you, so much the more incumbent upon us was it to secure your present and future welfare by all the means in our power. For these reasons we have put the last

hand to our labours, and fixed the constitutional statute upon principles already partially adopted, and which are more conformable to the age in which we live, the mutual relations of the neighbouring States, and the disposition of the nation, which we have employed ourselves to ascertain ever since we were called to rule over it.

The principal objects which guided us in our labours, were :—

1. The preservation of our holy religion.

2. The establishment of a public treasury, separate and distinct from the hereditary property of the crown.

3. The establishment of an intermediate administration, and a national parliament; capable of enlightening the Prince, and of performing important services both to him and the nation.

4. A judicial organization, which shall render the decisions of the court of justice independent on the will of the Prince, and make all the citizens equal in the eye of the law.

5. A municipal administration, which shall be the property of no man, but to which all, without distinction, shall be admissible.

6. The maintenance of the regulations which we have made for securing the payments to the creditors of the state.

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, and King of Italy, our illustrious brother, having been pleased to confer upon this act his powerful guarantee, we are assured that our hopes with regard to the prosperity of our beloved people of the kingdom of Naples, thus reposing upon his wide-spread glory, shall not experience disappointment.

Constitutional Statute of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

Bayonne, June 20.

Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples and Sicily, French Prince, grand elector of the empire, willing to confirm, by a constitutional statute, those fundamental principles, by which the Monarchy is to be governed, has decreed, and does decree the following —

I. OF RELIGION.

The catholic, apostolic, and Romish religion, is the religion of the state.

II. OF THE CROWN.

The crown of Naples shall be hereditary, in the right of the male issue, according to the primogeniture of birth.

III. OF THE REGENCY.

1. The King is a minor till he attains the age of 18 years.

2. In case of the Prince's minority, the regency will, by right, devolve upon the Queen; and in her absence, to a Prince of the blood royal who shall be chosen by the Emperor of the French in his capacity as head of the Imperial family; and in failure thereof, of a Prince of the blood, the choice will devolve upon the nation.

3. The yearly salary of the regency is confined to a fourth of the grant to the crown.

4. The education of the minor King is entrusted to his mother, and in her absence, to the Prince nominated by the predecessor of the minor.

The remaining articles relate to the officers of the crown, the ministers, the council of state, &c. The articles respecting the parliament confines the number of members to one hundred, who are to be divided into five classes, viz. the ecclesiastics, the nobles, the holders of landed property, the learned, and the merchants.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 14.

Sir C. Pole said, that in consequence of the great extent of our

commerce, and of our navy, and from the general war in which the country was engaged, the business and the emoluments of the King's proctor had prodigiously increased.

Since the commencement of the present war, more than 3000 causes had passed through his hands, the costs of each of which that went into the pockets of that officer were, upon an average, 105*l.* for every cause, which amounted to considerably more than 300,000*l.* during that period. He did not complain, however, of the enormous amount of the emoluments; but he thought that the mass of duties which he had to perform was much greater than could be properly got through by one man. To remedy this evil, he should propose a resolution to the house, to the following effect, namely, "That it is the opinion of this house, that the duties of the office of King's proctor are too great to be performed by one man;" and should follow it by another, for presenting an address to his Majesty, praying that he would be pleased to appoint three or more assistant proctors, for the purpose of more speedily performing the duties of the office.

The *Advocate General* opposed the measure, both on the grounds of political inexpediency, and from a regard to the interests of the navy. The office of King's proctor was of very ancient standing, like that of the Solicitor or Attorney General. With regard to all those suits in the court of admiralty, the King was *dominus litis*, and it was highly important for our respectability with foreign powers, that the duties should be exercised by one in whom the crown placed that confidence, which could not properly be placed in a number of individuals. Besides, if navy agents in general were employed by the captors to prosecute their claims, there would be no end of vexatious proceedings. This was exemplified in the conduct of privateers, where the complaints of vexatious conduct were innumerable. It was therefore important that the King's proctor should have no com-

petitor, else it would be productive of endless vexation to neutrals.

Mr. *Martin* supported the motion at some length. He was certain that the navy in general had imbibed the same opinion on the subject of the office of King's proctor with his hon. friend. There was one evil of which they had to complain, namely, that the King's proctor was totally independent of the captors, and thus captains in the navy were in a worse situation than those of privateers, who could employ their own agents; and the fact was, that cases of captures in the plantations were generally five, and sometimes ten years before they were determined. Now it was only proposed that three or more additional proctors should be appointed, to any one of whom captains in the navy might apply. He mentioned one case, in which a cause was pending from 1794 to 1801. It was certainly more reasonable that the captains of the navy should be able to employ a proctor who was in some degree amenable to them, than one who was quite independent; on the whole, he should heartily concur in the present motion.

The house divided, against the motion, 35—For it 16—Lost by a majority of 19.

On the motion of Mr. *Perceval*, the house went into a Committee on the stipendiary curates bill.

A variety of amendments were moved by different members, and some were adopted, and others withdrawn, but the Committee did not divide on any.

The *Speaker* proposed a clause to be inserted, granting relief to persons against whom an order should be made by the bishop, enabling them to appeal against it to the King in council, who should be at liberty to confirm or reverse the sentence, as might seem best.

Mr. *Perceval* proposed a clause, whereby delegates or commissioners should be appointed by the King,

by a warrant under the great seal, who should have authority to make such decisions as should be conclusive in all appeals that should come before them.

The *Speaker* withdrew his clause, and Mr. Perceval's amendment was adopted.

The remaining clauses of the bill were then discussed, and several new clauses added.

Wednesday, June 15.

The house went into a Committee on the privately stealing bill, when

Mr. *Burton* opposed the bill, as being of a dangerous tendency, by holding out to the world, that capital punishments were inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution. The learned member entered into a series of observations upon the extent to which crimes of burglaries, pick-pocketing, shop-lifting, and almost every species of offence, had arrived at; in all of which the ingenuity of committing the act privately constituted the effect of the mischief. He was afraid the bill would operate as a proclamation of impunity to offenders, unless the punishment to be introduced into the bill were made commensurate with the crime.

Sir *A. Pigott* defended the principle of the bill. In this he maintained that he was supported not only by 250 years experience, but also by the assertions of Mr. Justice Blackstone, and a later, but as philosophic a person, the learned arch-deacon Paley, all of whom shew that the penalty of death does not prevent the perpetration of the crime.

Mr. *Leycester* said, that several hon. members seemed rather to mistake the practice, as it prevailed, relative to the punishment of offenders of the description mentioned in this bill. The judges could have no possible wish to carry the law to its last extremity, and it was always with reluctance and sorrow that they complied with the severity of our

capital punishments, and of delivering the wretched culprit to the execution of the law; but he appealed to the good sense and humanity of the house, whether it would not be better to let the law remain as it is, and leave in the breast of the judges that discretionary power, which, for so long a period, they have exercised with wisdom, justice, and mercy, rather than divest them of it now, when, by doing so, that terror is removed, labouring under which, has prevented the increase of crimes to that extent which otherwise they would have reached, if those wise and salutary laws had not checked them.

Sir *S. Romilly* said, that as so much objection was made to the preamble, although in his mind it conveyed a truism, yet he had no objection to forego it, rather than endanger the bill; at present, from the severity of the statute, it became almost a dead letter, for between the compunction and compassion of prosecutors, witnesses, juries, and judges, many offenders escaped punishments, and the prospects thereby afforded of the many evident, as well as accidental circumstances, that led either to acquittal or escape, only encouraged the commission of offences, till they became so numerous and so bold, that they reached the most enormous crimes at last, and society therefore was infinitely more injured and exposed by this law than without it. The hon. and learned gentleman concluded with citing Blackstone in support of his arguments, and trusted the house would entertain the bill. The question was then put and carried without a division. The house then proceeded in a committee on the bill.

The *Solicitor General* then proposed an amendment, making it felony to steal from the person of another without that degree of force that constitutes robbery; leaving, however, the precise degree of punish-

ment, in some measure, to the discretion of the judge, and making the highest degree of punishment for this species of crime transportation for life. But he also proposed, that it should be in the discretion of the court to inflict, in certain circumstances, the punishment of only seven years transportation; and for younger culprits, he should propose confinement in the common jail for a period not less than three years. He then proposed to submit a preamble, stating only, that "Whereas the said act has not been found effectual to the prevention of the crimes therein mentioned, that it should be repealed; and whereas the taking from the person of any man without such force as is sufficient to constitute the crime of robbery, should be punished more severely than simple larceny, the person convicted, and all his aiders and abettors, shall be liable to be transported for life, &c."

Sir S. Romilly objected to the clause; but as it seemed to meet the general sentiment of the committee, he should not divide the house upon it. He coincided in the opinion as to the inefficacy of limited transportation, and lamented that the act for establishing a Penitentiary on the principle suggested by Mr. Bentham, had never been carried into execution.

The house then went into a Committee, and the *Solicitor General* brought up his clause, which was read *pro forma*, and made part of the bill.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, an idea seemed to have gone abroad, that he intended to submit some specific proposition with regard to Spain; but he desired it to be distinctly understood, that he did not mean to prescribe any thing whatever to ministers as to the conduct they should pursue; he meant nothing more than to call the attention of the house to the interesting situation of Spain

at the present moment, and it was far from being his design to lecture the government on the subject. He was sorry that any thing like an expectation should have been raised, that he should be so devoid of understanding and even good taste, as to think of laying down any specific plan to be pursued by ministers with regard to the present situation of Spain. He wanted ministers to engage in no romantic and disproportioned efforts for the deliverance of that country; yet ever since the first of the French Revolution to the present moment, if the enthusiastic spirit which had broke out in a part of Spain, extended itself like a rapid flame over the country, it struck him that there never was in all that time so great an opportunity for this country striking a bold and decisive blow for the rescue and deliverance of Europe, as at the present moment. He was disposed to trust that ministers in general, and particularly his right hon. friend, would not let slip such a glorious opportunity; and he would conjure them not to deal in dribblets and in small measures, as had been too often done in this country. They ought to do much, or they should do nothing at all. He was sorry to say, that not one single cabinet of which he had any knowledge, ever existed in this country, that followed one single object in their plans for the deliverance of Europe. Instead of striking at the core, they were generally found nibbling at the rind; they went filching for a sugar island, while all their efforts should have been directed against the radical evil. From this general observation, however, he must certainly except the late Mr. Burke, and his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham). His exhortation to ministers then would be, do what you mean to do boldly and manfully, or not at all. Avow to the people of Spain that Britain pursues no private interests in the support of their

cause; that you have nothing in view of what may be called the British interests, but that your only object is the deliverance of Spain and of the world from the most unprincipled aggression and tyranny. He did not mean that the spirit of this country should be exalted to any romantic excess of exertion; if the flame of patriotic zeal burnt so high in the people of Spain as he trusted it did, all he wanted was, that it should be met and nourished with corresponding ardour by ministers. The career of Bonaparte had been hitherto most victorious, because directed against nations indifferent to their government, against ministers without wisdom; and princes who depended on hereditary descent, rather than talents or energy. That tyrant had yet to learn what it was to fight against a people united by patriotic zeal, and determined to risk every thing in defence of their independence. He certainly wished to leave ministers entirely to their own discretion, as to the mode and extent of the assistance which they proposed to give; but let it not be said, on that account, that the present agitation of the question was vain or unnecessary. He did think the present a most important crisis, which should not be permitted to pass; always assuming, that the spirit of enthusiasm in support of their independence was general on the part of the people of Spain. Mr. Sheridan concluded with moving, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he would be pleased to lay before the house copies of such proclamations as had been received in this country, whether proceeding from the common enemy, or from persons claiming to act in behalf of the people of Spain.

Mr. Canning said, that with regard to the motion now before the house, he believed that his right hon. friend would not be much disappointed when he said it was quite

impossible for government, in its official capacity, to produce the papers which had been moved for, both because some of them could not be considered as regularly authenticated, and because others of them purported to proceed from persons, of whom it could not be known that they were accurately designated. Such a disclosure and communication of papers, therefore, he believed, the house would concur with him in thinking would be highly, imprudent. The chief object which his right honourable friend had in view, seemed to be, to call forth some disclosure of the general feelings and sentiments of ministers, with regard to the late interesting events in Spain; and he had no hesitation in saying, that he and his colleagues beheld, with as lively an emotion as the right hon. gentleman himself could feel, the stand which had been made by at least a part of the Spanish people, against the unexampled oppression of France, and that there was every disposition on the part of his Majesty's government, to afford the utmost aid which this country could put forth in a struggle so magnanimous. While the people of Spain are actuated by a spirit of resistance by the unprovoked aggression of the ruler of France, it could not for a moment be supposed that ministers should consider them as in a state of warfare with this country. To oppose the overwhelming power of France was the main object of our exertions, and whoever joined us in that opposition, from that moment became essentially, and to all intents and purposes our friend. The objects of this country, in affording aid to the patriots of Spain, could only be these, to unite our common efforts against the common enemy, to support the interests and independence of Spain, and, lastly, to promote the accomplishment of British objects; though this last he should consent to leave out, provided the

two former could in any degree be attained; though in fact all must be aware that whatever tended to set bounds to the power of France must be essentially in itself a British interest. These were the feelings and sentiments which actuated ministers, and which they wished to communicate to the house and the country. It was, therefore, on the whole, from no disrespect to his right hon. friend, that he wished him to withdraw his motion, but rather from a view of the inexpediency, and indeed, impossibility, of complying with it, on the part of his Majesty's government. The motion was then withdrawn.

Thursday, June 16.

Mr. *Villiers* rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to alter and amend the law respecting copyrights. One object of the bill would be, to secure the more effectual delivery of copies of new books, and new editions, to the Universities, on the ground of its utility to the promotion of learning. His second object was, better to secure the copyright of the authors, by vesting in them the absolute copyright for a period of 28 years. Leave was then given accordingly. The bill was read a first time.

Mr. *Rose* brought up a bill to permit goods, warehoused in London, to be removed to any of the out-ports for exportation, which was read a first time.

Mr. *M. Fitzgerald* rose for the purpose of moving, that the petition presented from the county of Kerry, in support of a commutation of tythes, be referred to a committee. From his knowledge of Ireland, he could say, that there was no part of that country where the grievances attending the present system of tythes were more severely felt, and to them he ascribed, in a great measure, the unpleasant disturbances which had there taken place. He was not disposed to urge the adoption of any specific measure in the

present session, having understood from a right hon. gentleman that the matter was under the consideration of ministers, and he was anxious that any beneficial alteration should flow from the throne as a boon, tending to conciliate the minds of Ireland. He believed, however, that if tythes were left in any shape, the leaven of disaffection would still continue to ferment in that country. Having taken that opportunity of delivering his sentiments, he then moved *pro forma*, that the petition be referred to a committee.

Mr. *Perceval* said that his Majesty's ministers were fully aware of its importance, and he would add, that whenever he had considered the subject in all its bearings, it had always seemed attended with new difficulties. The subject should engage his anxious attention during the recess of parliament, though he was not sanguine in his hopes that he should be able in the next session to propose any measure that would be generally satisfactory. The motion was withdrawn.

The house went into a committee on the stamp duty bill, and on the resolution being put for extending the stamp duties to country small bank-notes which should be re-issued, a conversation ensued. The house divided, when there appeared, for the resolution 59—against it 16.

On the resolution being moved for regulating and increasing the duties upon the sale and conveyance of estates, a discussion arose, wherein the principle of the clause was strongly opposed. The house divided, for the clause 78—against it 18.

A considerable discussion ensued on the clause which subjects attornies and solicitors to be fined and struck off the rolls of the courts whereat they practise, upon their being convicted of drawing false conveyances with intent to defraud the revenue. The clause was carried,

and various verbal amendments were agreed to.—Adjourned.

Friday, June 17.

The house in a committee, Mr. *Perceval* moved, "That the sum of 35,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty for the use of the naval asylum.—The motion was agreed to without a division.

The following sums were moved and agreed to, viz.—Arrears of annuity due to the Dutchess of Gloucester, 495*l.*—To the college of Sandhurst, in the county of Surrey, 20,000*l.*—To General Martin, as a compensation for loss of property in Virginia, as an American loyalist, in right of the late Lord Fairfax, 20,000*l.*

Sir *T. Turton*, in pursuance of his notice, called the attention of the house to the subject of the case of Ali Hassein, late Prince of the Carnatic. The honourable baronet divided his resolutions into two parts; the one expressive of the melancholy end of that Prince; the other also expressive of the sentiments of that house, that they did not participate in, or approve of it.—On the question being put upon the first resolution, the house divided—for it 11—against it 34—majority 23.

Sir *S. Romilly* spoke in support of the second resolution. He entered into a long and very able review of the various facts and circumstances attending the deposition of the Nabob of the Carnatic, and, from a review of the whole case, he conceived himself justified in pronouncing it an act of unjustifiable ambition, hardly to be paralleled by any of those acts of violence which we had lately witnessed on the continent of Europe. This resolution, therefore, should meet with his decided support, inasmuch as it expressed those ideas of British policy which, in his opinion, ought to be pursued, and pledged this country to afford that redress to the injured sufferers, which was now within their power.

Lord Castlereagh conceived that a government might justifiably adopt a great measure of policy, though they were not prepared, nor perhaps able to prove the hostile intentions of the enemy by such proofs as were admissible in a court of justice! He then proceeded to support the line of policy pursued by the Marquis of Wellesley with respect to the Carnatic, and concluded by giving his decided negative to the resolution.

A division took place, when there appeared, against the resolution, 97—For it, 19.

Mr. *Wallace* then proposed a resolution to this effect:—"That the Marquis Wellesley, in his conduct towards the Nabob of the Carnatic, had been actuated solely by a regard to the interest of the British empire in India."

A division took place on the original motion of Mr. *Wallace*, when there appeared—for the motion, 98, against it, 19.

Monday, June 20.

Mr. *Windham* gave notice of a motion for the next session, the object of which would be the prevention of soldiers who had enlisted for limited service from extending their service for life, until the expiration of the engagement which they had already contracted.

Mr. *Perceval* having moved the third reading of the stipendiary curates bill, a discussion took place. On a division there appeared, for the third reading, 73.—Against it, 29.—Majority, 44.—The bill was then passed.

Tuesday, June 21.

The assessed taxes regulation bill went through a committee.

Wednesday, June 22.

The bill for extending the copyright to authors of books to 28 years, instead of 14, went through a committee.—By this bill an act of Queen Anne is revived, requiring the number of 11 copies of each book to be given to the universities.

and public libraries. Those authors or publishers who chuse to waive their copy-right are not obliged to give any copies; but those who do not furnish the copies required, are not to be entitled to copy-right.

Sir S. Romilly's bill for repealing the act rendering privately stealing a capital offence, was reported.—He postponed his bill for granting compensation to acquitted persons till next session.

Thursday, June 23.

Mr. Wardle brought forward his motion as to the abuses which had prevailed of late years in the contracts for clothing the army. He instanced cases in which particular contractors, after bargaining privately with government to furnish great coats at 16s. set off immediately to slop-sellers, and procured the articles from them for 13s. or 13s. 6d. In every other part of the cloathing of the army, similar impostures were practised, to the amount of upwards of 200,000*l.* a-year. This abuse was entirely occasioned by the preference given to close rather than to open contracts, in consequence of which one clothier was at this moment receiving 16s. for the same article for which his tender to furnish it at 14s. 6d. had been rejected. He concluded by moving certain resolutions on this subject, which, however, it was not his intention to press during the present session.

Mr. Perceval, agreeably to notice moved for leave to bring in a separate bill on Mr. Palmer's grant; instead of comprehending it in the general appropriation act, which includes various sums for the public service (least the latter should also be rejected.) He agreed that this was not the most ordinary mode of proceeding, but pointed out a variety of cases in which it had been resorted to.

Major Palmer, after recapitulating the different proceedings which had taken place in this business, ex-

pressed his wish, so far as he himself was interested, that no other bill should be sent to the Lords to be rejected. He begged that the house would do what they pleased both as to the arrears and the future payments; but that they would spare him the expence as well as the mortification of sending up any more bills to the house of Lords, to be rejected.

Mr. Windham, Sir T. Burton, Messrs. Tierney, Ponsonby, and Whitbread, spoke with great force and animation against the motion, as not only unprecedented, after a resolution of that house, but they represented it as a manœuvre which was unworthy of the right hon. gentleman, either as a minister or as a private individual.—The house divided, when the motion for a separate bill was carried, the numbers being 186, against 63.

Friday, June 24.

On bringing up the report of the appropriation bill, Mr. Whitbread put a number of questions to Mr. Canning as to our armament at Sweden, our situation with America, &c. From the answers he received, it appears that the inactivity of our expedition proceeds from the change in the military posture of Sweden between the sailing and arrival of the expedition, which rendered new consultations and arrangements necessary. As to America, since the return of Mr. Rose, no complaints nor communications of any kind had been made from that government to this country.

Saturday, June 25.

Mr. Perceval stated, that it was not his intention to move the second reading of Mr. Palmer's bill.—A communication had been made to him, that it was not the wish of Mr. Palmer that any farther step should be taken on it.—Adjourned till Wednesday, not a bill remaining on the table.

Wednesday, June 29.

Lord A. Hamilton wished to know how and in what manner the delinquency of Alexander Davidson had been settled. It was more than two years since the business had been first agitated, and in the early part of the next sessions he should think it his duty to bring forward a motion on this subject.

Mr. Perceval observed, that the lords of the treasury had not lost sight of it, as commissioners had been appointed to make the necessary inquiry into the different abuses, and that their reports had been referred to the law officers of the crown.

Mr. Creevey said, that there was 54,000*l.* still due from Mr. Fordyce to the crown, on which there had been no instalments paid these three years; he therefore gave notice, that in the early part of next sessions he would bring forward a motion on this subject.

Mr. Banks brought up the third report of the finance committee. He hoped the house would not be alarmed at the uncommon mass of papers, a small portion only he wished to be printed. He was sorry this report could not be presented sooner, which was owing to *contrariety of opinion entertained by a majority of the committee*, which consisted of too many members, and in future he recommended fewer in number. After a few words from Mr. Leicester, Mr. H. Thornton, and Mr. Horner, the report and appendix were ordered to be printed.

Mr. Banks moved, that there be laid before the house an account of the 89,639*l.* pensions in Ireland.—Ordered.

Thursday, June 30.

Mr. Speaker was summoned to the lords, in order to hear the King's commission, declaring the royal assent to several bills.

On the motion of Mr. Lockhart, an order was made for the several bi-

shops making, early in the next session of parliament, returns of the non-resident clergy in their respective dioceses.

Sir F. Burdett moved for a return to be laid before the house, early in the ensuing session, of all the corporal punishments sentenced and executed on private soldiers in the regular army, the cavalry, the militia, and the royal regiment of artillery, during the last ten years, and specifying the number of lashes inflicted in each punishment.

Lord Castlereagh declared his opposition to the motion, as the present was by no means a fit moment to call for such a document; indeed he did not think such returns could be made up at all. He contended that the military code of the British army was not severe, and that much mischief would ensue from these papers being produced, as they would tend to irritate the minds of the soldiery.

Sir F. Burdett expressed his surprise at the resistance offered by the right hon. gentleman to his motion. *He was more astonished at it when he contemplated the ignoble situation in which the army was placed, by the local militia, rendering every man in Great Britain liable to be flogged.* Were these returns granted, he would take an early opportunity, next session, of attempting some way or other to get rid of that odious and degrading punishment of Englishmen, namely—flogging. He had no idea of British soldiers being so punished, and there were many circumstances of regiments having served under mild, though firm commanding officers, where punishments had been extremely rare. The 15th regiment of light dragoons was an instance of this, that regiment had been abroad for eight years, and distinguished themselves on many occasions, there had been in that long time only six punishments. *Since the return of that regiment to Eng^l*

land, upwards of eighty punishments had been inflicted. Such facts, he thought, were sufficient to induce the house to accede to his motion, which would go towards discouraging so disgraceful a practice. He should take the sense of the house on the motion.

Lord Castlereagh resisted the motion; on the grounds of its impropriety, and on its being founded on a mistaken idea.

Sir G. Warrander spoke against the measure; Lord Folkstone supported it; Mr. Windham spoke against it; and, after a few words from Mr. Lockhart on the same side of the question, the house divided—Ayes 4—Noes 77—Majority against the motion 73.

Mr. Creevey addressed the house on the subject of the projected new houses in Hyde Park, and moved for copies of a correspondence between Mr. Fordyce surveyor-general of crown lands, and the lords of the treasury, on the subject. Mr. H. Tracey seconded the motion.

Mr. Percival said, he was persuaded the King knew nothing of the matter. The proposal had only been made to the treasury on Tuesday last, and the fact of such application had not been communicated to his Majesty.

Mr. Sheridan supported the motion. He said that Hyde Park was "The Lungs of London."—Free and fresh air was like Champagne to the vulgar; as they seldom tasted it. What would the citizens from Whitechapel think on Sunday afternoon, after a long walk through the streets to get to the Park, to find it impervious to the air, on account of the houses surrounding it? The house divided; when the motion was negatived by 36 to 23.

Friday, July 1.

There being only 24 members in the house at 4 o'clock, it adjourned.

Saturday, July 2.

Mr. Percival having moved the

usual grants to the officers of the house, and among others the sum of 12,00l. to Mr. Wharton, for acting as chairman of the public committee of that house:—

Mr. Biddulph repeated the objections he had made to the grant, which was equal to the allowance made to the commissioners of Customs and Excise. The duty to be performed by these gentlemen was constant, whereas the labour of chairman of the committee of ways and means ceased with the session of parliament, which it was his duty to attend independently of any emolument. The different votes were then put and agreed to. Also the sum of 5,000l. to carry on the additional buildings for the British Museum.

Mr. Sheridan said he should have addressed the house at considerable length on this subject, did he not understand that the inquiry which it was his intention to propose, would not meet with any opposition. He therefore moved, "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he will be graciously pleased to direct that a special commission be appointed to inquire into and inspect the condition and government of the State Prisons, and other jails in the city and county of Dublin, and such other jails in Ireland as they shall think proper to direct their attention to, and to investigate the treatment of the prisoners therein confined, since the year 1798, where ground of complaint shall be preferred, and also to examine into the conduct of those entrusted with the rule and government of the said prisons, and to report thereon.

Gen. Mathew seconded the motion.

Mr. Percival did not oppose it, but regretted it had not been brought forward when the secretary of state and chancellor of exchequer for Ireland were present.

Mr. W. Pole bore testimony to the state in which his county prisons

was kept. He proposed to make the inquiry general, that it might be seen who did and who did not do their duty.

Mr. *Whitbread* thought this an inquiry which ought to be made, and for the bringing forward of which his right hon. friend was entitled to the thanks of the house.

The motion was then agreed to.

Monday, July 4.

A conversation took place between Mr. *Whitbread*, Lord *Castlereagh*, and Mr. *Wilberforce*, respecting the affairs of Spain. Each agreed in wishing success to the Spaniards, and in the propriety of this country affording them liberal assistance to enable them to resist the

tyrant of France. Mr. *Wilberforce* in particular declared — *That the feelings in favour of Spain were so unanimous that every Briton joined in enthusiastic prayers to the great ruler of events to bless with its merited success the struggle of a gallant people in behalf of every thing DEAR TO THE CHRISTIAN, THE CITIZEN, AND THE MAN!*

The Deputy Usher of the Black Rod then summoned the house to the house of peers. The Speaker and all the members present attended forthwith. On their return the Speaker read a copy of his Majesty's speech from the chair to the members assembled round him: after which they severally retired.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

LICENCE OF TONGUE AT THE BAR.

To the Editor.

SIR,

The attention of the public is happily drawn by some recent occurrences to an evil of great and growing magnitude, hitherto strangely unnoticed; I mean the LICENCE OF TONGUE indulged in by pleaders in courts of law. One and the same paper brought me the reports of two trials, in which Sir Richard Phillips as a witness, and yourself, Mr. Flower, as a plaintiff, were grossly abused by two eminent counsellors, in speeches of reply, to which, according to the customs of our courts, no answer could be given. The Attorney-General seemed to wish the jury to take the alternative of thinking Sir Richard a *rogue*, or a *fool*; and affected to ridicule his recent knighthood, (though Sir Vicary Gibbs's own title is not much more ancient) conferred upon him by his Majesty, as a matter of course, in honour of the city of London, which on some

occasions he represents; and Serjeant Lens laboured to make it believed that you, Sir, though falsely and scandalously libelled by his client, the Rev. John Clayton, Jun. might have been justly charged with something with which you did not stand charged,—with having committed a gross fraud, by which your mother was reduced from affluence to beggary!* You, I rejoice to see, will defend your (I doubt not) much-injured character; and Sir Richard will, I trust, shew by his continued exertions in behalf of the liberties of the city, that he despises insults, excited solely by his zeal for the purity of juries and the comfort of prisoners.

But I am anxious to enquire of any of your readers, learned in the law, whether libels may be pronounced with impunity, under shelter of a long robe, in the courts of King's Bench, and Common Pleas?—Whether a plaintiff who comes in to either of these courts for redress

* *Morn. Chron. July 26.*

of an injury, or a witness who attends them in consequence of a subpoena, may be insulted and slandered in a base and cruel manner, by one whose profession protects him from enquiry and prosecution?

Counsellors may have a personal quarrel with a man in whose cause they are, *pro* or *con*, engaged; and are they at liberty to seize the opportunity afforded them by the forms of courts, to indulge in asperity and invective, malicious insinuations and ruinous accusations, against individuals who cannot be heard in reply, who must not cudgel their calumniator, and whose defence of themselves cannot be made as public as the attack, or at least not without considerable pecuniary bribes to our venal public prints, which are said to make occasionally wilful mistakes in their reports of law proceedings, in order to draw forth *golden* explanations?

A defendant in a bad cause, when he sees he cannot defend an action, may indeed, as in your case, instruct his counsel in his brief, to gratify his malice by loading a plaintiff with slander; and may reap the advantage of convicted guilt, bringing forward no evidence, and speaking only in pretended extenuation of his offence, in closing a trial with a philippic against a suitor for public justice, hoping to make the desired impression upon a wearied judge, or a hungry jury. But is a pleader justified in raking up false charges, and urging them with the vehemence of angry eloquence? Is he under no responsibility? Is there no way of calling him to account?

The judge, it may be said, will not suffer idle and irrelevant reproach and accusation; but does the security of an honest man's character depend in a court of justice upon the *walkfulness*, *orgour*, and *impertinence* of one individual? There is too, it is alleged the counsel on the opposite side; but counsellors

may be deaf, or may fail, from other causes of doing their duty; and their clients may depend on this, that they one and all care more for each other than for *them*. In the last resort, there is, it is true, the jury; but allowing that juries, and special juries, are always fairly selected and properly disposed, who knows not that the last speech which is pronounced, like the last book which is read, makes the greatest impression? The eloquence of the bar has we know the force of confounding where it does not convince; and the very hardihood of a malicious charge often leads plain people, of which our juries generally consist, to conclude that it must be true!

I respect the British laws; I admire our usual forms of administering justice; and I only point out a grievance under which many of my fellow citizens groan, that some one more skilful than myself may state or devise a method of redress. If there be such a method it should be publicly known; if not, there ought to be one provided. Public trials by honest juries are the safeguard of our characters, liberties, and lives, and it behoves every one anxious for the common weal in which his own safety and comfort are included, to see that this grand palladium, the bequest of our immortal ALFRED, is not crumbled to dust by chicanery, erecting a precedent to-day which shall be law to-morrow.

AN ENGLISHMAN.

London, Aug. 8.

* It was by no means the intention of the Editor again to introduce into the *Political Review*, a matter in which he is so personally concerned; but as a correspondent has taken it up on general grounds, and as one demanding the attention of the public, he was unwilling to suppress the communication.

The Editor now begs leave to add, that having just read over the copy of the proceedings in the action, *FLOWER versus CLAYTON*, he finds, the language of the defendant's counsel to be much stronger than that quoted by AN ENGLISHMAN, and consequently that it tends still more forcibly to illustrate his observations. The assertion made in a court of justice, by Mr. Serjeant LENS, was as follows:—"That the plaintiff's mother had been by him **SWINDLED** out of her **WHOLE FORTUNE**, and **driven to BEGGARY!**"—a false malignant, and diabolical assertion, truly worthy of those who had invented and circulated the charge of **FORGERY** against one near relative, and of **PERJURY** against another! The authors and propagators of all these falsehoods, were perfectly conscious that they could produce *no evidence* to substantiate any one of them;—that there was nothing illegal in any part of the conduct of the plaintiff; that his mother so far from being "driven to beggary," had, at the period alluded, to nearly 300*l.* per annum, and that at her death her property amounted, to 8000*l.* Should the Editor be able to trace, on legal evidence, the author of this latter falsehood, he pledges himself, to appeal once more to the justice of his country against the attacks of those, who have for many years past been stabbing him in the dark, but whose unprincipled career is at length checked by the verdict of a jury!

Harlow, Aug. 16.

ACCOUNT OF SPAIN.

SIR,

The clear and impartial account of the leading events that have lately occurred in Spain, given in the last number of your valuable publication, must I presume have given great satisfaction to all your rea-

ders; and if you continue the plan which you have so judiciously begun, your work will be of inestimable value; for, if we may judge from the present temper of all our newspaper writers, a faithful history of Spanish affairs will be a great rarity. Wishing to assist you in enabling the public to form a right judgment respecting the probable result of the present contest in Spain, and of the benefit which the inhabitants may expect from a revolution that seems inevitable, I have taken the liberty of communicating a few particulars, respecting the political and moral state of Spain, taken from the most intelligent writers and travellers, that have published their sentiments on this subject, at the latest period preceding the present commotions.

Spain is computed by most writers to contain 11,000,000 of inhabitants; but Feyjov, a Spanish writer, estimates the population at only 9,250,000. It contains 144,616 square miles, which, taking the larger estimate of its population, leave about 76 inhabitants to a square mile; while France, yields 178, and England 169! This striking defect of population in a country formerly the most populous in Europe, has excited considerable attention, and has been partly ascribed to the numerous emigrations to America, and partly to the indolence of the natives, who will not labour to raise food for their families; but undoubtedly the cause must be looked for in the despotism of the government, and the power of the ecclesiastics.

In Spain and Portugal the roman catholic religion has been carried to a pitch of fanaticism unknown to the Italian states, or even in the *papal territory*. The inquisition has, in these unhappy kingdoms, been invested with exorbitant power, and has produced the most ruinous effects. This evil has been recently

subdued in a considerable degree; but one fanatic reign would suffice to revive it. A yet greater evil, which has sprung from fanaticism, is the destruction of morals; for the monks being extremely numerous, and human passions ever the same, those ascetics atone for the want of marriage by the practice of adultery, and the husbands from dread of the inquisition are constrained to connive at this enormous abuse. The conscience is seared by the practice of absolution; and the mind becomes reconciled to the strangest of all phenomenons, theoretic piety and practical vice, united in bonds almost indissoluble!*

According to the returns made to the government, a few years ago, the Spanish clergy stand as follows.

Parochial clergy	16,689
Assistants	5,771
Sextons (Sacristans)	10,873
Acolitos, persons who assist at the altar	5,503
Ordinados de patrimonio, having a patrimony of three reals a day	13,244
Ordinados de menores, with inferior officers	10,774
Canons of Cathedrals, called Beneficiados	23,692
Monks	61,617
Nuns	32,500
Beatas	1,130
Syndics, persons who collect for the Mendicants	4,127
Inquisitors	2,705

Total 138,625.

The Archbishoprics are 8; bishoprics 46. The most opulent see is that of Toledo, which is supposed to yield annually 100,000l.* Thus, taking the larger estimate of population before mentioned, the ecclesiastics and persons holding offices under the church in Spain are, in proportion to the whole population, as 1 to 58 nearly! And notwithstanding this host of clergy, it is allowed by all who have had a fa-

vourable opportunity of estimating the characters and manners of the inhabitants, that *there is as little true moral religion in Spain, as in any country under heaven.*

The fanaticism of the Spaniards, their absurd confidence in the intercession of saints, and their childish and foolish partiality to relics, are almost beyond belief. In Catalonia every company of artisans, and every ship that sails, is under the immediate protection of some patron. Besides folio volumes, which testify the innumerable miracles performed by our Lady in Montserrat, every subordinate shrine is loaded with votive tablets. This has been the parent of presumption, and among the merchants has brought many families to want. The companies of insurance in the American war, *having each of them its favourite saint*, such as *San Ramon de Penaforte, La Virgen de la mercea*, and others, associated in form by articles of partnership, and named in every policy of insurance; and having, with the most scrupulous exactness, allotted to them their correspondent dividend, the same as to any other partner, they concluded, that, with such powerful associates, it was not possible for them to suffer loss! Under this persuasion, they ventured, about the year 1799, to insure the French West-Indiamen at fifty per cent. when the English and Dutch had refused to do it at any premium. By this fatal stroke all the insuring companies, except two, were ruined. The government of Spain, as is well known, is the most despotic in Europe; the nobility enjoy great privileges: no *grandee* can be apprehended for any crime without an order from the king. The Cortes, or parliaments, which formerly, especially in Castille, had greater power and privileges than those of England, are now abolished, and no vestige of liberty, to guard the

* Pinkerton. † Townsend.

people from the tyranny of their superiors, is found to exist in this once free and independent country.

I will conclude, Mr. Editor, by asking, is it this government, and this system of religion, that we are called upon to stretch every nerve to support? Is it possible that hundreds of thousands of men are, at this moment in arms, eager to risk every thing they hold dear; nay, to sacrifice their very lives, for the preservation of a political and religious tyranny, not less degrading to themselves, than disgraceful to human nature? Yes—if we may believe their manifestoes, the Spanish patriots are fighting in behalf of such a government, and such a religion! Let us hope, however, that they are actuated by other motives.—that the pure flame of rational liberty inflames their breasts, and animates their courage: then they will not only merit, but obtain the applause of the present and future generations.

Yours respectfully,
London, Aug 10. S.

IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION.

SIR,

In the last number of your valuable Register, you have laid before your readers, a pleasing and interesting proof of the very laudable solicitude and ample provision which the people of America, have made for the proper education of their youth. It ought, however, to be known, that this wise and salutary provision has long been established by the colonists, and therefore may be considered as one of their fundamental laws. "Our fathers (says a very ingenious American author) made an early provision by law, that every town consisting of— inhabitants should be always furnished with a grammar school. They made it a crime for such a

town to be destitute of a school-master for a few months, and subjected it to a heavy penalty; so that the education of all ranks of people, was made the care and expence of the public in a manner unknown to any other people, ancient or modern." Upon this quotation, a most eminent patriot of our own country thus descants in a letter to a very respectable American:—"To this your whole spirit is owing; and with me, the slaughter of ten thousand of your wisest, stoutest men, would be a less calamity, than the destruction of this law!"

It is much to be regretted that a law similar to the above has not been enacted in this country. The want of it is generally acknowledged, and severely felt; and to this fatal defect, the numerous crimes, and capital punishments we daily hear of, may be chiefly ascribed. A striking proof of the truth of this remark may be found in the last number of that respectable miscellany the Monthly Magazine; by which it appears that among the felons in Newgate, out of 152 only 25 persons could write legibly, 26 very imperfectly, and the remainder, viz 101 made crosses or other marks; also that not more than about 3 in 10 among them could read with fluency, or so as to be properly understood.

Now, although I cannot agree with those who attribute the vices and unexampled profligacy of our common people, entirely to their ignorance, yet no doubt the want of a suitable education has a very alarming share in rendering them so depraved. If this were not the case, why do the society of friends, called in derision quakers, excel so honourably all other classes of their countrymen in decorum, probity and good morals? Nay, what is

* Vid. Memoirs of T. Hollis, Esq. in loc.

yet more to the point, why do the people called methodists, whose converts are often made out of classes notoriously abandoned, become sober, faithful and virtuous by being subjected to a strict regular discipline, and required to hear the gospel read and preached to them frequently, and with apparent zeal and earnestness? Quakers, methodists, and others stigmatized by bigots with the title of *sectaries*, or other insulting nick names, attend to the education of their youth, and train them up in the habits of sobriety and moral virtue. Their preachers too, consider it as a momentous duty to inspect their flocks; keep up very regular discipline among them; and to oppose and protest against all appearances of open vice and immorality. A good foundation being thus laid, the superstructure is answerable, and the whole fabric exhibits a striking appearance of symmetry and stability. Although I may be accused of wanting candour, yet I am not deterred thereby from expressing my belief that if the above 152 persons had been asked to what religious denomination they considered themselves as chiefly attached, by far the greater number would have declared themselves to belong to the national church, and that they were willing to give a lively, spirited proof of it when so required, by pulling down or burning a house or a chapel either at *Birmingham*, or elsewhere! They would likewise probably add, "you acknowledge us for members by appointing us a chaplain of your own persuasion, and above all by giving us the sacrament previous to our exit at the fatal tree or drop!"

But I will pursue this subject no farther at present, my principal design being to furnish you with a few striking detached extracts on the subject of education from *Hanwell's Letters on the importance of*

the rising Generation. By inserting them in your excellent periodical work, you will oblige,

Your constant reader,

A FRIEND TO VIRTUE.

August 3d.

"Since it is obvious that the happiness of our country depends in a great degree on the civilization of the common people, and that this results from a due sense of humanity and religion;—since those who are most grossly illiterate are the most dangerously abandoned; it follows, that from religious, as well as political motives we ought to be careful of the maxims we adopt in regard to the common people.—It is unhappily past contradiction, that many of the lowest classes are extremely defective in knowledge of their duty to God; and as a natural effect of this, equally so, in regard to man. From this cause great evils spring up, and greater still must follow. Not controlled by reason, not cultivated and rendered subservient to self-preservation, and being like the *Hydra*, a many-headed monster, when once let loose; the question is, whether it be necessary to consider of such preventive measures as are calculated for their happiness as well as our own.

"Nothing surely can be more obvious than that we ought to consider the practice of morality as the basis of religion, and religion as the main prop of government.—If there is a God; if the soul is immortal; if there is a state of rewards and punishments after death—if we believe in our hearts these great articles of the Christian faith, we certainly are bound by all the ties of duty to the father of mankind, to provide the means of instructing his children our fellow creatures. If they are the poor, they are placed immediately under our protection; and having the commands of heaven,

on their side; if we slight or neglect them, we rebel against divine authority. The souls of the poor are precious in the sight of God! They like the rich, depend on society for the means of knowledge: it is necessary therefore, they should be taught what God requires of them. —In England, and yet more in Scotland; it will be found that the common people are in general so much the better subjects as they know the value of their religion, laws and liberty, because these are in their nature intrinsically valuable.

“Liberty, joined to ignorance, creates impatience of controul; and this is but another name for disobedience to laws, whether human or divine; and a free state, may be more easily undone by a blind, immoral ferocity of manners, than by any other means. Neither the elevation, nor depression of a state is usually affected by sudden changes, or violent concussions, but in a gradual manner, and as the minds of the people are more or less inclined to VIRTUE! If then we wish to

transmit down to posterity a glorious plan of liberty and rational government, we should teach the young that *the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom*. For if they do not fear God, neither will they fear man; and their rulers in common with their fellow subjects will be indifferent to them; they will treat them all with contempt and derision, and if at length a total anarchy ensues—FAREWELL TO LIBERTY!

“On the other hand, if the name of Christian fills the heart of the poor man with gladness, and we wish to make every man obedient to the laws of his country, and as happy as he can be in his station, let every poor child of both sexes READ, that they may be so much the better informed of what they are so much concerned to know. To decline teaching them, is in effect to with-hold this knowledge; and to do this, seems to be a manifest violation of their rights, not only as members of a free state, but as they are born in a christian country.”

REVIEW OF BOOKS.

Memoirs of the Life of Col. Hutchinson, &c.

[Concluded from Vol. II. P. 364.]

In two of our former numbers we presented to our readers several extracts from this interesting work, principally relating to the character of Col. Hutchinson as portrayed by his nearest relative, the fair and accomplished historian. We now proceed to the history of the times in which the Colonel flourished, as one of the champions on the side of the people against the tyrant CHARLES I. who must by the impartial, ever be deemed the principal cause of the civil war, and of the calamities which in consequence afflicted the kingdom. We are sorry that our nar-

row limits will only permit us to make one or two extracts; but these will enable our readers to judge of the degree of respect due to the fair historian.

The following description of the principal parties which divided the kingdom in the reign of JAMES I. is as spirited as it is impartial.

“The King had upon his heart the dealings both of England and Scotland with his mother, and harboured a secret desire of revenge upon the godly in both nations, yet had not courage enough to assert his resentment like a prince, but employed a wicked cunning he was master of, and called *king-craft*, to undermine what he durst not openly oppose, the true religion: this was fenced with the liberty of the people, and so link’d

together, that 'twas impossible to make them slaves till they were brought to be idolators of royalty, and glorious lust, and as impossible to make them adore these gods while they continued loyal to the government of Jesus Christ.

"The payment of civil obedience to the king and the laws of the land satisfied not; if any durst dispute his impositions in the worship of God, he was presently reckon'd among the seditious, and disturbers of the publick peace, and accordingly persecuted: if any were grieved at the dishonour of the kingdom or the griping of the poor, or the uniuist oppressions of the subject, by a thousand wayes, invented to maintaine the riots of the courtiers and the swarms of needy Scotts the king had brought in to deuoure like locusts the plenty of this land, he was a Puritane: if any, out of mere morallity and civil honesty, discountenanced the abominations of those days, he was a puritane, however he conformed to their superstitious worship: if any shew'd favour to any godly honest person, kept them company, reliev'd them in want, or protected them against violent or uniuist oppression, he was a puritane: if any gentleman in his country maintain'd the good lawes of the land, or stood up for any publick interest, for good order or government, he was a puritane: in short, all that crost the views of the needie courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the theevish protectors, the lewd nobillity and gentrie, whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship, could not endure blasphemous oathes, ribbald conuersation, prophane scoffes, sabbath breach, derision of the word of God, and the like; whoever could endure a sermon, modest habitt or conuersation, or anything good, all these were puritanes; and if puritanes, then enemies to the king and his government, seditious, factious hypocrites, ambitious disturbers of the public peace, and finally, the pest of the kingdom: such false logick did the children of darknesse use to argue with against the hated children of light, whom they branded besides as an illiterate, morose, melancholy, discontented, craz'd sort of men, not fitt for humane conuersation; as such they made them not only the sport of the puppet, which was become but a more solemne sort of stage, but every stage, and every table, and every puppet-play, belcht forth prophane scoffes upon them, the drunk-

ards made them their songs, all adlers and minicks learnt to abuse them, so finding it the most gainfull way of fooling. Thus the two factions in those dayes grew up to greete heightns and enmities, one against the other, while the Papist wanted not industry and subtilty to blow the coals betweene them; and was so successfull that, unless the mercy of God confound them, by their owne imaginations, wee may iustly feare they will at last obtane their full wish.

"But to deale impartially, wee must, with sadnesse enough, confesse, that the wolfe came into the fold in a sheepe's clothing, and wrought more slaughter that way among the lambs, then he could have done in his owne skin; for it is true that many of witt and parts, discontented, when they could not obtaine the preferments their ambition gaped at, would declare themselves of the puritane party, and such were either bought off, or, if the adversary would not give their price, seduced their devout hearers, sometimes into indiscreete opposition, to worke out their owne revenge, others that had neither learning, nor friends, nor opportunities to arrive to any preferments, would put on a forme of godlinesse, finding devout people that way so liberrall to them, that they could not hope to enrich themselves so much any other way. Some that had greater art and parts, finding there was no inconsiderable gaine to be made of the simple devotion of men and wcomen, applied their witts to it, and collected great summes for the advancement of the religious interest, of which they converted much to their own private uses. Such as these tempted the people of God to endeavour to shelter themselves in humane policies, and found out wayes, by bribes and other not lesse indirect courses, to procure patrones at court, and to sett up against the prelates with countermines and other engines, which being of man's framing, were all at last broken.

"The puritane party being weak and oppress'd had not faith enough to disowne all that adhered to them for worldly interests, and indeed it requir'd more then humane wisdom to discern at the least all of them, wherefore they, in their low condition, gladly accepted any that would come over to them, or encline towards them; and their enemies, through envie at them augmented

much their party, while, with injuries and reproaches, they drove many that never intended it, to take that party; which in the end got nothing but confusion by those additions. While these parties were thus counter-working, the treasure of the kingdom being wasted by court-caterpillars, and parliaments called to re-supply the royall coffers, therein there wanted not some, that retain'd so much of the English spirit, as to represent the publick grievances, and desire to call the corrupt ministers of state to an account; but the king, grudging that his people should dare to gainsay his pleasure, and correct his misgovernment, in his favourites, broke up parliaments, violated their privileges, imprison'd their members for things spoken in the house, and grew disaffected to them, and entertain'd projects of supply by other grievances of the people. The prelates in the mean time, finding they lost ground, meditated reunion with the popish faction, who began to be at a pretty agreement with them; and now there was no more endeavour in their publick sermons, to confute the errors of that church, but to reduce our doctrines and theirs to an accommodation: the king, to bring it about was deluded into the treaty of a match for his sonne with the Infanta of Spaine; and the Prince, with the Duke of Buckingham, privately sent into Spayue, from whence he diffcultly came back, but to the greave rejoycing of the whole people in generall, who were much afflicted at his going thither."

The following account of the roundheads affords one amongst many instances, that although the Colonel and his lady were persons of deep and unfeigned piety, they were not insensible of the follies of the denomination of which they were the professed members.

"This name of Roundhead coming so opportunely in, I shall make a little digression to tell how it came up. When puritanisme grew into a faction, the zealots distinguished themselves, both men and women, by several affectations of habit, looks, and words, which had it bene a real declension of vanity, and embracing of sobriety in all those things, had bene most commendable in them; but their quick forsaking

of those things, when they were what they would be, shew'd that they either never tooke them up for conscience, or were corrupted by their prosperity to take up those vain things they durst not practise under persecution. Among other affected habits, few of the puritans, what degree soever they were of, wore their haire long enough to cover their eares, and the ministers and many others cut it close round their heads, with so many little peakes, as was something ridiculous to behold; whereupon Cleaveland, in his Hue and Crie after them, begins, "With haire in Characters and Loggs in Text, &c." From this custome of wearing their haire, that name of Roundhead became the scornfull terme given to the whole parliament party; whose army indeed marcht out so, but as if they had bene sent out only till their haire was growne: two or three yeeres after any stranger that had seene them, would have enquir'd the reason of that name. It was very ill applied to Mr. Hutchinson, who having naturally a very fine thicksett head of haire, kept it clean and handsome, so that it was a greate ornament to him, although the godly of those dayes, when he embrac'd their party, would not allow him to be religious because his haire was not in their cutt, nor his words in their phrase; nor such little formalities altogether fitted to their humor, who were many of them so weak as to esteeme rather for such insignificant circumstances, then for solid wisdom, piety, and courage, which brought reall ayd and honor to their party; but as Mr. Hutchinson chose not them, but the God they serv'd, and the truth and righteousness they defended, so did not their weaknesses, censures, ingratitude, and discouraging behaviour, with which he was abundantly exercis'd all his life, make him forsake them in any thing wherein they adher'd to just and honorable principles or practizes, but when they apostatiz'd from these, none cast them off with greater indignation, how shining soever the profession were that guilt, not a temple of living grace, but a tomb which only held the carcase of religion."

The character of CHARLES I. is drawn with greater impartiality than by most of our historians who have arranged themselves in the two opposite parties. The account of the

part which Col. Hutchinson took in the trial of the king is remarkable for its grand and affecting style: whatever opinion may be formed of the conduct of the Colonel on this awful occasion, every friend to integrity and piety must be forcibly impressed with the following solemn observations:—

“As for Mr. Hutchinson, although he was very much confirmed in his judgment concerning the cause, yett here being called to an extraordinary action, whereof many were of several minds, he address'd himself to God by prayer, desiring the Lord, that if through any humane frailty he were led into any error or false opinion in those greate transactions, he would open his eyes, and not suffer him to proceed, but that he would confirme his spiritt in the truth, and lead him by a right-enlightened conscience; and finding no check, but a confirmation in his conscience, that it was his duty to act as he did, he upon serious debate, both privately, and in his addresses to God, and in conferences with conscientious, upright, unbiased persons, proceeded to sign the sentence against the king.”

The account of the base treatment the Colonel received from the royal party, the violation of the public faith in his case, and the mean and unprincipled conduct of Clarendon on the occasion, is followed by an account of the latter days of the Colonel spent in prison, and of the christian fortitude and tranquillity which characterised his closing scene; in the perusal of which, together with that of the *Memoirs* in general, it is not easy to determine which is most to be admired, the character held up to view, or the writer by whom it is described.

We are happy to find that so interesting a work has within the short space of a few months reached a second edition; and we sincerely hope it will excite the attention in particular of the female sex; they will in the perusal perceive, that the cultivation of the mind is by no means incompatible with the acquirements indispensable in domestic life; that

the respectability of the sex consists—not in ignorance which renders them incapable of conversing with men of sense; nor in acquiring vitiated sentiments from the innumerable volumes of modern trash published under the name of Novels, but in duly furnishing their minds with useful knowledge; that while they are duly attentive to the practical duties of family economy, they may be enabled to join in conversation tending to promote instruction the most important, and entertainment the most rational.

A Letter to the Prince of Wales. By W. A. Miles, Esq.
[Concluded from Vol. III. P. 366.]

After the reflections on the system generally adopted during the present reign inserted in a former Review, Mr. Miles proceeds to state a variety of particulars, the most important of which are supported by authentic documents, which afford a melancholy display of the extreme depravity of courtiers and statesmen, some of whom have at times been loud in their professions of patriotism. Mr. Burke it appears was rewarded with pensions to the amount of upwards of 8000*l.* a year, exclusive of a profit of 30,000*l.* which he realised by the sale of two other pensions. The famous Mr. Reeves, the grand informer and state inquisitor, of association memory, under the reign of Mr. Pitt, and whose libel on the constitution was condemned by a vote of the house of Commons, enjoys emoluments of office to the amount of 4000*l.* a year!—Respecting the grants to a late exiled prince, our author observes, “His Majesty in his great goodness” (and it is easy to be munificent “with such means) recommended “that a provision should be made “for the late Stadtholder of Holland, “whose wretched career had been “one continued warfare with all the “decencies of life, and 60,000*l.* in

"ready money, and 15,000l. per annum were voted by parliament to this personage. I do not know what claim he could possibly have on the munificence or gratitude of this country, but from the papers in my possession, he seems to have been well intitled to a halter in his own!"—On the article of *Secret Service Money*, Mr. Miles affirms that Mr. Wickham drew for the enormous sum of SEVEN HUNDREN THOUSAND POUNDS during his mission in Switzerland, the object of which was to endeavour by means of the French emigrants to bring about a counter revolution in France: some curious anecdotes are related which serve to shew the various means taken to accomplish this darling wish of the minister, and how miserably he was duped by those whom Mr. Miles terms "political swindlers."

On the subject of the late war our author has produced much authentic evidence, which proves that this country was guilty of "a wanton aggression," and that the melancholy consequences are to be imputed to its guilty promoter Mr. Pitt, who acted in this respect, as in many others, contrary to his own judgment; but the love of place proved paramount to every other consideration.

Although the Prince of Wales is panegyrised by our author on account of his talents and virtues, yet the letter is characterised by great freedom of language; and his royal highness is reminded of some tremendous truths, which we trust he will duly attend to. The consequences of a perseverance in the system which has generally prevailed during the past forty years, are predicted in language which must appal every man who is not sunk in ignorance or vice, or who is not interested in the support of war and corruption, or fattening on the spoils of his country.

The letter is followed by a copious

Appendix, containing a variety of documents many of them original and curious. The following refers to the assertion made in the letter, that "in the infancy of the French revolution it was intimated, to Mr. Pitt, that he must either war with France or resign."

"This extraordinary occurrence happened in 1791.—I speak from a perfect knowledge of the circumstance; and as those who had a share in giving that mischievous advice, and those who were concerned in communicating the alternative of "*war with France, or resignation,*" to the consideration of the minister, are yet in existence, I dare them to deny the fact.—The country is not yet apprized of the full extent of its obligations to some of the parties; but as cunning, in this instance, has completely over-reached itself, as cunning is apt to do, and the season of reflection seems to be returning—we shall then see of what materials that something behind the throne, "*which is greater than the throne itself,*" is composed, and with what firmness he will meet the united indignation of an abused sovereign and a ruined people.—At the period at which it was intimated to Mr. Pitt, that he must *war with France, or resign,* the French revolution was in its cradle—it had scarcely peeped over the Boulevards at Paris; the ablest of its leaders,* the man the most likely to look beyond the Rhine, the Channel, or the Pyrennees, and whose mind was as comprehensive as it was enterprising, was decidedly for preserving the *relations of peace and amity*, and as he at that time swayed the public opinion, and France hailed him for the moment as one of her deliverers, he aimed—(I speak from a knowledge of the fact, being at the time on the spot, and in the habits of daily intercourse with him)—to preserve peace, and to avoid every thing, even in public debate, that might give offence to foreign powers—consequently the intimation was made to Mr. Pitt, to war or resign, before any ut-
brage could possibly have been given to our government, or any rational alarm excited in a mind not vitiated or deranged. What share the prospect of admiralty *droits* to an enormous amount, with the rich harvest of a heavy

* Mons. Mirabeau.

war expenditure to those who well know how to reap, may have had in a resolve so injudicious in the first instance, and that has proved so fatal in its progress, is unnecessary to enquire: it will be sufficient to observe, that if Mr. Pitt had possessed that dignity of mind which marked the splendid career of his immortal father; if he could have forgotten the treasury and all its appurtenances, and looked resignation fully in the face, with half the effrontery he braved his opponents in the house of Commons, his descent from power would only have been momentary—his return the proud triumph of public opinion!—Public opinion, on some occasions is decisive;—impatient of delay, it displays its terrific energies; and when its justice is as obvious as its voice is potent, it bears down with irresistible force the insolent clamours of cabal, and even prerogative, if it has the folly to thrust itself between the caprice of authority and the public good. If the public virtue of Mr. Pitt had borne any proportion to the great occasion which called for its best exertions—if failing in his respectful representations to the throne, to convince his abused and royal master that he was ill advised, that the counsel he had received was no less dangerous to his crown than to the interests of the nation, and that the paramount consideration of public duty left him no alternative but to resign, he would have fixed himself for ever in the hearts of the king and people, and saved his sovereign from dishonor;—his country from destruction.—But the mind of Mr. Pitt was not equal to such an effort—his pigmy ambition soared no higher than to office. The book of vacancies was far more important in his estimation than the interests of the empire, or the destiny of nations; and his loyalty to the country gave way to his loyalty to an individual. The love of peace, which he had before avowed as essential to the accomplishment of his plans of finance, was lost in his love of patronage—all the difficulties of a contest with a vast and powerful nation, with whose character and resources he was totally ignorant, instantly vanished, as soon as he became apprized of the terms on which he was to remain minister, and the statesman was lost in the placeman.”

One more document on a very important subject, the dangerous and

abused prerogative of the crown in making war, must conclude this article.

“The subversion of empires has been accomplished with less difficulty than removing a pauper to his parish, and kings are made to appear and disappear with as much facility, and with as little ceremony, as if they were puppets in a gaudy shew. Whence has arisen all this degradation of kings, this subversion of empires, and these wonderful revolutions, not only in states, in laws, morals, and religion, but in our frame and turn of mind?—will all these miracles, accomplished without supernatural aid, eventually produce happiness to mankind, or bind them in eternal servitude to despotism! It is an ænigma, and time alone can solve the riddle. Is our destiny fixed, or is the interval to be a state of probation; if the latter, what are our prospects?—If the former, what are the sufferings we are destined to endure?—Who dare contemplate the one, who can describe the other?—What has produced this dreadful state of things, this moral derangement of the universe, in which kings and kingdoms are held as cheap, and of as little account, as paper kites, or any other baby toy?—The war, that scourge of humanity, has produced all those terrific changes, and though an affliction so severe, and of this wonderful extent, has never before visited mankind, yet the evils resulting from a state of warfare, have always been of sufficient magnitude to have rendered it a question with honest men of plain common sense, how far it was consistent with the interests of society, or necessary to its preservation, that the power of declaring war should reside with any individual, whatever may be his wisdom or his discretion? Scourged by disasters into reflections of this kind, the legislature, in more enlightened times, perhaps in our own, may probably be induced to provide against the mischief of wanton warfare, at the pleasure of an individual, who, though invested with the sovereign authority, is exposed to the same passions, and liable to the same caprice, the same humours, and resentments as other men, without being subject to the same wholesome restraints, or the same responsibility. If ever the moment should arrive, when forbearance ceases to be a

virtue, this power, so liable to be abused, conferred in times of ignorance and monkish superstition, and sacred only for its antiquity, will be erased from the code of civilized nations, and the happiness of millions cease to be a contingency on the pleasure of the sovereign or his ministers. The antiquity of a law or usage is not of itself a sufficient reason for its continuance. The immediate or possible utility of a law, is the only rational ground for its existence; and when the law or usage in question is investigated with that sobriety of temper and discernment due to its importance—when every possible advantage resulting from the right of declaring war being invested in the sovereign shall be contrasted with the calamities known to have resulted from an abuse of it, the policy of revising this part of the king's prerogative will become evident, and the result of such an investigation may be foretold without consulting an astrologer. Farther advanced in the science of legislation, mankind may possibly marvel that an error of so mischievous a nature should have obtained the sanction of centuries. Instances in abundance can be drawn from the history of all nations to prove the disadvantages resulting from the right of declaring war being confided to the sovereign. Henry the Fourth of France, after gaining the battle of Ivry, might have put an end to the war immediately if he had marched to Paris, then ready to submit to his arms, but was prevented by the Marshal de Biron, who considering war as his harvest, prevented peace. His son afterwards might have closed the contest, by taking the general of the league, but the Marshal prevented him, declaring that such a step would send them back to plant cabbages at Biron. Louvois, the minister of Louis the Fourteenth, laid the palatinate in ashes, in consequence of a frivolous dispute with his master about the measurement of a window at Trianon! In our days France was finally decided to espouse the cause of America, not to distress a rival; but that the late Queen, and the Comte d'Artois, might more readily have supplies from the war fund. The necessity of considering in parliament the truth of alleged transgression, and the justice of appealing to the sword, before hostilities are resorted to, would perhaps put an end to wretched warfare, or

at least prevent their too frequently occurring.

Remarks on the Proposal made to Great Britain, for opening Negotiations for Peace, in the year 1807. By William Roscoe, Esq. 2d. Ed. pp. 184.

The Preface to these Remarks which forms a considerable part of the work, is replete with sentiments which demand the most serious attention of our countrymen. The right and the duty of a Briton to examine with freedom the measures of government are ably vindicated. The following description of a *True Patriot*, and of the principles by which he is at all times guided is of such importance, that we earnestly wish it were engraven on the heart of every Briton, yea of every individual of the human race.

"True patriotism is a wise and enlightened sentiment, which leads us to promote the welfare of our country by just and allowable means; but that selfish feeling which prompts us to obtain advantages by acts of injustice and oppression, is not patriotism, but the worst extreme of selfishness. Can the man who has dressed himself, in a great degree, of that selfishness which is almost a part of his nature, be expected to feel for the community that unjust preference which he has learnt to relinquish for himself? or will not, on the contrary, his feelings and his habits be uniform? and will he not be disposed to weigh with fairness and impartiality the different claims of all those who come within the sphere of his influence? Whilst he is just to his family and his friends, shall he, for their sakes, be unjust to his country? or whilst he is just to his country, shall he be unjust to the rest of the world? To suppose so, is to suppose that he acts upon two opposite principles, and that when he arrives at a certain point, his virtue recoils upon itself and becomes the very reverse of what it was before. The truth is, that a patriot must be a virtuous man, and a virtuous man will not commit, or encourage injustice, for the advantage of himself or others. After having participated his affection with those around him, he will be anxious

ious to promote their interests; but he will promote them in the same manner only as he would his own. School'd to the restraint of his own passions, he will not flatter and inflame those of the populace. In acting for his country, he will seek for no advantages, but such as under similar circumstances he would endeavour to obtain for himself. If, in the one case, he would not way-lay and rob an unsuspecting neighbour, in the other, he would not enrich his country by piracy, violence, and spoil. In this he would do, not only what is abstractedly right, but what is truly and ultimately for the real interest of his country. This globe is a society of states, and nations as well as individuals have each their peculiar character. To grasp at temporary advantages, to oppress a weaker, or circumvent an incautious neighbour, may frequently, in private life, be attended with success; and states and nations may, in like manner, seem, for a while, by a similar conduct, to promote their prosperity. But the foundation is unsound, and the edifice of their greatness is built on sand. By the system of Providence, and the constitution of human affairs, a continual barrier is forming against such unjust aggressions; which are counteracted by the influence of public opinion, the distrust and resentment of surrounding states, and a thousand unforeseen circumstances, that either frustrate the expected advantage, or retaliate its injustice; and not unfrequently subject the aggressor to the very evils intended to be inflicted on others. *It is therefore only by strictly conforming to the eternal principles of right and justice, that we can consult either our own honour or our own interest; and to desert these principles when a particular occasion puts them to the test, is to exclude ourselves, by our own act, from the pale of civilized society, and to render ourselves, as it were, outlaws to the rest of the world.*

"It may however perhaps, be said, that human nature is, at the best, imperfect, and that notwithstanding all our efforts, vice and misconduct will frequently and indeed inevitably occur; but this, it is to be observed, is to be lamented, and not to be vindicated; to be branded, and not excused. Would these evils be likely to be diminished by reducing our standard of moral rectitude to a lower level? or is it not an

the contrary, only by preserving the moral principle pure and unsullied, that we can hope to prevent the total degradation and ruin of the human race? *To deviate in practice from these dictates of eternal obligation is highly culpable; but to admit of, and sanction such deviation in theory, is infinitely more so.* The one is a guilty action; the other establishes a rule of guilt, and recommends it to practice in all future times. Whatever enormities may have been committed by the leaders of armies and the conquerors of mankind, they are often less culpable than those who have recorded their exploits. In the agitation of all the most violent passions of our nature, in the conflict of hope and of fear, of glory and of shame, of self-preservation, of animosity and of revenge, atrocities have been transacted, over which our humiliated sense of human imperfection would gladly throw a veil. But when the narrator of these transactions, instead of marking them with his indignation, recommends them to our notice and our imitation, as the usual and allowable course of conduct on similar occasions; when the statesman founds his measures, not upon the primitive maxims of justice and rectitude, but on the imitation of other states, whose enormities and whose guilt are universally acknowledged; when the moralist descends from his dignified eminence into the vulgar crowd, and lowers his standard to accommodate it with more accuracy to the level of the present day, an inroad is then prepared for every species of depravity and every kind of abuse. That guilt which was before incidental only, is then reduced to a system, and mankind become unjust upon principle, cruel and revengeful by common assent, and wicked by rule. In this situation the diffusion of the public sentiment is like the spreading of a pestilence; the freedom of the press, instead of being an advantage, becomes a curse to a country; and they who pretend to be the instructors become the corruptors of mankind. That the united efforts of all the friends of virtue can ever succeed in banishing vice and error from the face of the earth, it would be preposterous to suppose; but the operation of moral causes on the character and situation of mankind, is, even yet, but imperfectly known. To what a degree of depravity nations may fall, we have had but too many in-

stances. To what heights of moral and intellectual excellence they may rise, we have had fewer examples; but neither the one nor the other is to be considered as the utmost extreme of which our nature is capable. We know however enough to enable us to distinguish light from darkness; and if, by the constant assertion and defence of the eternal rules of justice and morality, we cannot establish a *Heaven upon earth*, we may, at least, prevent that earth from becoming a *Pandemonium*."

The "Remarks" contain a concise history of the different proposals made by Austria, and Russia, during the past year to mediate between this country and France; these proposals it appears were made with the knowledge and the consent of the latter. The conduct of the British cabinet throughout the whole, evidently discovers their rooted aversion to peace, and their determination to carry on the war: the language of the secretary for foreign affairs, Mr. Canning, proves him to have been well educated in the school of Pitt, and that for arrogance, and haughtiness, he almost equals his master. It is impossible for us, whilst the councils of this country are influenced by a similar spirit, to entertain any rational hopes of peace.

The atrocity of the proceedings of our ministers against Denmark is further demonstrated by the state papers which follow the Remarks. In justification of the measure they appeal to the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, and yet they at the same time make it matter of complaint to the court of Russia, that notwithstanding their repeated request to be furnished with the said articles, they are still ignorant of their contents!

The calumny sometime since cast on the memory of Mr. Fox, by Mr. Cobbett, who on the authority of an anonymous correspondent charged that illustrious statesman with inventing the account of the proposal made to him to assassinate the French

Emperor, is here proved to be equally gross and unfounded. Indeed the calumny on the very face of it appeared as stupid as it was malignant, and scarcely deserved a formal refutation.

Our author, notwithstanding he has in this, as well as in his former political work demonstrated that the continuance of the war is to be attributed principally, to the insatiation of the British cabinet, is of opinion "that in all measures that are calculated for the defence of the country, and the effectual carrying on of that war, the people must cheerfully and unanimously concur." On the first of these points, the necessity of defence, we cordially agree with him; but so far from cheerfully concurring in those oppressive modes of taxation which are made use of for effectually carrying on a war commenced in injustice, and obstinately persevered in, when not a rational hope remains of our obtaining any of its professed objects, we cannot but consider it to be the duty of the people to protest against, not only a continuance of the war, but the means by which it is carried on.

The revolution in Spain is hailed by our ministers as a most lucky event in the chapter of accidents. If we may judge by the language of their hireling writers all their dreams of "the deliverance and the restoration of the liberties and independence of Europe," or in plainer language, of the restoration of despotism civil and religious, are now revived. May success attend the efforts of every nation in preserving its own independence against the unprincipled dictates or invasion of any foreign power; but we are much mistaken if the renewed attempts of our ministers to stir up another coalition against France, do not prove as fruitless as the former; if the profuse offers to foreign powers of the blood and the treasure of this country will produce any other effects,

than accelerating the ruin of those powers which may unfortunately accept them; and of increasing the oppressive burdens of this country, which without any addition are almost too heavy to be borne.

A More Extended Discussion in Favour of Liberty of Conscience recommended. By the Rev. Christopher Wyvill. pp. 22.

The author of this pamphlet, a veteran in the service of liberty, both civil and religious, is endeavouring in the evening of his days to excite the attention of his countrymen to a consideration of the claims of conscience; not in a trifling or partial, but in a most extended view. He considers the cause of toleration as having gained some advantages by the late debates in the legislature on the petitions of the Irish catholics; but he earnestly wishes his countrymen would unite in their endeavours to obtain the repeal of *all* penal laws, justly considering "that every species of intolerance is a criminal interference with the authority of God; and that all laws whatever, encroaching on that unalienable right, ought to be removed without delay from our statute book; in which at present they stand the disgrace of our legislature, and in a more eminent degree the reproach of our superior churchmen."

Mr. Wyvill, after addressing his countrymen in general, and the younger part of them in particular, on the manner in which they should exert themselves in this glorious cause, recommending temperance with firmness, concludes as follows.

"Whatever danger may justly be apprehended to arise in the prosecution of this discussion lies all on the side of intolerance. If the clamours of bigots and the calumnies of corrupt politicians should too long prevail over the pleas of sound policy and humanity, and against the christian rule of justice, TO DO TO OTHERS AS WE WOULD THAT

OTHERS SHOULD DO TO US, then indeed let the sawning sycophants of power, who support that injustice which they condemn, look with fearful apprehension to Ireland; for there they will have much to dread: then let this misguided nation tremble at the near approach of that revolution, which may with reason be expected to explode from the rage of disappointed millions. May God in his mercy avert those dreaded evils; may his providence ordain that far better, far wiser dispositions shall be found to influence, before it be too late, those who govern and those who are governed; and may that conduct which is calculated to conciliate our exasperated brethren, to secure this widely extended empire from internal convulsions and from foreign subjugation, and at last to establish christian peace, benevolence, and liberty, forever among us, be the happy result of those better and wiser dispositions. But should the event prove far otherwise; should every attempt to promote the benign disposition of the gospel too long prove unsuccessful, should repeated disappointments and repeated insults at last goad the Irish to desperation and madness, and should confusion be the unhappy consequence in their part of the empire; in that situation of extreme peril and distress, it would be the utmost consolation to the early declared friends of unlimited liberty of conscience to reflect, that their conduct as churchmen engaged in the support of that cause had been uniformly marked by a truly christian spirit; by the constant candour of their controversial writings; and by their impartial endeavour that justice might be done to all who differ from the religion of the state. And should their virtuous efforts be assisted in the course of this discussion by any considerable proportion of those persons who adhere with them to that religion, the generous zeal of churchmen like themselves co-operating with them to diffuse the true principles of gospel benevolence and christian liberty, would afford to their then-distracted country the best or only ground of hope, that wiser counsels and a happier temper might even then prevail; that the impending revolution, and dismemberment of Ireland, with their inseparable train of crimes and calamities, might even then be averted by a perfect reconciliation with their Irish brethren."

POETRY.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

Is there, or do the schoolmen dream,
Is there on earth a power supreme,
The delegate of Heav'n;
To whom an uncontroul'd command,
In every realm, o'er sea and land,
By special grace is giv'n?

Then say what signs this God proclaim;
Dwells he amidst the diamond's flame,
A throne his hallow'd shrine?
The borrow'd pomp, the arm'd array,
Want, fear, and impotence betray—
Strange proofs of pow'r divine!

If service due from human kind
To men in slothful ease reclin'd
Can form a sovereign's claim,
Hail, monarchs! ye, whom heaven or-
[dains,
Our toils unshar'd, to share our gains;
Ye idiots, blind and lame!

Superior virtue, wisdom, might,
Create and mark the ruler's right,
So reason may conclude:
Then thine it is, to whom belong
The wise, the virtuous, and the strong,
Thrice sacred multitude!

In thee, VAST ALL! are these contain'd,
For thee are those, thy parts, ordain'd,
So nature's systems roll:
The sceptre's thine, if such there be:
If none there is, then thou art free,
Great Monarch, Mighty Whole!

Let the proud tyrant rest his cause
On faith, prescription, force, or laws,
An host's or senate's voice!
His voice affirms the stronger due,
Who for the many made the few,
And gave the species choice.

Unsanctify'd by thy command,
Unown'd by thee, the scepter'd hand
The trembling slave may bind:
But loose from nature's moral ties,
The oath by force impos'd belies
The unassenting mind.

Thy will's thy rule, thy good its end:
You punish only to defend
What parent nature gave:
And he who dares her gifts invade,
By nature's oldest law is made
Thy victim or thy slave.

Thus reason founds the just decree
On universal liberty,
Not private rights resign'd:
Through various nature's wide extent
No private beings e'er were meant
To hurt the genral kind.

Thee justice guides, thee right maintains,
Th' oppressor's wrongs, the pilferer's
Thy injur'd weal impair; [gains,
Thy warmest passions soon subside,
Nor partial envy, hate, nor pride,
Thy temper'd counsels share.

Each instance of thy vengeful rage,
Collected from each clime and age,
Though malice swell the sum,
Would seem a spotless scanty roll,
Compar'd with Marius' bloody scroll,
Or Sylla's hippodrome.

But thine has been imputed blame;
Th' unworthy few assume thy name,
The rabble weak and loud;
Or those who on thy ruins feast,
The lord, the lawyer, and the priest;
A more ignoble crowd.

Avails it thee, if One devours,
Or lesser spoilers share his pow'r,
While both thy claim oppose?
Monsters who wore thy sullied crown,
Tyrants who pull'd those monsters down
Alike to thee were foes.

Far other shone fair freedom's band,
Far other was the immortal stand,
When Hampden fought for thee:
They snatch'd from rapine's gripe thy
[spoils,
The fruits and prize of glorious toils,
Of arts and industry.

On thee yet foams the preacher's rage,
On thee fierce frowns th' historian's page,
A false apostate train:
Tears stream adown the martyr's tomb;
Unpitied in their harder doom,
Thy thousands strew the plain.

These had no charms to please the sense,
No graceful port, no eloquence,
To win the muse's throng:
Unknown, unsung, unmark'd, they lie;
But Cæsar's fate o'ercasts the sky,
And nature mourns his wrong.

Thy foes, a frontless band, invade;
Thy friends afford a timid aid,
And yield up half thy right.
Ev'n Locke beams forth a mingled ray,
Afraid to pour the flood of day
On man's too feeble sight.

Hence are the motley systems fram'd,
Of right transferr'd, of pow'r reclaim'd;
Distinctions weak and vain.
Wise nature mocks the wrangling herd;
For unreclaim'd, and untransferr'd,
Her powers and rights remain.

While law the royal agent moves,
The instrument thy choice approves,
We bow through him to you.
But change, or cease, th' inspiring
[choice,
The Sovereign sinks a private voice,
Alike in one, or few!

Shall then the wretch, whose dastard
[heart
Shrinks at a tyrant's bolder part,
And only dares betray,
With reptile wiles, alas! prevail,
Where force, and rage, and priestcraft
[fail,
To pilfer power away?

O! shall the bought, and buying tribe,
The slaves who take and deal the bribe,

A people's claims enjoy?
So Indian murderers hope to gain
The pow'rs and virtues of the slain,
Of wretches they destroy.

'Avert it, Heaven! you love the brave,
'You hate the treacherous, willing slave,
'The self-devoted head.
'Nor shall an hireling's voice convey
'That sacred prize to lawless sway,
'For which a nation bled.'

Vain prayer the coward's weak resource!
Directing reason, active force
Propitious Heav'n bestows.
But ne'er shall dash the thund'ring sky,
'To aid the trembling herd that fly
Before their weaker foes.

In names there dwell no magic charms;
The British virtues, British arms,
Unloos'd our fathers' band:
Say, Greece and Rome! if these should
[fail,
What names, what ancestors avail,
To save a sinking land?

Far, far from us such ills shall be!
May Britain boast her nation free,
Her Monarch truly great;
Whose title speaks a people's choice,
Whose Sovereign will a people's voice,
Whose strength a prosperous state.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTES.

Downing-Street, Aug. 16.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, has this day been received by the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Lieut. General Sir Hew Dalrymple, K. B. dated Gibraltar, July 4.

MR LORD,—I inclose a report from Captain Whittingham, containing the details of a complete victory obtained on the 19th instant, by General Castanos, over the French corps commanded by Generals Dupont and Wedel; and I take the liberty of congratulating your lordship upon the glorious result of the day. I have the honour also to state, that I have received a letter

from General Castanos by the same courier, expressing the satisfaction he has received from the services of Captain Whittingham,—I have the honour to be, &c.

Head-Quarters, Andujar, July 21.

SIR,—I had the honour to inform you, in my letter of July 17, that in a council of war held on that day at head-quarters, it was resolved that the division of the Marquis de Caupigny should join that of Major-General Reding, and that the attack upon Baylen should be undertaken with the united force of the two divisions, whilst the third division and the reserve should occupy the attention of the enemy by a feigned at-

tack upon Andujar. Major-Gen. Reding entered Baylen on the morning of the 18th, at nine o'clock: he met with little opposition. The enemy retreated towards La Carolina. The Major-General wrote to the commander in chief for orders, either to advance against Andujar, or to pursue the column which was retiring upon La Carolina. General Castanos ordered him to advance upon Andujar without delay.

On the 19th, at two o'clock in the morning, the General received information of the retreat of the French from Andujar. Lieut.-Gen. Pena, with the reserve, was ordered to advance immediately towards Baylen. The French began their retreat at nine o'clock *p. m.* 18th July. A letter from Gen. Reding informed the commander in chief that he intended commencing his march from Baylen towards Andujar at three o'clock *a. m.* July 19. At two o'clock *p. m.* the advanced guard of General Pena's division came up with the enemy. At this moment an express arrived from Major-Gen. Reding to inform the Lieut.-General that he had been engaged with the division of General Dupont from three o'clock in the morning till eleven; that he had repulsed the French and remained master of the field of battle. The guns of the advanced guard of Lieut. General Pena's division had scarcely begun to fire, when a flag of truce arrived to treat upon the terms of a capitulation. The discussion did not last long. General Dupont was told he must surrender at discretion.

Lieut. General Pena, halted and formed his division upon the heights of Umbra, distant three miles from Baylen; between four and five o'clock General Casterick, Aide-de-Camp to Bonaparte, was sent by General Dupont with orders to treat with General Castanos in person.

At nine o'clock *p. m.* Major Gen. Reding informed the Lieut. General that during the truce he had been

treacherously attacked by General Wedel, who was just come from La Caroline with a reinforcement of 6000 men; and that the battalion of Cordova had been surprised and taken prisoners, together with two field-pieces.

The negotiations lasted till the evening of the 20th, and the glorious result I have the honour to inclose; as also as exact an account of the killed and wounded, on both sides, as I have been able to collect in the hurry of the moment.

The French themselves acknowledge the bravery and steadiness of the Spanish troops: their firmness, constancy, and perseverance, under the greatest possible privations, are worthy of the admiration of the world, particularly when it is remembered that half the army is composed of new raised levies.

The Marquis Coupigny is detached with his division to take immediate possession of the passes of Sierra Morena.

General Castanos deserves the highest praise for his well conceived plan, and for the cool determination with which he has carried it into execution, in spite of the popular clamour for an immediate attack on the position of Andujar.

While the negotiations were carried on, General Castanos received an intercepted dispatch from the Duke of Rovego to Dupont, ordering him to retreat immediately upon Madrid, as the army of Galicia was rapidly advancing.—This determined the General to admit the capitulation of General Wedel.

FRENCH FORCE.

Division of Dupont, 8000, rank and file.
Division of Wedel, 6000

—14,000

SPANISH FORCE.

Reding 9000
Coupigny 5000
Pena 6000
Jones 5000

25,000*

* Of this total one half peasantry.

Nearly 3000 of the French killed and wounded.

From 1000 to 1200 of the Spaniards killed and wounded.

TERMS OF CAPITULATION.

The division of General Dupont prisoners of war, the division of General Wedel to deliver up their arms till their arrival at Cadiz, where they are to be embarked and sent to Rochefort.

There no longer exists a French force in Andalusia.

S. WHITTINGHAM.

N. B. The division of General Dupont is also to return to France by Rochefort.

By letters received from Lieut.-Colonel Doyle at Corunna, and from Major Roche at Oviedo, of the 8th. and 9th instant, addressed to Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, it appears, that various letters from respectable authorities at Madrid, and also public gazettes had been received, both at Corunna and Oviedo, stating, that on the 29th ultimo, in the evening, the French began the evacuation of Madrid. Upon the 30th, the evacuation continued; and, upon the 31st, Joseph Bonaparte, with the remainder of his troops, quitted the capital for Segovia. This measure was attributed to the French having received the account of the surrender of Gen. Dupont's army in Andalusia.

The French carried with them all the artillery and ammunition they could find means to convey, and spiked the cannon, and damaged the powder they left behind; they also plundered the palaces and the treasury; they were followed by the Spanish ministers who had acted under the French, and, in general by all the French who were settled in business at Madrid. Upon the 1st of Aug. it was believed there was not a Frenchman remaining in the capital.

Admiralty Office, Aug. 16.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral, Lord Collingwood, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, to the Hon. W. W. Pole, dated on board the Ocean, off Cadiz, July 25.

SIR,—I have the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that the French troops, under Gen. Dupont, consisting of about 8000 men, surrender themselves prisoners of war, on the 30th inst.; having lost about 3000 killed in some partial actions, which took place on that and the three preceding days.

General Wedel, with about 6,000 who had arrived to reinforce Dupont, has capitulated, on condition of his corps being embarked and sent to Rochefort.

The copy of a letter from Captain Whittingham to Lieutenant-Gen. Sir Hew Dalrymple, detailing the operations and final success of the Spanish forces, I beg leave to inclose.*—I am, &c.

COLLINGWOOD.

Copy of a Letter from Sir C. Cotton, Bart. Admiral of the Blue, &c. &c. to the Hon. W. W. Pole, dated on board the Hibernia, off the Tagus, July, 31.

SIR,—Inclosed herewith I transmit, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of a dispatch received by me this day from Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, detailing the defeat and surrender of General Dupont's army, together with the capitulation of the force under General Wedel to General Castanos: by these fortunate events the whole of Andalusia is said to be cleared of French troops. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. COTTON.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 24.

By the scout I informed you that

* See the dispatch from Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

the French forces under Gen. Dupont have surrendered to the Spanish army; and having to-day received from the president of the supreme junta of government at Seville the official account of it, I do myself the honour of transmitting a copy of it for your information.

COLLINGWOOD.

Adm. Sir C. Cotton, Bt. Commander, in Chief, &c. off the Tagus.

MOST EXCELLENT LORD.

It is with the greatest satisfaction that the supreme junta informs your excellency of the happy success which our arms have had, over the French Army under Generals Dupont, Wedel, and Gobert, they having laid down their arms, as is set forth in the inclosed papers, which accompany this for your information, being persuaded of the noble interest your excellency takes in our most just cause.

The victory could not have been more complete, and there does not remain a single Frenchman in Andalusia; there not being a single individual of the three divisions, (which by their own statements amounted to more than 20,000 men), that has not been either killed or taken prisoners.

The rejoicing is so general and so lively, that an idea of it cannot be given; and we expect it will be the same in your lordship's squadron, through the favour which the Spanish nation owes to British generosity.

God save your excellency.

FRANCISCO DE SAAVEDRA.

VICENTE HORE.

ANTONIO ZEMBRANO.

ANDRÉS MINAN.

JUAN BAPTISTA ESTELLER,

Secretary of State.

Palace of the Real Alcazas of Seville, July 22.

To his Excellency Adm. Collingwood.

SPANISH GENERALS' DISPATCHES.
Letters from Generals Castanos and Tilly to the Supreme Junta of Spain and the Indies.

MOST SERENE SEIGNIOR,

I have the satisfaction to com-

municate to your highness the most complete victory which has followed the battle of Baylen. General Dupont, and the whole of his division, with arms, artillery, baggage, &c. are prisoners of war. Those troops which had not entered into the action, although they had sustained no disaster, are included in the capitulation, and obliged to return to France by sea; so that there does not remain a single Frenchman in Andalusia. The general details will be communicated by my nephew Colonel Don Pedro Augustin Giron, adjutant-general of the infantry; and whilst the circumstantial details of the whole are preparing, I think it proper to inform your highness, that the bravery of the troops and officers, their constancy, suffering and privations, correspond with the just opinion which your highness entertains of them, and with the conception which I had formed of their patriotism and zeal for the public cause.

I take the liberty of requesting of your highness to perform for me the vow which I had made of dedicating this action to the glorious St. Ferdinand.—God preserve your highness many years.

Seignor XAVIER DE CASTANOS.
Head-Quarters at Andujar, July 24.

The following is a dispatch from his Excellency Seignor Count Tilly:

"Yesterday, the 20th inst. Spain, or to speak more properly, the army of your highness, gained the most complete victory which this nation has witnessed for many ages. The result is an exact copy of the action of Pavia. In a moment, the Andalusians were freed from the French armies. The division of Dupont, with all its baggage, booty, and all its generals, are prisoners of war; and besides these, the divisions which occupied his Majesty's dominions, from the summit of the Sierra, as far as Baylen, are bound to evacuate the peninsula by sea. This is in brief the sum of the treaty, which

I and his excellency Señor Castanos had last night the happiness of signing; and as we retired from the field of battle at twelve o'clock at night, without sleep, and exhausted, it is not possible to send to your highness a detail of the capitulation, and of the military achievements that have been performed, which shall be done as soon as time will permit.

The bearer of this agreeable intelligence, is the lieutenant colonel of the column of provincial grenadiers, Don Pedro Augustin Giron, brevet colonel and adjutant general, an officer of the greatest merit, who, by the talents and valour which he has displayed in many actions, and particularly since he has been with this army, has shewn himself worthy of every favour of which your highness can bestow upon him.

I have this day given orders for taking the oath of allegiance to our Sovereign Don Ferdinand VII. which proceeding had not previously taken place in this city; and also that *Te Deum* shall be sung, and that there shall be an illumination for three nights successively. May God preserve your highness many years.

Señor Count TILLI.

*Head-Quarters at Andujar, July 21.
To the Most Serene Señor the President, and Members of the Supreme Junta of Spain and the Indies.*

*Corunna Gazette Extraordinary, Aug. 1,
[By order of the Government.]*

The following official dispatches have been received by express:—

Head Quarters at Andujar, 6 o'clock in the Evening, July 19.

MOST SERENE SEIGNIORS.

At half past five an officer came in with a flag of truce, requesting that orders should be given to Gen. La Pena to suspend hostilities whilst General Dupont should hold a conference with General Reding. I replied in the negative. A few moments after, I received a letter from

General Pena himself, informing me that they had solicited terms of capitulation. I grant them no other terms than that they shall be prisoners of war, with permission to the general and his officers to wear their swords, and to take with them a portmanteau each, filled with their clothes only, in consequence of the pillage which they have committed in our towns; assuring, however, at the same time, that they shall be treated with the same respect as those belonging to the squadron at Cadiz, and in a manner worthy of Spanish generosity.—Whilst the details are preparing, I beg leave to acquaint your highnesses, that we have taken some cannon and prisoners, and, in short, that General Dupont is completely hemmed in on all sides.—May God preserve your highnesses many years.

Señor XAVIER DE CASTANOS.

N. B. A dispatch of the same date and communicating the same intelligence, has been received from Señor Count Tilli, a member of this supreme junta, who accompanies the general of the army.

Note of the Supreme Junta.

Seville, July 20.

The supreme junta has the most entire satisfaction to inform the public, that by a dispatch received this day, by express, from the most excellent Señor D. Francisco Xavier Castanos, captain-general of the forces of Andalusia, of which a literal extract is hereto annexed, a most convincing proof is given of the military talents with which the operations have been conducted, inasmuch as the results exactly correspond with the well digested plan which had been formed. So fortunate have they been, that from the very first encounter, the enemy has continued to fly with the utmost disgrace, and his flight has been a complete rout; this effect having been produced by events, which he certainly could not have prevented.

MOST SERENE SEIGNIORS,

In my dispatch of the 17th. I acquainted you with the state of our operations and proceedings. On the 18th, General Reding wrote to inform me,

about at nine in the morning he had entered Baylen with his own division and that of the Marquis de Compeigne, which I had ordered to join him; and that the enemy were retreating from that place to Guarraman, having left behind only a grand guard, which was put to the rout. I instantly wrote to Reding to attack Andujar in flank, with the two divisions, whilst I should attack it in front. I was preparing to execute my plan at day-break this morning, when, at two o'clock, I was apprised that the enemy were evacuating Andujar, and making a precipitate flight by the road to Madrid. I cannot conceal my surprise, that the inhabitants of Andujar did not give me the slightest notice of this movement.

Finding that the enemy were making their escape from me, I ordered General La Pena, with his division and some reinforcements, to harass their rear; a disposition so much the more proper, as I had just received a letter from General Reding, informing me that he had marched from Baylen at three in the morning, with the intention of making his attack upon Andujar at eleven; so that in consequence of his active and opportune movement, Dupont will find himself placed between these two divisions, and that of General La Pena. I flatter myself that the result will correspond with the well combined dispositions of the plan.

Your highnesses may hourly expect intelligence of the intended attack of to day, for which every thing is prepared.

I occupy this city with the division of General Jones, where I have taken a position adapted to circumstances. The enemy have left 300 sick; and it is believed that General Vedel was killed in the affair of Mengibar.

I have also received advice from Commandant Cruz, that he had proceeded with his sharp shooters to Los Banos, in order to cover the movements of the respective divisions; and if Col. Baldocanos has followed my instructions to him, a most favourable opportunity will occur, of occupying Despenaperros; since, in a dispatch which we have intercepted, dated the 16th, from the chief of the staff of the French army at Baylen, to the commandant of Santa Elena, the latter is directed to march to Guarraman, leaving only 500 men at that point.

May God preserve your most serene highnesses many years.

Head Quarters at Andujar, 8 o'clock in the morning, July 19.

XAVIER DE CASTANOS.

By the same courier extraordinary has been received a dispatch from the most excellent seigneur Count de Tiffi, a member of the supreme junta, which in addition to the communication from his excellency the general in chief, mentions the deplorable situation to which the enemy has reduced the town of Andujar. It is undoubtedly a matter of surprise, however well practised these banditti are in the art of corruption, that there should be room to suspect any of the inhabitants of that place of disloyalty, or adhering to the enemy. But should these suspicions be confirmed, they may well tremble at the example which this supreme authority is preparing, in order to satisfy the public, and to prevent similar proceedings in other places which may have the misfortune to fall into the enemy's hands. This dispatch also contains the inventories of two magazines which the French left behind them at Andujar; but as it likewise mentions a third, which there had not been time to examine, and as we are in expectation of the still more fortunate results of a decisive action, the whole of the requisite details will be subsequently communicated.

JUAN BAUTISTA PARDO, Sec.

Salamanca, July 26.—On Sunday, the 24th. inst. at three o'clock in the afternoon, General Cuesta entered this city with 600 cavalry, and some artillery and ammunition waggons. We know not when he will leave us, nor whither he will direct his march. The supreme junta of Seville has informed the said Captain-general, by the medium of the captain-general of Estramadura, of the surrender of the army of General Dupont.

The Portuguese ambassador who was at Naples has this day arrived here on his way to Lisbon.

According to letters from Madrid, that capital appears to be in a state of great discontent, and much greater alarm. In proportion as the inhabitants are withdrawing from it, the

French troops continue to assemble there. They already amount to the number of 25,000.

[*Note of the Corunna editor.*—"As under the present circumstances, they have not collected a greater number, it is a clear sign that the 'irresistible force' is 'vanquishing.'"]

Villa Nôca de la Geltru, July 5.—Though we do not receive any advices from Valencia, Arragon, Castile, Asturias, or the kingdom of Galicia, we have received a few letters from Malaga and Bilboa. We have also received a few letters by sea from Cadiz and Valencia, assuring us, that in the latter kingdom the Valencians have killed more than 10,000 Frenchmen, and taken upwards of 2000 prisoners, belonging to three columns, who marched from Madrid more than 15,000 strong.

At Barcelona we have disposed of about 7000 of them, including the wounded; for in consequence of the various skirmishes which have taken place since the beginning, there are from 5 to 6000 missing of the total of their force, who have been killed or made prisoners by our peasantry.

The French at Barcelona do not now extend their excursions beyond two or three leagues from the city; and in these they plunder, kill, and commit every sort of atrocity.

They have not yet made their appearance here, nor are we desirous of seeing them until we have completely organized in the principality about 50,000 micaletes (smugglers) who are assembling from all the towns and villages in the environs. Of this body, there are already embodied and instructed in the use of arms from 5 to 6000, who, to-morrow or the day after, without fail, will reach Molin de Rey, which is about two leagues from Barcelona.

We expect from 10 to 12,000 infantry and cavalry from Mahon and Majorca. Of the infantry, the greater part are Catalonians who

served under the command of the Captain-General Vives. It is said that they were to embark to-morrow.

Palencia, July 17.—On the 13th. instant the French marched from this place 15,000 strong. On the following day, they had an engagement with our army between Rio Seco and Palacios; and the discharges of artillery and musketry were heard here, though seven leagues distant. Yesterday 130 waggons with wounded Frenchmen came in here; and this day more are expected. This may be relied on as a fact, for I saw the waggons come in. It is also certain that a French general was killed and another wounded. The colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the 22d. regiment of cavalry were also killed; the same regiment lost 32 officers of inferior rank, and the infantry had a great number of killed and wounded. It is a fact that nothing is to be met with in the streets but wounded Frenchmen; and that both our hospitals are filled with them. At Rio Seco they massacred even the monks and nuns, and pillaged the town.

Gibraltar, July 24.—D. Vicente Roach, master of the Spanish vessel *La Virgen de la Cueva Santa*, a native of Valencia, 47 years of age, and married in the said town, where his family resides, has made the following declaration upon oath before D. Felix Herrara, honorary commissary of the Spanish armies, and Spanish consul in Gibraltar:—

"On the night of Friday, the 8th. inst. he sailed, on public service, from Valencia, for this place. On the 26th. and 27th. of last month, a French army of 12,000 men, having made its appearance within a league of Valencia, in the plain of Quarte, General Caro attacked them with few regulars, but a considerable number of armed and unarméd inhabitants, whose exertions, however, could not prevent the enemy reaching Valencia on the 28th. Upon their arrival they summoned the town to surrender, sending in a flag of truce,

which returned with a refusal. The French then attacked the town by the Quarte Gate, La Pichina, and Santa Lucia. There were no regulars in the place.

"On the preceding day, 5000 muskets, and a quantity of powder, had been received from Carthagena, which greatly contributed to the glorious issue of the contest. Nine thousand armed inhabitants manned the walls and forts. The deponent served a piece of cannon at St. Austin's Gate. The attack began at two in the afternoon, and ended at eight in the evening, when the enemy retreated at Quarte (one league from Valencia,) where he remained the whole night. Two thousand five hundred men were found dead, whom the enemy had left round the walls of the town on the 28th, besides those in the fields. As the enemy continued his retreat on the 29th, by the road of Alcira, he was pursued by General Count de Cerbellon, reinforced by General Caro, their united armies amounting to upwards of 14,000 men, chiefly armed and unarmed inhabitants. At the same time, a number of the latter were posted in the mountains of Novella, with three 8-pounders, so that the French were attacked both in front and rear. In this last action, which was fought more than ten leagues from Valencia, the whole of the French army was destroyed, two or three hundred horse excepted, who effected their escape. This account the deponent heard on the day of his departure, at noon, in the hall of the board of government, where he was receiving the orders relative to his voyage. One of the members inquired about Moncey, and the messenger answered that he had been wounded in the arm; and that another French General had also received a severe wound, which he thought must have proved mortal. One hundred French prisoners had been brought from Cuenca to Valencia, who, together with fifty more taken in the neighbourhood of the latter town, were sent to Carthagena.

"The French came by way of Cabrillas, where an action took place, in which they lost 3000 men, including a few who had been killed previous to this—notwithstanding which, they pursued their march. Only a few Spaniards were killed in the attack upon Valencia; but, in preceding actions, the loss had been considerable, particularly at

Las Cabrillas, where upwards of 700 Swiss, and nearly the whole of the regiment of Savoy, perished. All the clergy, and even the women, made themselves very useful in the defence of Valencia, the former with muskets and in moving cannon; the latter, in making cartridges, after providing themselves with stones to annoy the French, if they had entered the town."

An Address to his Army by the most Excellent Seigneur D. Francis Xavier De Castanos, Commandant of the Camp at St. Roche, now General in Chief of the Army of the Andalusians.

A man upon whom flattery and meanness alone have conferred the title of hero—a man full of ambition, and the petty band of slaves who surround him, have formed the great project of subjugating us. Deception, perfidy, and treason, have hitherto been the instruments of so ill-premeditated an enterprize. The Spaniards will doubtless unite, and cause their most sacred rights to be respected. We already know that many provinces and communities are animated with the same heroism which we ourselves have displayed from the moment that the veil was rent asunder which covered this most iniquitous project. It is extremely important, nay indispensable, that all of us should unite to secure the attainment of so noble an object. Each and all ought to contribute all that lies in his power. This is an obligation dictated by the heart from the moment that we remark its first emotions.

Generous and heroic inhabitants of this happy town, you require not the aid of eloquence to stimulate your ardent souls. You have given, and are at this moment giving sufficient examples. Rush to the field of honour in quest of our brothers, who are soldiers by profession, that they may instruct you in the first elements of the military art, on which strength and victory principally depend. In the mean time be assured that your families will not be reduced to want or beggary. The

opulent ranks of this place will provide for your subsistence. Fear not that the wealthy will spare their treasures. *They will deposit all their services of plate in the hands of the government; and when they eat and drink out of wooden spoons and earthen vessels, they will enjoy the pleasing satisfaction that those instruments of mere luxury are destined to the defence of our religion, our King our Country, and our liberty!*

Blinisters of the sanctuary, be you the first to preach, and to give the example of this important confidence. *Be persuaded that both ecclesiastical and civil laws admit of selling the property of the church in circumstances of such urgent necessity as the present.* Convince the faithful that you are penetrated with this genuine doctrine, which, in times not so calamitous, was taught by St. Bernard; for he said, *it was not conformable with our holy religion, that the church should flourish in its possessions whilst her poor were naked; that she should decorate her walls with gold, and abandon her children to nakedness!*

And you, Mothers, worthy of so many heroes, who know how to excite the most noble and heroic passions of the human heart, hasten to present to government your jewels, your rings, and ornaments. Fear not the decay of your attractive graces; you will always be agreeable; and though your exterior decorations should be less conspicuous, you will acquire such a degree of mental perfection and heroism, as to attract the esteem of virtuous men, and to command respect even from the weak, the vicious, and the profligate.

“E. N. C.”

St. Fago, June 29.—The Supreme Junta of this principality hasten to emigrate to this kingdom: the information they have received from our deputies in Great Britain, whose

government offers a succour, not only to this principality, but every other principality of this kingdom, as will be seen by the annexed copy of the letter of the English minister to our deputies.

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S DECLARATION TO THE ENVOYS OF ASTURIAS.

Office of Foreign Affairs, June 12.

MY LORDS,—I have laid before my sovereign the letter which you were authorised by the junta of the principality of Asturias to deliver to me, together with the powers entrusted to you by the junta, entreating, in their name, his Majesty's assistance. His Majesty has desired me to assure your excellencies, that he feels the warmest interest in the resolution of the principality of Asturias, to sustain against the *atrocious Usurper of France* a contest in favour of the Spanish monarchy; that his Majesty is disposed to grant every kind of assistance to efforts so magnanimous and praiseworthy.

His Majesty has, therefore, ordered me to declare, that no time shall be lost in embarking for the port of Gijon the succours that you require; as being the most pressing necessary; he will besides send a naval force capable of protecting the coast of Asturias against any attempt which France may make, and of introducing troops by sea into the country.—His Majesty will make further efforts in support of so just a cause.

His Majesty has also ordered me to declare to your excellencies his readiness to extend the same succours to every other part of the Spanish monarchy, which may be animated by the same spirit of the inhabitants of Asturias, as well as his Majesty's sincere desire to renew those ties of friendship which subsisted so long between the two nations, and to direct his united efforts against any power which may

vince hostile intentions against Spain, as well as Great Britain.

I recommend to your excellencies to communicate, as soon as possible, to the junta, the manner in which his Majesty has received the proposals transmitted by your excellencies. A vessel has been got ready at Portsmouth, to carry any person you may think proper to dispatch.

I beg your excellencies to accept the assurances of my high consideration.

GEORGE CANNING.

Progress of King Joseph.—From the French Papers.

Bribiesca, July 16.—This morning his Majesty set out from Miranda. He was accompanied by the municipality and the commissioner of the customs to the boundary of their jurisdiction. — Not only did the inhabitants testify their joy by letting off fire-works, and giving concerts during the whole night, but also on his Majesty's departure this morning they repeated these different festivities. On the road from Miranda to Bribiesca, his Majesty received the congratulations of the magistrates of the various places through which he passed, and on his arrival in this town, he received those of the alcaide, the municipality, the chapters, the deacon or arch-priest, and every person of distinction, all of whom were anxious to be introduced to him. His Majesty afterwards retired as usual to attend to business. In the evening there were an illumination and fire-works.

Burgos, July 16.—His Majesty this morning continued his journey from Bribiesca. He gave audience on the way to all the magistrates of the different places he passed through, who were solicitous of the honour of addressing his Majesty.—The King reached this city at eight in the morning. A triumphal arch, prepared in expectation of his arrival was erected at the entrance by which

he had to come. The garrison was drawn up on each side of the street, the windows of the houses were magnificently decorated, and the firing of cannon and ringing of bells contributed to make his Majesty's entrance splendid in the extreme.—Several richly caparisoned chargers were in readiness, in case his Majesty had chosen to enter the city on horseback. All the officiating servants of the royal household waited upon his Majesty. Soon after his arrival his Majesty gave audience to the archbishop, the chapter, intendant corregidor, the consulate, the ecclesiastical colleges, and spiritual communities, together with a number of persons of distinction resident in the city and environs. His Majesty conversed a considerable time with each of them; entering into the particular subjects which related to their respective functions.—Having taken up his residence at the archbishop's palace, which adjoins the cathedral, his Majesty, soon after the levee, went to see the cathedral, where he was received under a canopy, with all the solemnities justly due to, and usually observed with respect to royal personages.—At six in the evening his Majesty again gave audience to the above-mentioned persons, and also to a great number of officers, who had the honour of being introduced to him.—There was a general illumination in the evening, and all those who had the honour of being admitted to his Majesty's presence, departed to their respective homes highly transported with the reception with which he had been graciously pleased to honour them, and the interest which his Majesty took in the concerns of the different places he passed through.

Madrid, July 16.—Yesterday all the bells were set a ringing. At day-break there was a discharge of artillery, and in the evening an illumination took place. These rejoicings

announced the King's arrival on the Spanish territory. His Majesty has by this time reached Burgos, and is expected here on the 20th.

Paris, Aug. 2.—According to the various notices of the Mayors of different towns, his Majesty the Emperor's arrival at Agen was fixed for the morning of the 29th ult. and his departure for the evening of the day following. His Majesty was to arrive at Bourdeaux on the 30th in the morning; about the 11th inst. he is expected at Angers, and on the 11th or 12th at Tours.

His excellency Cardinal Fesch has returned to this capital.

The Grand Duchess of Berg, who lately arrived here, will, it is said set out again for the South in the course of a few weeks.

Madrid, July 23.—The King arrived here on the 20th, at seven o'clock in the evening.

His arrival was announced by the ringing of bells and firing of cannon. All the troops were under arms. The generals and members of the supreme authorities went out to meet him. On the 21st, several persons were admitted to an audience of his Majesty.

A great multitude of people presented themselves at the windows and in the streets, and on all sides were heard exclamations of "Long live the King!"

On the 22d and 23d of July, King Joseph received the chiefs of the palace, the grandees of Spain, the presidents and governors of the councils, and persons of every class, who had the honour to present themselves to him. He in like manner received the French and Spanish generals and officers. He spoke in so condescending a manner as to gain the affections of all who approached him. He afterwards read the dispatches of his ministers, and gave audience on state affairs. The proclamation of his Majesty in the noble and crowned city of Madrid, and in the city of Toledo, was to take place on the 25th July; and the ceremony was afterwards to be performed in the other towns of the kingdom. Religious ceremonies were to follow. Illuminations for three nights were ordered on the public entry. The royal council of Castile had ordered the new constitu-

tion to be circulated through the country, recommending it to general adoption, with a panegyric on the moderation of the new King, who had waved his universal right over the public revenues, by making the distinction between the revenue of the crown and the revenue of the state.

On the 24th similar audiences were given. The supreme council of the Indies took the constitutional oath of fidelity; and the president of that council, the Marquis of Bajamar, pronounced an elegant harangue on that occasion, adverting to the indubitable signs of affection which the whole nation shewed for his Majesty's person. He enlarged on the advantages that Spain enjoyed by the accession of the new Sovereign, in preserving their independence, without making the cessions that France before required, in the cession of the country from the Ebro to the Pyrenees, together with the free commerce of the Indies, which would henceforth be more beneficial to Spain, inasmuch as they would collect the fruits of it without any expence. His Majesty in his answer explained the importance of obtaining by his beneficent intervention the termination of the present convulsions, with the advantage of being relieved from the burthen of maintaining foreign troops, and that of the establishment of the new constitution, which promised so much good to the nation. His Majesty then adverted to the pleasure which the enemies of the continent would take in the present discord, and the weakness the state would fall into in consequence, deriving thence a hope that they should be able to separate the Indies from Spain. He therefore recommended to the council to redouble its exertions to preserve the union of all the Spanish possessions, European, American, and Asiatic. Those who heard the discourse were struck with admiration of his Majesty's eloquence, the suavity of his manner, the force of his reasoning, the extent of his knowledge and understanding, and his majestic attitudes. It were to be wished that the whole nation had had the pleasure and advantage of being present on the occasion. After the audience, his Majesty held a council with his ministers, which lasted till seven in the evening, when his Majesty went in his carriage to Buen Bitero, where he dined and remained in good

health. The magistrates of Madrid took infinite pains to contradict a report, for some days current, that the gates of the city were to be shut, and all the young men taken away to carry arms. His Majesty gave assurances that far from thinking of a conscription, he rejoiced that the close connection with the great military power of France, rendered it not necessary to have any military force but that of the present veteran army, and his Majesty looked forward to the time, when, secure in the affections of his subjects, he would require no other protection. The assembly of magistrates then instructed the people to disregard all the insinuations of those who sought to disturb them, and to confide in the wisdom and beneficence of the government.

The proclamation of our illustrious Monarch as King of Spain and the Indies took place on the 25th with great pomp and solemnity. An immense multitude of people from the city and its environs crowded to witness the ceremony. The greatest order every where prevailed. In the evening admission was given gratis to the three theatres of this town, to which the people went in great numbers, but not the least disorder occurred. His excellency Count del Campo de Alange gave a splendid entertainment to the members of the different ministerial departments. His Majesty has appointed fourteen members to the council of state. Don Pablo de Arzibans, councillor of state, is appointed to the office of intendant-general of the police of Madrid and its dependencies. His Majesty has granted to the Count del Campo de Alange, and to his legitimate male issue, the title of grandee of the first class, as a proof of his Majesty's consideration of the service that nobleman has done the state. Don Joseph Massaredo, director-general of the troops, is also nominated captain general of the royal army. He will possess both these titles united.

Lieutenant Hitchens arrived on the 23d. at the admiralty, express from Admiral Keats, with the important intelligence, that ten thousand Spanish troops in Fuhnen, Langeland, Laaland, and Jutland, had rescued themselves with considerable difficulty from the controul of the enemy, and had been with their gallant commander, the Marquis of Romana, transported to the

island of Langeland in the Great Belt. Here they are to remain under the protection of our fleet, until transports can be sent to convey them home to their native country. They have preserved their arms and baggage.—Five thousand more of these loyal men were prevented from making their escape by the Danes in Zealand. It is said that a body of them were drawn out and harangued by a French general who exerted every artifice of fraud, as well as every power of eloquence, to prevail on them to declare for King Joseph; but they were obstinate in their adherence to the cause of their countrymen; and while the French officer was haranguing them, a pistol was fired, which missed the general, but killed his side-du-camp at his side. A tumult ensued, in which they were overpowered and disarmed. In consequence of which all the other Spanish troops in Zealand were forced to lay down their arms, to the amount of 5000.

Sir J. Moore who was painfully compelled to withdraw the expedition destined under his command for the aid of Sweden, has satisfied his own sovereign that his conduct on this extraordinary occasion was strictly conformable to his instructions. It is thought government are not disposed any longer to conceal the principal circumstances of this extraordinary misunderstanding, which, from Sir John Moore's statement, are understood to be briefly these:—That having announced to his Swedish Majesty, at Stockholm, the arrival of his force off Gottenburgh, he received orders to land his army, and proceed without delay to storm the impregnable fortress of Sweaburgh. Sir John knowing that he could not obey these orders consistently with his instructions from England, immediately set off post for Stockholm, accompanied by his Deputy Adjutant-General, and being admitted to an audience, he stated to his Swedish Majesty the extent of the instructions which he had received from his own government; these, it is now understood, were limited to a co-operative invasion of Norway, or defence of

Finland. The King, not satisfied with this explanation, demanded an immediate obedience to his own orders: this, the British general said, he found it his painful duty to decline: his Majesty turning instantly upon his heel, withdrew, with apparent indignation, to an adjoining apartment. Sir John, after waiting a short time, returned to his hotel, where he had scarcely been seated, when a Swedish Aid-du-Camp attended him, and informed him, "that it was his Majesty's pleasure that he, Sir John, should consider himself as confined to his apartment at Stockholm, until the King of Great Britain's sentiments should be further known, and received by his Swedish Majesty on this subject, and for which one of the King's messengers had been instantly dispatched to England!" Under this extraordinary arrest Sir J. Moore remained nearly a week, when re-collecting the temper and character of the authority he had to contend with, he contrived, with his Adjutant-General, to effect a secret retreat in the night from Stockholm, travelling with such rapidity as to reach Gottenburgh, distant nearly 400 miles, in less than 50 hours, when, re-embarking on board his fleet, he immediately ordered it under weigh for England, having previously stopped one month's subsidy, which was about to be landed.

Dispatches were received on the 19th. by the American minister from America, brought by the *Hope* in 23 days. She sailed on the 24th July, and having landed the messenger at Falmouth, she proceeded to Havre, with dispatches for Mr. Armstrong. In this instance the vessel touches at England first. The *Osage* had arrived in America about a fortnight before the *Hope* sailed, so that she brings the answer to her dispatches.

Mr. Erskine had been at Washing-

ton, and expectation was on the alert as to the object of his journey. It was hoped that he had received some new instructions to treat—but the hopes in that respect were speedily dissipated. He returned after a few days stay.

The congress had separated, leaving it to the discretion of the president to raise or continue the embargo. The people were, as heretofore, divided on the question, but on the whole perfectly tranquil on the subject; and there was no rational expectation that it would be taken off while our orders in council remain in force.

The last letters received are dated the 23d ult. at which time the president and the heads of the several departments had gone into the country to their several estates. The following are private letters:—

Alexandria, July 21.

"Mr. Jefferson will leave the city in a few days for Monticello, and the heads of departments are gone or will go to their respective homes in a few days.

"Whether the dispatches by the schooner now going, will produce any thing, or lead to any settlement or accommodation with either of the belligerents, is quite uncertain. My opinion is, that the Northern and Southern states will not permit the Virginia rulers to continue the embargo much longer. In the mean time, however, much will be done by some leading characters to drive this country into a war with your's. It only wants some new aggression or some further stretch of naval domination on the part of Great Britain to effect it."

Washington, July 14.

"The news received per ship *Osage*, are really of a distressing nature; both missions to France and England seem to have failed; the opposition in your parliament to the orders in council, appear to have been silenced; France carries her

measures to greater length than ever; there is no reasonable hopes of an understanding taking place between this country and either of the belligerents, *for this government, you may rest assured, will not depart from the plan they have long since adopted—they will neither join nor go to war with either of the aggressors.* The embargo, will, I am confident, be maintained by the next congress. It is still my opinion, that a general peace alone can change our situation, unless the next year's election changes our politics altogether, and even this is scarcely to be expected. The president and heads of department will soon return to their several country seats till congress meet; the former is even said to be going to-day. Mr. Erskine's prompt return from Philadelphia, had created hopes that he had received some powers to negotiate, which hopes have already vanished; he sets off again to-day."

SLAVE TRADE.—Interesting dispatches have been received from Africa, and with them some Sierra Leone Gazettes, from one of which, published in March last, we make the following extract:—

"To the Editor of the Sierra Leone Gazette.

"Permit me to send you the following facts for your insertion, which will tend to shew in what manner some of the natives of this country are disposed to view the abolition of the slave trade.

"Since the abolition of the slave trade was made known in the neighbourhood of Goree, a quarrel took place between the King of Damel and the Maraboos; after several skirmishes the Maraboos drove them back, and carried away with them from 500 to 1000 head of cattle, saying, that as there were no sale for slaves, they would not take their people, but that, as cattle could be turned to advantage, they would take them.

"I had some conversation with a man who took an active part against the King of Damel: he assured me that the natives in their neighbourhood had no intention of taking any more prisoners, as they would not sell; but, that the idea that those who might unavoid-

ably be taken, would be put to death, was quite erroneous.

"Mamadoo Saani, a powerful and intelligent chief on the river Gambia, told me that he regretted the abolition himself, as being the means of depriving him of some considerable emoluments, but that he believed, generally speaking, it would be of great service to the country. One very strong reason he gave was, that the want of confidence in each other, occasioned by the fear of kidnapping, or otherwise making slaves, obliged the natives to be constantly armed, and every man to suspect his brother; but, since the abolition, they had already began to lay aside their guns when they went out; and he had no doubt, but in a short time, they would clear away the woods from about their towns that were then built; and that, in building new ones, they would have them in more exposed situations, and that he himself had altered his mind as to the place he had chosen to build a town in, determining to build it now on the banks of the river, and cut down all the woods near him; and that he intended, as he knew many other natives did, to attend as much as possible to cultivation, particularly cotton, which grows there in great abundance."

SPANISH DEPUTIES.

The grand dinner so long announced in honour of the cause of the Spanish Patriots, was given on Thursday the 4th inst. to the Spanish deputies, at the New City of London Tavern. The chair was filled by Sir F. Baring, and immediately around sat the Spanish deputies, the Spanish Admiral, Portuguese Ambassador, Earls Camden and Bathurst, Viscount Sidmouth, Lords Erskine, Holland, and Hawkesbury, Sir C. Price and W. Curtis, Messrs. Canning, Windham, Perceval, and Sheridan, Aldermen Combe and Shaw, Messrs. Mellish, Thornton, &c. There were six tables length-ways, and one cross table, in the large room, at which 328 Noblemen and Gentlemen sat down to dinner: and in the adjoin-

ing room there were 72, making together 400 persons. The decorations, and stile of the entertainment in general, were most splendid. There was drest for the day 2500lbs. weight of turtle, and the intervals between the tureens had every delicacy in season. The desert was extremely magnificent. The following were the toasts first given, some of which were introduced by short observations from the chair, complimentary to the illustrious persons named in them :—

The King.—The Queen.—The Prince of Wales and Royal family.—Ferdinand the VIIth, King of Spain.—The Prince Regent of Portugal, and the house of Braganza.—The King of Sweden.—The King of the Two Sicilies.—*The President and the United States of America.*

The only interruption to the general harmony of the meeting occurred when this last toast was announced; and the marks of disapprobation continued until a new subject drew the attention of the company.

An excellent band was provided in the new orchestra, which struck up when the noble personages entered, and continued playing martial and patriotic pieces, from the best masters, during the whole dinner time. Afterwards they were assisted by Messrs. Dignum, Gibbons, and other vocal performers, who commenced with the favourite Anthem of—“*Non nobis Domine.*” In the course of the evening, several new songs were given, composed for the occasion, and “*Rule Britannia*” had some additional verses subjoined, adapted to the purpose of the meeting.

The conviviality of the evening having proceeded thus far, the chairman rose and said, that he had to propose a very few sentiments to the gentlemen present, which he was confident would meet with their cordial assent and approbation. Sir Francis then proposed—

Success to the patriots of Spain, our brave associates in liberty and arms.—The health of our illustrious visitors, and may their courage and loyalty be crowned with success; and when they return to their country, may they be rewarded by its affection and gratitude.

Mr. Canning said, that he rose in the name of these noble guests to express their thanks for the flattering reception given them on this occasion. They desired him to acquaint this respectable company, that without any hope of exterior aid, their countrymen would have endeavoured to rescue themselves from the tyranny by which they were threatened, and they trust they should have succeeded. Now having witnessed not only the promises, but the performances of the British nation to support their cause, they can entertain no reasonable doubt of a favourable issue. The honourable reward they propose is a permanent alliance and friendship with this country, by which the security and happiness of Spain and Britain will be essentially promoted. As an indication of the high respect they bore to this meeting, they desired that the health of his Majesty should be *again* given.

This toast was succeeded by the following :

May the united efforts of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, rescue the Continent from degradation and tyranny.—*May the Spanish, Portuguese, British, and Swedish Powers ever unite for the support of RELIGION, LIBERTY, Loyalty and law!*

Lord Camden then proposed the health of the chairman with three times three, which produced an appropriate speech from the worthy Baronet, and the return of the same compliment to the company.

At half past ten, the upper table was cleared, and the whole of the company soon afterwards withdrew.

THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST PRICE OF STOCKS FROM JULY 25, to AUGUST 23, 1898: inclusive.

By JOHN HENNING, Broker, No. 3, Capel Court, Bartholomew Lane, London.

Days	Bark Stock.	Indus Stock.	3 per Ct. Reduced.	3 per Ct. Consols.	4 per Ct	5 per Ct.	Long Ann.	Omn.	India Bonds.	Exche. Bill.	Stocks shut and open.
July 25	—	—	68½ 69	68½	85½	98½ 99½	19	24pm.	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	Bark, Sep. 6. Oct. 10.
26	—	—	68½ 69	68½	84½ 85½	98½ 99½	19 1-16	24 1/2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
27	—	185	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	18 13-16	14 2½	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	Bank, Sep. 6. Oct. 10.
28	—	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	18 13-16	14 2½	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
29	—	185	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	15-16	24 1/2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
30	—	185	68½ 69	67½ 68½	85	99	19	24 1/2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
Aug. 1	—	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	85	98½ 99½	18 15-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
2	—	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	19	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
3	—	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	19	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
4	243½	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	15-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
5	—	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	18 1/2	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
6	—	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	18 13-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
7	—	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	18 13-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
8	—	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	18 13-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
9	243½	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	18 13-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
10	243½	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	18 13-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
11	241 242	130	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	18 11-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
12	—	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	9-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
13	—	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	18 1/2	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
14	—	176½	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	11-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
15	—	176½	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	11-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
16	239 240½	176½	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	11-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
17	239 240	177½ 178½	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	11-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
18	240	178	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	11-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
19	—	180	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	11-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
20	—	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	11-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
21	—	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	11-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
22	—	—	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	11-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—
23	230½ 240	178½ 180	68½ 69	67½ 68½	84½ 85	98½ 99½	11-16	2	4. 5p.	5. 7p.	—

N. R. The days omitted are Sundays, or Holidays.—The blank spaces denote that nothing was done in that fund.
P. stands for Premium, and D. for Discount.

THE
MONTHLY REGISTER,

For SEPTEMBER, 1808.

STATE PAPERS.

PORTUGAL.

MANIFESTO,
OR JUSTIFICATION AND EXPOSITION

Of the Conduct of the Court of Portugal, with respect to France, from the commencement of the Revolution to the time of the Invasion of Portugal; and of the Motives that compelled it to declare War against the Emperor of the French, in consequence of that Invasion, and the subsequent Declaration of War made after the Report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Court of Portugal, after having kept a silence suitable to the different circumstances in which it was placed, and to the moment when the seat of government was established, conceives that it owes to its dignity and rank among other powers, a faithful and accurate exposition of its conduct, supported by incontestible facts, in order that its subjects, impartial Europe, and also the most distant posterity, may judge of the purity of its conduct, and the principles it has adopted, as well to avoid the fruitless effusion of the blood of its people, as because it could not persuade itself that solemn treaties, of which it had fulfilled the burthensome conditions in favour of France, should become a despicable infant's toy in the eyes of a government whose immediate and incommensurable ambition has no limits, and which has but too much opened the eyes of the persons the most prejudiced in its favour. It is not in invective, or in vain and useless menaces, that the court of Portugal will raise its voice from the

midst of the new empire which it is about to create: it is by true and authentic facts, explained with the greatest simplicity and moderation, that it will make known to Europe and its subjects all that it has suffered; that it will excite the attention of those who may still desire not to be the victims of so unbounded an ambition, and who may feel how much the future fate of Portugal, and the restitution of its states invaded without a declaration of war, and in the midst of a profound peace, ought to be of consequence to Europe, if Europe ever hopes to see revive the security and independence of the powers which formerly composed a species of republic that balanced itself, and maintained an equilibrium in all its different parts. An appeal to Providence is the consequence of this exposition, and a religious prince feels all the importance of it, since guilt cannot always remain unpunished, and usurpation and violence enfeeble and consume themselves by the continual efforts they are obliged to employ.

The court of Portugal, though it saw with regret the French Revolution begin, and deplored the fate of the virtuous King, with whom it was connected by the closest ties of blood, did not take any part in the war which the conduct of the madmen who then reigned, (by the confession even of the present government) forced all governments to declare against them; even when it sent succours to Spain for the defence of the Pyrenees, it always endeavoured to preserve the most perfect neutrality.

In the year 1793, the French government sent a minister to the court of Portugal, who was received with the utmost respect, but who was not acknowledged; for then, neither the principles of the law of nations, nor of public law, authorised by governments to acknowledge extraordinary changes unless they were known to be legitimate; and no nation is in that respect to judge for another while its independence exists. The French government, without any declaration of war, or any formality, began to detain the Portuguese merchant vessels; and after the peace in 1801, demanded and obtained indemnities for those which the court of Portugal had detained to obtain legitimate compensation, without paying any regard to the claims and remonstrances of the Portuguese merchants. The court of Spain, which had required succours from Portugal, and which, by the confession of the French generals, was obliged to acknowledge how useful and necessary they had been, when it made peace with France, not only forgot its ally, which it ought to have caused to be declared in a state of peace with France, since the court of Portugal in succouring its ally, to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of alliance which existed between the two sovereigns, had no intention to make war against France; but what is perhaps unheard of, or at least very rare in the annals of history, Spain then made a common cause with France, to force Portugal to receive unjust and humiliating conditions of peace, nor did Spain cease to declare itself the enemy of its ally till the moment when the treaties of Badajoz and Madrid were signed; employing even the forces of France to arrest from Portugal a small extent of territory of the Province of Alentyo, on the side of Olivenza, thus leaving to posterity an eternal monument of the wretched recompence she be-

stowed on an ally who, notwithstanding the ancient rivalry of the two nations, would not fail to fulfil the conditions of a treaty of alliance which existed between them.

The treaties and peace of Badajoz and Madrid, in 1801, are likewise a new proof of bad faith in the enemies of the court of Portugal, since the treaty of Badajoz having been signed there by Lucien Bonaparte, the French plenipotentiary, and the Prince of Peace, on the one side; and by the Portuguese plenipotentiary on the other; the French government refused to ratify it, and forced Portugal to sign a new treaty at Madrid, with much harder conditions, without being able to assign any other motives than its caprice and ambition. This latter treaty was signed almost at the same time with the treaty of London between England and France, which moderated some conditions too oppressive to Portugal, and fixed the limits of North America, which was confirmed by the peace of Amiens, and this consideration of England for its ancient ally was, in the eyes of France, a new proof of the servitude and bondage in which the English government held that of Portugal.

No sooner was the treaty of 1801 concluded, than the court of Portugal hastened to fulfil all its burthensome conditions, and to shew, by the religious and punctual observation of all its engagements, how much it desired to confirm the good understanding which was re-established between the two governments, and which ought to have caused to be forgotten all the injuries it had suffered, which certainly had never been provoked on its part. The conduct of the French government was very different—from the first moment that peace was re-established, it required all kind of unjust sacrifices on the part of the Portuguese government, in favour of the most extravagant and unfounded

pretensions of France. Subject Europe ought then to have foreseen, that its subjugation from Lisbon to Petersburg was determined in the cabinet of the Thuilleries, and that it was necessary to combine, to level the colossus with the ground, or submit to be his victim.

After a short interval, war broke out anew between England and France; and the court of Portugal, having made the greatest sacrifices to avoid war, and the harsh and humiliating propositions of the French government, thought itself fortunate to be able to conclude, with the greatest sacrifices of money, the treaty of 1804, in which France promised in the sixth article as follows:—

“The First Consul of the French republic consents to acknowledge the neutrality of Portugal during the present war, and not to oppose any measures that may be taken with respect to the belligerent nations, agreeably to the principles and general laws of neutrality.”

The French government from that time received all the advantages of such a treaty; it never had occasion to make the smallest complaint against the Portuguese government. Yet it was during the same war, and after such a stipulation, that it required of the court of Portugal, not only the infraction of its neutrality, but a declaration of war, in violation of all the treaties that had existed between the two countries; and in which, in the case of war acknowledged possible, it was determined how the subjects of the two nations should be treated, and all this without Portugal having any cause of complaint against the British government, which had even given it every kind of satisfaction, when the commanders of its ships of war had failed in that respect which was due to a neutral flag.

The Emperor of the French in the mean time caused one of his squadrons, on board of which was his

brother, to put to sea. It anchored in the bay of All Saints, where it was received with every kind of respect, and was supplied with all sorts of refreshments. Yet, what is worthy of attention is, that at the very time the French government received, on the part of Portugal, so many marks of friendship and consideration, the squadron burned some Portuguese vessels to conceal their route, with a promise of indemnity to the proprietors, which promise was never performed. Europe may hence conclude the fate which awaits it, should the French acquire an ascendancy by sea equal to that it has obtained by land, and may properly estimate the foundation of the complaints it so loudly utters against the English government. England never made any remonstrances against the succours granted to the French squadron, for they were within the acknowledged limits of the law of nations; but the minister for foreign affairs of France has dared to assert, in the face of Europe, that Portugal gave assistance to the English for the conquest of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres; while it is a fact known to all the world, that that expedition which sailed from the Cape of Good Hope, received from Portugal neither vessels, money, nor men, nor in fine, any merchandize considered as contraband of war; and that the English squadrons during this war obtained nothing at Rio Janeiro, or the other ports of Brazil, except what is not refused to any nation, and which had been supplied plentifully to the French squadron. The court of Portugal defies the court of France to produce any fact in contradiction to this assertion, which is founded in the most exact and impartial truth.

France received from Portugal from 1804 to 1807, all the colonial commodities, and first materials for her manufactures. The alliance of

England with Portugal was useful to France, and in the depression suffered by the arts and industry, in consequence of a perpetual war by land, and a disastrous war by sea, in which she only met with defeats, it was certainly a great advantage to France, that the commerce of Portugal should suffer no interruption: undoubtedly it was equally useful to both countries. By ravaging Portugal, by subjecting her to excessive contributions in an unheard of manner, without war or any resistance having been made on her part, France has not obtained that advantage which a commerce useful to both countries would have procured her. The court of Portugal might therefore justly, with every kind of foundation, flatter itself, that that of the Tuilleries would respect a neutrality which it had acknowledged by a solemn treaty, and from which it derived such decided advantages. It was however awakened from its security in the month of August, 1806, by a formal declaration of the French minister for Foreign affairs, M. Talleyrand, to Lord Yarmouth, by which the former notified to the latter, that if England did not make a maritime peace, the French government would declare war against Portugal, and order that country to be occupied by thirty thousand men. It was not with thirty thousand men that the invasion of Portugal could be effected, but the Emperor of the French, who knew the security in which Portugal remained in consequence of the treaty of neutrality, thought he could take her by surprise, and this was sufficient to justify his proceedings. The court of England was alarmed by the above declaration, and proposed and offered to that of Portugal all kind of succour; but France, which at that period had arranged every thing to crush the Prussian court, which then alone bid defiance to the superior power of the Emperor of the

French, while a twelvemonth before it would not attack, and perhaps compel him to receive the law, and save Europe, jointly with Russia and Austria, found means to pacify the court of Portugal, which she then chose to spare. The court of Portugal could not then conceive that a similar perfidy would be the attribute of a power, whose conduct ought to keep pace with that integrity and those dignified sentiments, which suit so well an exalted rank. The war, which was afterwards continued with Russia, and which might yet perhaps have saved Europe, if the union of the Governments which divided it had been as close as it should have been, still retarded the execution of the view of the Emperor of the French with regard to Portugal; and it was only by concluding the peace of Tilsit, that the court of the Tuilleries in a dictatorial tone, such as might have become Charlemagne addressing the princes, whose sovereign lord he was, caused the strange demand to be made to the court of Portugal, through the medium of the French charge d'affaires, and by the Spanish ambassadors. 1s, To shut the ports of Portugal against England. 2d, To detain all Englishmen who resided in Portugal; and, 3d, To confiscate all English property; or, in case of refusal, to expose itself to an immediate war with France and Spain; the French charge d'affaires, and the ambassador of Spain, having orders to depart on the 1st. of September, three weeks after the said proposition was made, in case that the court of Portugal should not comply with all the pretensions of the two courts. The good faith of the French government is no less remarkable with regard to the celerity with which, after having made that declaration, and without waiting for the answer of Portugal, it ordered all Portuguese merchant ships to be detained, which were in the

ports of France, and by that measure actually commencing hostilities without any previous declaration of war, thus carrying to a far greater length all the proceedings which formed its continued topic of reproach against England, which afterwards such a conduct will be justly valued.

The court of Portugal might well then have adopted the known maxim of the Romans, and been convinced, that disgraceful conditions frequently saved those who refuse them, and brought destruction over those by whom they were proposed; but on the one side it could not believe, that the court of the Thuilleries made in earnest, proposals which committed both its honour and dignity; and on the other side, it hoped to ward off the storm, desirous of sparing the blood of its people, and placing implicit confidence in the friendship of his Britannic Majesty, its old and faithfully, it endeavoured to render the pretensions of the French government more moderate, by acceding to the shutting the ports, and refusing the two other articles as contrary to the principles of public law, and to the treaties which subsisted between the two nations; and his royal highness the prince regent of Portugal had no hesitation to declare, that those articles wounded equally his religion and the principles of morality, from which he never deviates, and which are perhaps the cause of the unshaken fidelity which he has experienced on the part of his subjects.

The court of Portugal then began to adopt measures for its retreat to that part of the Portuguese dominions which is not exposed to any invasion, the consequence of which ought to create alarm.

For this purpose it ordered all such ships of war as were fit to keep the sea to be fitted out, and also directed all the English to quit its dominions and sell their property,

with an intention of shutting the ports against England; in order thus to avoid an effusion of the blood of its subjects, which would probably have proved useless, and to endeavour to comply with the views of the Emperor of the French, in case he should not allow himself to be softened down by that justice with which the court of Portugal asserted the rights of its independence, along with those which resulted from the treaty of neutrality concluded in 1804. The court of the Thuilleries was unwilling to agree to any conciliatory measures, having not only demanded the shutting the ports, but the imprisonment of all British subjects, the confiscation of their property, and a dereliction of the project to retreat to America. His royal highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, who knew, on the one side, that his Britannic Majesty, his true and old ally, informed of all the transactions which were going on, would consent to the shutting the ports, in order to save Portugal from the invasion of the French; and who was convinced, on the other side, that there was no longer any Englishman in Portugal who was not naturalized in that country; and that all English property had been sold, and even its amount exported, adopted the resolution to shut their ports against England, and even to comply with the rest of the demands and pretensions of France; declaring, however, at the same time, that should the French troops enter Portugal, his royal highness was firmly resolved to remove the seat of government to the Brazils, which formed the most important and best defended part of his dominions. His royal highness then ordered the whole of his army to move to the coast and sea ports, supposing that as France had obtained all she demanded, she would have nothing else to ask, confided in that good faith which ought to be

considered the fundamental principle in every government which has ceased to be revolutionary, and felt conscious that having done every thing in his power to secure the tranquillity of his people, and avoid an useless effusion of blood, he had fulfilled all the duties of a virtuous prince adored by his subjects, and who to the Supreme Being alone, has to account for his actions.

The French government then observed a line of conduct towards his royal highness, and his dominions, which would be unprecedented in history, were not the invasion of Switzerland by France at the time of the executive directory, of a similar description. General Junot, without any previous declaration, without the consent of the Prince Regent of Portugal, entered the kingdom with the vanguard of his army, assuring the people in the country that he was marching through it, to secure his royal highness against an invasion of the English, and that he entered Portugal as the General of a friendly and allied power. He received on his journey convincing proofs of the good faith of the Portuguese government, for he witnessed the perfect uneasiness which prevailed with regard to France, and that all the Portuguese troops were near the coast. His royal highness, the Prince of Portugal, surprised in such an extraordinary manner, might have rallied round him the body of troops which were at a small distance from him, caused the English fleet to enter the port of Lisbon, and thus cut to pieces the small and miserable corps which General Junot was advancing with a degree of temerity which would have been ridiculous, had not General Junot, whom his conduct in Venice and Lisbon has but too well made known, relied on the feelings of a virtuous prince, who would never have exposed his people to the most dread-

ful calamities by a sure first success, which would only have served to chastise the audacity of a man who, like many others, abused the power with which he was entrusted, or who acted in pursuance of orders which cannot be justified.

His royal highness the Prince Regent then adopted the only measure which could suit his situation, according to the principle which he had constantly followed to save the blood of his people, and in order to prevent the criminal plan of the French government from being carried into execution, which had nothing less in view than to secure his royal person and the whole family, in order to divide at its own will and pleasure the spoils of the crown of Portugal, and the Portuguese dominions; Providence seconded the efforts of a just prince, and the unanimous resolution which his royal highness adopted, to retire with his august royal family to Brazil, disconcerted at once the efforts of the French government, and exposed in the clearest light in the face of Europe the criminal and treacherous view of a government, which aims at the universal domination of all Europe and of the whole world, if the great European Powers, roused from the lethargic stupor into which they are sunk, do not make common cause vigorously to oppose an ambition so immoderate and excessive.

Since his royal highness's safe arrival in his dominions in Brazil, he has learned with horror, not only the usurpation of Portugal, and the pillage and plunder practised in that country, but also the shameful proceedings of the Emperor of the French, who as the dictator of Europe, dares to represent it as a crime of his royal highness, that he has removed his seat of government to Brazil, and in his faithful subjects who followed him, to have accompanied a prince whom all his people revere, still more on account of his

virtues than of the rights of his august royal family, which he has inherited, and by virtue of which he reigns over them.

His royal highness has witnessed with horror the hardihood with which an attempt has been made in an official paper to proscribe the rights of his august royal family to the crown of Portugal, with which he will never part; and he is entitled to demand of the Emperor of the French from what code of the law of nations he has drawn similar principles, and received such authority, claiming to this subject the most serious consideration of all the European powers, who cannot see with indifference what has here been stated, and the introduction of a new government in Portugal, without his consent, as well as the raising an exorbitant contribution, demanded from a country which opposed no kind of resistance to the entry of the French troops, and which on this very ground could not consider itself as being at war with France. The most remote posterity, as well as impartial Europe, will see with grief such transactions, the forerunners of barbarism and misery, such as those which followed the downfall of the Roman Empire, and which cannot be avoided, unless exertions be made to restore the equipoise of Europe, by an unanimous effort, and with a total oblivion of all ideas and feeling of rivalry, that has hitherto been the true cause of the elevation of that monstrous power, which threatens to swallow up all.

After this correct and true statement, made by his royal highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, to Europe and to his subjects, of every thing which has taken place between the Portuguese and French governments; and as the Emperor of the French has not only invaded Portugal, and laid that country under the most dreadful, and almost incredible contribution, under the cloak of

friendship, but has also long ago withdrawn his embassy from his royal highness's court, and even caused Portuguese merchant ships to be seized which were in his ports, without any previous declaration of war, and contrary to an express article of the treaty of neutrality, from which he derived the greatest advantages; and lastly, declared war against him, according to the report of the minister of foreign affairs, his royal highness, after having resigned his cause into the hands of the Almighty, whom he has every right to invoke in so just a cause, thinks it due to his rank and to the dignity of his crown, to make the following declaration:—

His royal highness breaks off all communication with France, recalls all the members of his embassy, if they should yet remain, and authorizes all his subjects to wage war by sea and land against the subjects of the Emperor of the French.

His royal highness declares null and void all the treaties which the Emperor of the French has compelled him to conclude, and in particular those of Badajoz and Madrid, in 1801, and that of neutrality, in 1804; because he has violated them, and never respected them.

His royal highness will not lay down his arms, unless in concert with his Britannic Majesty, his old and faithful ally, and will never agree to a cession of Portugal, which forms the most ancient part of the inheritance and of the rights of his august royal family.

When the Emperor of the French shall have satisfied in every point the just claims of his royal highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, and shall have relinquished the dictatorial and imperious tone in which he lords it over oppressed Europe; and when he shall have restored to the crown of Portugal all he has invaded in the midst of peace and without the least provocation, his royal highness will avail himself of the earliest oppor-

tunity to renew the connection which has always subsisted between the two countries, and which ought to exist between nations that would never be divided but by those principles of inordinate ambition, which, according to the experience of ages, have always proved destructive to the welfare and tranquillity of all nations by which they were adopted.

Rio Janeiro, May 1st. 1808.

PROCLAMATION BY GEN. JUNOT.
The Duke of Abrantes, General in Chief of the Army of Portugal, to the Portuguese. (extract)

What frenzy agitates you? Into what an abyss of calamities are you about to plunge yourselves? After seven months of the most perfect tranquillity, of the most complete harmony, what cause have you to rush to take up arms—and against whom? Against an army which was to secure your independence, which was to maintain the integrity of your country, and, in a word, without which you would cease to be Portuguese. Who can thus urge you on to betray your own interests? Do you then wish that the ancient Lusitania should henceforth be no more than a province of Spain? What can you expect in a contest with an army, numerous, valiant, and inured to war, in whose presence you will be dispersed like the sands of the desert by the impetuous blasts of the south wind? Do you not perceive, that those who mislead you, look not to what may further your interests, but solely to the means of gratifying their revenge; and, provided the continent is disturbed, what signifies it to them how much blood may flow? Should those perfidious islanders land on your territory, leave me to combat them; this is the duty of my army; yours is to remain peaceable in your fields. I pity your error; but should you persist in it, should you continue deaf to my voice, tremble; your

punishment shall be terrible. Can you regret a dynasty which has abandoned you, and whose government had so humiliated you, that you were no longer ranked among the nations of Europe? Doubtless, at this moment, your new monarch is on the eve of visiting you. He expected to find faithful subjects; shall he find only rebels? I expected to have delivered over to him a peaceable kingdom and flourishing cities; shall I be obliged to shew him only ruins and heaps of ashes and dead bodies? Would he reign over a desolate country? Certainly not. You will only be an unfortunate province of Spain. Your customs, your laws, every thing has been preserved. Is not your religion ours? Has it suffered the slightest insult? Are not you, on the contrary, those who violate it? You yield to the seduction and guidance of heretics, whose only wish is to destroy you and your religion. Ask the unfortunate Irish catholics, what oppression they groan under in their own country, and by the orders of their own government. Well! Portuguese, you have only the interval of a moment to implore the clemency of the Emperor, and to disarm his wrath. Merit pardon by a prompt submission, and a prompt obedience to my orders; if not, think of the punishment which awaits you. Every city, town, or village, which shall take up arms against my forces, and whose inhabitants shall fire upon the French troops, shall be delivered up to pillage, and totally destroyed; and the inhabitants shall be put to the sword. Every individual taken in arms shall be instantly shot.

Done at head-quarters, in the palace of Lisbon, June 26, 1808.

THE DUKE OF ABRANTES.

PROCLAMATION OF ADMIRAL COTTON.

The undersigned admiral, commanding the fleet of his Britannic

Majesty on the coast of Portugal, loses not a moment to make known, that he has received an express from the loyal inhabitants of Sines, and to assure them, as well as every true and loyal Portuguese engaged in a just, honourable, and glorious cause, such as the re-establishment of its rightful prince, that all the support lying in the power of his Britannic Majesty's fleet shall be given.

Capt. Smith, commanding his Britannic Majesty's ship *Comus*, is charged to deliver this express, and instructed to proceed to Sines, in order to lend a prompt and immediate assistance.

The British admiral undersigned can assure the inhabitants of Sines, of the whole kingdom of Portugal, that the most energetic, valorous, and decisive efforts, have been displayed, with the completest success, to frustrate the perfidious designs of the French against the independence, and even the existence of this nation. The French ships in Cadiz have been battered and compelled to surrender to the brave Spaniards; the people are in every part risen in arms, and the result cannot fail proving glorious. Similar energy must be attended with the same success in Portugal, and thus will the inhabitants of both kingdoms hold an equal right to the esteem, applause, and admiration of Europe.

The undersigned has received deputations from the provinces of the north of Portugal, already in arms, swearing to re-establish the government of their legitimate Prince, and to resist their oppressors. At Oporto, Viana do Castelo, Minho e Douro, and part of Beira, 100,000 Portuguese have risen in arms; and if their gallant countrymen in the South unite themselves to them, they cannot fail overthrowing the small band of Frenchmen now occupying the capital: but to vanquish, unanimity is requisite: let them not be intimidated by menaces, or be cor-

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rupted by promises; let them bravely and resolutely determine to rescue themselves from oppression, and to restore the government of their lawful Prince.

General Junot has even in his last Edict of the 26th. of June, fabricated the most sanguinary threats against the inhabitants of Portugal. They are threatened with the destruction of the most loyal and populous cities, and their inhabitants doomed to the point of the sword, by a handful of men, amounting at most to ten thousand, bearing no proportion to the Portugal. Woe to the criminal oppressors, if the loyal Portuguese encounter them fearless: the righteousness of its cause must triumph. Noble enthusiasm pervading the ranks can never be daunted, if all access to seduction be precluded. A vigorous resistance conjoined to the energetic efforts now exerting by your valourous neighbours and friends, the Spaniards, resolutely engaged in the same glorious cause, must have the happiest issue; as yet there are thousands in Portugal anxious to emulate the deeds of their forefathers in loyalty and glory. I repeat it to each loyal Portuguese, that all the aid of which his Britannic Majesty's fleet is capable, shall be given in behalf of a cause so just, glorious, and honourable, as the restoration of its lawful prince, in whose name the standard ought to have been raised in the south, as has been done in the north, for all the loyal to repair to.

Given on board his Britannic Majesty's ship *Hibernia*, anchored at the mouth of the Tagus, July 1.

CHARLES COTTON.

Admiral of the Blue, Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's fleet.

PROCLAMATION BY SIR CHARLES COTTON, BART.

Inhabitants of Portugal!

Deputations having reached me from all parts of the kingdom, soli-

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citing succour, aid, and assistance, and stating to me the loyal, brave, and manly determination of the people of Portugal to establish the government of their lawful Prince and emancipate their country from French oppression.

I send, agreeable to your request, ships, troops, arms, and ammunition, and have directed the standard of his royal highness the Prince Regent of Portugal to be reared, round which every loyal Portuguese is hereby invited immediately to rally, and to take up arms in so just and so glorious a cause.

To be successful, Portuguese, you must be unanimous; and, joined by your brave neighbours and friends, the Spaniards, you must not be intimidated by menaces, nor seduced by promises.

Some months experience must have convinced you of the effect of French friendship; it is now to British faith and assistance, aided by your own energy and efforts, that you will, I trust, be indebted for the restoration of your Prince and the independence of your country.

C. COTTON.

Hibernia, off the Tagus, July 4.

People of Portugal.—The time is arrived to rescue your country, and to restore the government of your lawful Prince. His Britannic Majesty, our most gracious King and master, has, in compliance with the wishes and ardent supplications for succour from all parts of Portugal, sent to your aid a British army, directed to co-operate with his fleet already on your coasts.

The English soldiers who land upon your shores, do so with equal sentiments of friendship, faith, and honour.

The glorious struggle in which you are engaged is for all that is dear to man, the protection of your wives and children, the restoration of your lawful Prince, the independence, nay very existence, of your

kingdom, and for the preservation of your holy religion! objects like these can only be attained by distinguished examples of fortitude and constancy.

The noble struggle against the tyranny and usurpation of France will be jointly maintained by Portugal, Spain, and England, and in contributing to the success of a cause so just and glorious, the views of his Britannic Majesty are the same as those by which you are yourselves animated.

CHARLES COTTON.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Lavos, August 4.

THE POPE.

The official correspondence which passed between the papal government and the French officers and ministers relative to the seizure of the ecclesiastical states, has been recently published at Palermo by order of his Sicilian Majesty.

The French troops entered Rome in the month of February, but did not until the beginning of March shew much indication of attacking the power of the pope.

The first note is dated the 2d of March, from the Quirinal palace, and is addressed by Cardinal Doria Pamfili, the then papal minister, to Lefebvre, the French charge des affaires. It complains of the violence and outrage of the French military commander (Miollis) who had sent an inspector to the post office, to open the letters, had, by force incorporated the papal troops with the French army, had exiled from Rome, Colonel Bracci, for being faithful to his prince, and had seized four Cardinals, and sent them to Naples under an escort, like state criminals.

The second note is addressed to General Miollis, and protests against the imprisonment of some of the offi-

cers of the papal troops, for having refused to serve in the French army, and against a measure which was understood to be in contemplation of transporting them to Mantua, or some other fortress of the kingdom of Italy.

The third paper is a note dated March 23d, addressed by the cardinal secretary of state, in the name of the pope, to all the cardinals who had received orders to quit Rome. It refers to an order of the French commandant for ten cardinals to quit Rome within three days, against which it strongly protests, and directs those cardinals not to quit Rome unless compelled by force. Amongst the ten was the papal minister Cardinal Doria Pamphili, who was afterwards replaced by Cardinal Gabrielli.

The fourth paper is a note from Cardinal Gabrielli to Lefebvre, the French charge des affaires, dated March 27th. It refers to the force used to compel the cardinals above referred to, to quit Rome, against which it strongly protests.

No. 5, is a note from Cardinal Gabrielli to the papal treasurer, to give to Cardinals Saluzzo and Pignatelli, who had been sent to the North of Italy, 1,000 crowns each.

No. 6. is a note from Cardinal Gabrielli to Lefebvre, dated April 7th, referring to the entrance of French troops on the morning of that day into the papal palace, from whence they turned out the pope's guards, and mounted guard themselves. The commandant of the *garde sedentaire*, who refused to obey the orders of the French commander, was made prisoner, together with the whole of the *garde noble* and their commandant. Against these acts also, the cardinal in the name of his holiness strongly protests.

No. 7, is a note from Cardinal Gabrielli to Lefebvre, dated April 11, referring to an order previously issued by the papal government,

that the *gardes du corps*, and a small number of militia who had not been incorporated with the French army, should wear a new cockade, in order to distinguish them; and also referring to an order issued by the French commandant, and posted up, denouncing this cockade as a signal of combination against the French army. The note proceeds to deny that such was the object of ordering the cockade, and protests against the order issued by the French commandant as derogatory to the character of his holiness.

No answers from the French charge des affaires of general appear to any of these notes.

No. 8, is the following answer of the French minister for foreign affairs, Champagny, to a note of the papal legate, Cardinal Caprara.

"The undersigned minister for foreign affairs to his Majesty, the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, has laid before his Majesty the note of his excellency Cardinal Caprara, and is directed to return the following answer:—

The Emperor cannot recognize the principle that prelates are not subjects of the Sovereign under whose dominion they were born.

As to the second question, the proposition from which the Emperor will not depart is that all Italy, Rome, Naples, and Milan, shall make an offensive and defensive league, in order to keep that peninsula free from disorder and war.

If the holy father accedes to this proposition every thing is at an end. If he refuses he announces by that determination that he does not wish for any arrangement, any peace with the Emperor, and that he declares war.—The first result of war is conquest, and the first result of conquest is a change of government. If the Emperor is forced to be at war with Rome, will he not in making it a conquest change the government, and establish another which will make common cause with the kingdoms of Italy and Naples against the common enemies. What guarantee would there be for the tranquillity and security of Italy, if those two kingdoms were to be separated by a state where their enemies might continually calculate upon a certain point of assemblage?

These changes, rendered necessary if the holy father persists in his refusal, will not affect his spiritual rights: he will continue to be bishop of Rome, as his predecessors were during eight centuries under Charlemagne. It will be, however, to his Majesty a subject of grief to see imprudence, obstinacy, and blindness destroy the work of genius and of enlightened policy.

At the moment when the undersigned received orders to deliver this answer to Cardinal Caprara, he received the note which his eminence did him the honour to address to him on the 30th of March. This note has two objects, the first to announce the cessation of the powers of the holy see, which is notified contrary to ordinary forms and usages, and on the eve of the holy week, a time when the court of Rome, if it were still animated by a true evangelical spirit, would have thought it its duty to multiply its spiritual succours, and to preach and shew by its example union amongst the faithful. Although (the holy father having withdrawn the powers of his eminence) the Emperor can no longer recognize him as legate, the Gallican church retains its doctrine, in all its integrity; its light and its piety will continue to preserve in France the catholic religion, to cause which to be respected and defended will always be the glory of the Emperor.

The second object of the note of his eminence Cardinal Caprara is to demand his passports as ambassador. The undersigned has the honour to address them to him. His Majesty sees with regret this formal demand for passports, of which the use in modern times is to make a declaration of war. Rome is therefore at war with France, and in this state of things his Majesty has issued the necessary orders for the restoration of the tranquillity of Italy. The court of Rome in this conduct, and in choosing for this rupture a time when it might have believed its arms more powerful, may have been induced to look forward to other extremities; but the enlightened state of the age will arrest their affect. Temporal and spiritual power are no longer confounded; the royal dignity consecrated by God is above all attack.

The undersigned hopes that the observations which he has received orders to transmit to his eminence Cardinal Caprara, may determine the holy see

to accede to the propositions of his Majesty. He has the honour to renew to his eminence the assurances of his highest consideration."

(Signed) CHAMPAGNY.

Paris, April 3.

This note was replied to by that of Cardinal Gabrielli, which was inserted in our last, P. 55.

NAPLES.

Genoa, Aug. 3.—His Majesty the Emperor and King, having by a decree of the 19th ult. conferred upon Prince Cambaceres, Arch-chancellor of the empire, the title of the Duke of Parma; and on prince Le Brun, arch treasurer, that of Duke of Placenza; the court of appeal, at its sitting of the 25th, published and registered the said constitutional act, and the minute of the appropriation of the estates, constituting the said duchies.

Naples, Aug. 1.—The impatience of the Neapolitan people is satisfied. They are now informed of the name of the prince to whom his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon has committed the charge of rendering us happy. It is the Grand Duke of Berg, the brother in law and companion in the field of his Majesty. The following documents on this important subject were yesterday communicated to the council of state, who had an extraordinary meeting for this purpose:—

ROYAL DECREE.

Joachim Napoleon, King of the two Sicilies, having heard the report of our minister for foreign affairs, has decreed as follows:—

Art.—The title we assume on ascending the throne of the two Sicilies is the following:—

Joachim Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitution of state, King of the two Sicilies, and Grand Admiral of the Empire.

II.—The present decree shall be inserted in the bulletin of the laws,

and communicated to all the departments of the state.

III.—Our minister for foreign affairs, and our other ministers, are charged, each in his own department, with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed)

JOACHIM NAPOLEON.

Given at Bayonne, July 20.

PROCLAMATION.

Joachim Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitution, King of the two Sicilies, Grand Admiral of the empire, to the people of the two Sicilies:—

His Majesty the august Emperor of the French, our dear and beloved brother-in-law, having ceded to us, conformably to the designs of Divine Providence, the crown of the two Sicilies, it affords us extreme satisfaction to find ourselves chosen to govern a people possessing the happy disposition proper to reacquire that ancient glory which illustrated their ancestors, and perpetuated their name to our days.

All our efforts, our constant study, shall be directed to second this enthusiasm, upon which depend the grandeur and prosperity of the country and our crown. The first duty which we impose upon ourselves is to manifest to Europe, under all circumstances, the gratitude by which we are bound to the august Emperor Napoleon, and to impress upon our people all the advantages which must result to them from the close union of their interests with those of the great French Empire.

“The constitution proclaimed by our august predecessor, and guaranteed by his Majesty the Emperor, having been solemnly accepted by us, shall be inviolably observed, and shall form the basis of our government.

And as we find pleasure in following the steps of a Sovereign, who has made our people happy, we

confirm in all the military, civil, and political employments of the state, the persons by whom they are at present filled, and ordain that each of our subjects shall continue to enjoy the rank and pay he received until this day, and exercise the functions with which he is invested.

It is our wish to appear soon in the midst of you, with the Queen Caroline, our august spouse, with the Prince Royal Achilles Napoleon, and our young family, whom we shall have pleasure in entrusting to your love and fidelity. They will begin from this moment to imbibe the sentiments which should attach them to the country, and to learn the duties which they will have to fulfil in contributing to the glory and happiness of the kingdom. For our part, we make no doubt that all the ministers and officers of the state will zealously endeavour to strictly perform their duty, each in his particular province, in order that our people may be assured of that justice which is their due. All our subjects may rely on our good will and attachment.

JOACHIM NAPOLEON.

F. RICCARDI, Secretary of state.

SPAIN.

SKETCH OF THE EVENTS WHICH LED TO A CHANGE OF DY- NASTY IN SPAIN.

[The following has been circulated in Spain. It may be considered as the Manifesto of Bonaparte to the people of that country.]

The events which have taken place in Spain during the last two months, have led to such important changes in the condition of that monarchy, that it is necessary to present a faithful relation of them, in order to shew the dangers with which the kingdom was threatened, and the

salutary measures which have preserved it from ruin.

On the 19th of March, 1808, a monarch, 60 years of age, was compelled to abdicate his throne, in the midst of a popular insurrection, in order to save the lives of himself and consort.—His friends were persecuted, his first minister delivered over to the fury of the seditious, and the Prince, his son, occupied a throne, which could not be vacated without the free and repeated manifestations of the Sovereign's will.

Endeavours had long been made to raise a tumult. The discovery made in the month of October, of an enterprize against the throne, had not intimidated the conspirators: they remarked, that the hatred and envy of the Prince of Peace continued to increase, and that the royal authority was no longer able to enforce its own orders, and guide the public opinion. Bodies of Spanish troops, put in motion in every part, without concert and without apparent object, ceased to protect the coasts. The people were alarmed: a change of system was talked of; divisions prevailed around the throne and the Royal Family; and the object of these opposite pretensions was, to contend by anticipation for the spoils of the royal authority. A French army was then employed in the expedition of Portugal; and other corps, destined to act in concert with it and maintain the communication with France, were in Spain.

The seditious, who feared that order and public safety might be restored, hastened to execute their project. They caused alarming reports to be circulated: they asserted, that the Royal Family were about to set out from Aranjuez for Seville; that their treasures and troops had preceded them, and that their flight was to be the signal for civil war. The populace was infla-

med by promises and intoxicating liquors. They arose on the 18th of March, at Aranjuez. The King was abandoned by a part of his family, and the rebels were in his palace. This day afforded memorable instances of reverse of fortune and ingratitude: the greater part of the body-guard, whom the Prince of Peace had long commanded, entered his palace, and joined in the pillage with the populace. On the next day, this Prince, who lay hid amid the ruins of his house, was delivered, up by one of his own body-guards of whom he implored a drop of water, after remaining 36 hours without food, and the man was covered with insults and wounds, before whose feet his assailants had lain prostrate. His degradation was less an act of personal revenge than an attempt to degrade the authority of the King. The presence of the monarch could not save the favourite from blows and insult, and himself was constrained to abdicate, in order to spare the insurgents greater crimes. This insurrection spread to Madrid, and the Prince of Asturias mistaking the cry of a mob for popular favour, thought he might clothe himself in the spoils which had been torn from his august father.

But, at the very moment when he demanded allegiance from the subjects of Charles IV. that unfortunate monarch, a prisoner at Aranjuez, and expecting to be sent an exile to Badajoz, protested against the abdication, and solicited aid from the Emperor of the French, in whose hands he placed his fate and that of the Queen and the Prince of the Peace.

The royal and paternal authority is sacred. Respect for Kings is the first safeguard for the tranquility of nations. The Emperor saw, in the exaltation of the Prince of Asturias, nothing but a source of calamities to Spain, and an incitement to other

insurrections. He felt for the misfortunes of Charles IV. Ought Spain to imitate Turkey in the deposition of her monarchs? or imitate the French revolution? What safety could sovereigns enjoy, if a right to dethrone them existed whenever their own family were weary of their government. Nevertheless, the Emperor was desirous to examine more closely the events which had taken place, and their causes. He repaired to Bayonne, where the deputations from the kingdom arrived. The infante Don Carlos was already there. The Prince of Asturias left Madrid on the 10th of April, and went to Bayonne, leaving the government of the kingdom and the presidency of the supreme Junta in the hands of Don Antonio, brother of King Charles, who had hitherto lived apart from public affairs.

Charles IV. having transmitted a new protestation to Don Antonio against his compulsory abdication, repaired, with the Queen, to Bayonne. He arrived on the 30th of April, and was received with cordiality by the Emperor. He imparted to him his misfortunes, the greatest of which was that he had to accuse a son.

The Prince of the Peace was already arrived, all parties were present, the truth would now appear. The Emperor waited for this, in order to fix his opinion. He had previously written to the Prince of Asturias, that he would, without difficulty, admit of the abdication of King Charles, should it appear that it had been voluntary; but he was convinced, from his interviews with the King, the Princes, and the nobles who were attached to the calamities of the father, or the hopes of his successor, of the violence and insult committed upon King Charles. This monarch, still clothed with paternal authority, addressed bitter complaints to his son, made him

return to his duty, and induced him finally to renounce a crown, ill secured by usurpation, and which could only bring calamities of long duration upon the kingdom.

These latter fears were, in fact, too well founded: the ephemeral authority of the Prince of Asturias had served only to rouse the factions, and spread discontent in the provinces.—The people of Madrid were in a state of agitation. The Prince, even before his departure, could no longer govern those to whom he owed his elevation. Quarrels frequently arose between the inhabitants and the French soldiers; to decry the ancient government, confiscate the goods of the Prince of Peace, to seek for popularity by detecting abuses—this was called governing; and when the Prince of Asturias had quitted Madrid, and absence had weakened his authority, the spirit of sedition displayed itself with more audacity. The intrigues combined with the neighbouring provinces, the number of strangers increased in Madrid, and only the wise measures taken by the grand Duke of Berg, and the discipline of the troops he commanded, could prolong the duration of the public tranquillity against the efforts of a vile populace hired by conspirators. But the spirit of sedition prevailed. Indulgence and goodness were imputed to weakness. A fresh insurrection, prepared several days before by the publication of incendiary writings, burst out on the second of May. The signal was the departure of the Queen of Etruria and the Infante Don Francisco, who were resolved to seek in Bayonne a shelter from popular insult. Some French officers who were found alone, were first attacked. The insurrection spread and became general, but troops repaired wherever bodies of the people were assembled, and dispersed the insurgents. One party seized the arsenal; others fired from

the windows of the houses. They were pursued every where, and all who were found with arms in their hands perished. The sedition belonged to the lowest class of the people.

The good conduct of the Spanish troops, and that of the first authorities of the kingdom, did not pass unnoticed. The supreme junta, the council of Castile, the tribunals, the captain-general, repaired to the most populous and dangerous quarters, in order to bring back those who had strayed from their duty.

The 2d of May was the last day of anarchy in Spain. The Infante Don Antonio still presided in the supreme junta; but after the departure of that Prince, who repaired to Bayonne, the junta, in order to acquire more strength and authority, conferred the presidentship on the Grand Duke of Berg, on the very day when King Charles nominated that prince Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

This co-operation of measures and testimonies of confidence, were a new pledge of the maintenance of public order. The supreme junta and the royal council of Castile, the first authorities of the kingdom, thanked King Charles for the nomination of his lieutenant-general, and testified their affection, their respect, and their adherence to his will. They congratulated themselves on again obeying his orders. They manifested to the Emperor their gratitude and confidence.—Seeing harmony restored between the Prince of Asturias and his august Father, the Spaniards could no longer hesitate in their fidelity. They saw in this prince only the son of their King, and their authority was restored to its lawful hands.

But this authority had suffered too much from the attacks it had endured. When King Charles heard of the second insurrection of the 2d of May, he said to his son, "See the

deplorable consequences of the councils which have misled you, and the assistance which is to be expected from the multitude. The father and son were equally afflicted at the progress which anarchy had made since the insurrection at Aranjuez, when it obtained such deplorable success against the King. To what new miseries would not the people of Spain be reserved, if in so short an interval they had witnessed such licentiousness and horrors, the degradation of the royal authority, and the standard of civil war raised by the populace of the capital?

Oppressed by infirmities and sorrow, the King saw, that to restore Spain a more powerful arm was necessary. His sole concern now was to secure the interests of the Spanish monarchy, its religion, independence, and the integrity of its provinces. Charles IV. had governed his subjects with equity. He had, under difficult circumstances, maintained the dignity of his crown, tranquillity in the interior, and the safety of his kingdom; but when he perceived that his diminished authority and power were no longer adequate to so great a labour, and that he could still less intrust it to the Prince of Asturias, who, during a tumultuous government of forty days, commencing and ending in a revolt, had brought the kingdom on the brink of ruin; it was then that this monarch resolved to retire with his family into France, and wishing to give his subjects a last proof of his paternal affection, he renounced, on the 5th of May, his crown and his rights in favour of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and notified his act of renunciation to the supreme council of Castile, on the 8th.

The Prince of Asturias, informed of the dangers which surrounded his kingdom, followed the example of the King his father. On the 10th of May, he solemnly ceded all his

rights to the throne. A second act of renunciation, addressed on the 12th to the supreme Junta, by this Prince, and the Infantes Don Carlos and Don Antonio, releases the Spaniards from all their obligations towards them, exhorts them to be in repose, and await their felicity from the benevolent disposition and power of the Emperor.

These hopes will be fulfilled. The Emperor is full of esteem for the noble character of the Spanish nation. He desires the felicity and glory of so beautiful a kingdom. No province shall be dismembered. The monarchy shall be independent; the tenets of its religion, and the splendour of its throne, shall be maintained.

The dynasty which reigned in Spain is about to be replaced by a new dynasty, and Spain hails these great changes with confidence. She reads her future destiny in the prosperity to which France has risen under the reign of the Emperor. Tranquillity is assured in the capital; and in the provinces, the inhabitants and the French troops live in friendship.

All the public bodies, both civil and military, have presented themselves to the Lieut.-General of the kingdom; and the arrival of the new Sovereign, whom the Emperor has destined for it, is expected with impatience.

PROCLAMATION OF OUR HOLY FATHER POPE PIUS VII.

TO THE CATHOLIC SPANIARDS.

Beloved Children,—You who deplore at the foot of the altar the wounds given to religion—You who are still mindful that we form one people of brethren, join we, the Vicar of Christ; approach ye families, the remnant of vast destruction, to the throne of my predecessors, to see me, like Daniel, surrounded by Lions. Preserved hitherto by the inscrutable designs of Providence,

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I see the vessel of St. Peter entrusted to my care combated by the fierce apostate, whom myself have placed on the throne, and who, like a degenerate son, pants for the destruction of his mother, the church, to whom he had sworn fidelity at her altar. But let us draw off the veil that covers so great iniquity. The first victim that was sacrificed to his ambition has been your shepherd. Rome, the centre of faith and the shield of religion, has been prostituted. The idol Dagon has been united to the cruel Antioch of our days to accomplish the destruction of religion, which is the great bar to his perfidious designs; however, do not despond. The successor of St. Peter is still extant, though overwhelmed with affliction; groaning under his chains, he lifts his eyes and tremulous hands to heaven, imploring incessantly the protection of the God of Hosts over his Flock. Oh! the happy effects of religion! In this fatal situation, my soul, penetrated with christian feelings, learns with transport and surprise, that Spain, happy Spain, has remained true to her religion and King. I hasten, my beloved children, to surmount the shackles by which I am depressed, to transmit to your kingdoms the circular that will testify to you of my gratitude. Arouse, and combat like David, the imperious Goliath of our times.

Valorous Spaniards, Sons of the Church, come and break the chains of your shepherd. Already my heart assures me of your sensibility; do not tarry; raise the standard of faith; victory invites you; come then to your brothers in bondage. Raise your tents, and pursue the usurper of nations. Enter into the heart of his dominions, and follow him to the remotest limits of the earth. Shew to the nations of the North that oppression is in its agony, and let the Spanish sword strike the decisive blow on the guilty head.

T

Compassionate the ill-fated kingdom of France, condole with its people, and they will assist you to overwhelm her traitorous tyrant. Oh, with what transport will the Catholic Ferdinand learn the intrepidity and heroic loyalty of his subjects; The straight situation to which he is, like myself, doomed, precludes the means to him of manifesting the sentiments of his magnanimous heart. I feel not the strength of saying more. If I survive the calamity, and you spill your blood for religion, your country and monarch, to whom I supplicate from heaven all happiness, the world shall be witness to my gratitude.

CIVIL CATECHISM;
OR, SHORT EPITOME OF THE DUTIES OF
A SPANIARD.

(*Diary of Badajoz, the 28th July.*)

Q. What do you call yourself, child?

—A. A Spaniard, by the grace of God.

Q. What means being a Spaniard?

—A. A man of worth.

Q. How many, and what are his duties?—A. Three: To be a Roman Catholic, apostolic christian; to defend his Holy Religion, his Country and King; and to die sooner than be vanquished.

Q. Who is our King?—A. Ferdinand the VIIIth.

Q. With what love ought he to be beloved?—A. With the greatest; to which his virtues and misfortunes have entitled him.

Q. Who is the enemy of our happiness?—A. The Emperor of the French.

Q. Who is he?—A. A bad and covetous man, the principle of all evil, the end of all that is good, an epitome and depository of every vice!

Q. How many natures has he belonging to him?—A. Two: the one diabolical, and the other human.

Q. How many Emperors then are there?—A. One in truth, but three in false persons!

Q. Which are they?—A. Napoleon, Murat, and Godoy.

Q. Is any one of them worse than the others?—A. No, Father; they are all alike.

Q. Whom does Napoleon proceed from?—A. From sin.

Q. And Murat?—A. From Napoleon.

Q. And Godoy?—A. From the intrigues of both.

Q. What are the attributes of the first?—A. Pride and despotism.

Q. And of the second?—A. Havoc and plunder.

Q. And of the third?—A. Consequence, treachery, and ignorance.

CHAPTER II.

Q. Who are the French?—A. Formerly Christians, now irreligious Heathens.

Q. By what means did they fall into such profaneness?—A. By false philosophy and corruption of manners.

Q. What do these avail their possessors?—A. To augment their pride; to make them instruments of iniquity in the extermination of the human species.

Q. And is their iniquitous empire to come to an end?—A. According to the sense of the wise their downfall is at hand.

Q. From what presages do we know that?—A. From the dispositions of our parent country.

Q. What is our parent country?—A. The aggregate mass of many places, ruled by one King, and governed by the same laws.

Q. And are the interests of these people the same?—A. They are Father; through the natural obligation which binds them to assist and defend each other.

Q. What punishment belongs to the Spaniard that is wanting to these just obligations?—A. That of infamy; natural death to the traitor, and a civil one to his offspring.

Q. What is natural death?—A. The privation of life.

Q. What is civil death?—A. The privation of goods and honour, which the republic bestows on the honoured and valorous citizen.

CHAPTER III.

Q. Who came to Spain?—A. The second person of the accursed pack, Murat.

Q. What are his principal functions?—A. To deceive, rob, and oppress.

Q. What doctrine does he hold out to us?—A. Infidelity, and depravation of manners.

Q. Who can liberate us from such a Missionary?—A. Union and arms.

Q. Will it be sinful to slay the

French?—A. No, Father: it will be meritorious, if thereby we can rescue our country from insult.

CHAPTER IV.

Q. What is valour?—A. Firmness of mind, which seeks with prudence and serenity occasions for victory.

Q. And is subordination requisite in the way of its attainment?—A. It is the very principle of it.

Q. Whom are we to look up to?—A. To all our chiefs.

Q. Who is with the country the greatest and most estimable son?—A. He that comports himself with most honour, valour, and disinterestedness, be he who he may.

Q. Who are those who solicit degrees and preferment, without having first signalized these virtues?—A. Inert and vain, as they know not how to obey; and are consequently useless.

Q. What ideas then are to lead us into battle?—A. The safety of the country, the defence of our brethren, and the general glory of the nation.

Q. Who are obliged to take up arms?—A. All those whom government shall choose as the most adequate, and least wanted at their homes.

Q. What obligation is there incumbent on the others?—A. To contribute with patriotic generosity, by the means they hold from their country.

Q. And he that has nothing, what is he to do?—A. To implore and propitiate the Almighty to the cause of the Spanish arms, and to pursue the exercise of such trade or profession as may fall to his lot; for by such means also the public welfare is promoted and supported.

Q. From whom are we to expect our welfare?—A. From the bounty of the Almighty, from the skill and loyalty of our chiefs, and from our valour and obedience.

CHAPTER V.

Q. What policy ought the Spaniards to breathe?—A. The maxims of Christ.

Q. Which does our adversary follow;—A. Those of Machiavel.

B. What are they founded upon?—A. Upon selfishness.

Q. What is their tendency?—A. Self-interest to the prejudice and ruin of our neighbour.

Q. How does he attain it?—A. By setting up crime for virtue.

CHAPTER VI.

Q. By what means have the tyrants occupied our territory?—A. By craft, treachery and villainy.

Q. And are such sufficient means to attain a crown appertaining to another?—A. No, Father: they have on the contrary rendered themselves unworthy of our indulgence, and we must resist a King employing means so base and so abominable.

Q. What happiness then are we to go in quest of?—A. Such as they cannot bestow.

Q. And what is that?—A. The preservation of our rights, religion, and monarchical establishment, accomodating it to the constitution of Spain, and the relations of Europe.

Q. Were we not already sure of that?—A. We were, father; but much degraded by the supineness of the authorities that ruled over us.

Q. And who is to produce the reformation?—A. Spain assembled in the Cortez, to which alone this right appertains, with exclusion of all that is foreign to it.

Q. And who is to sanction this plan?—A. Ferdinand the VII. whom may God restore to our arms in sempiternity.

Amca,

*From the Oviedo Gazette
Extraordinary.*

Madrid Aug. 2.—On the 29th ult. about four o'clock in the evening, it was reported that Joseph Napoleon was marching, that all the troops in the city were following him. The report was confirmed by the movements made by the French milliners and all those of that nation who did not belong to the army. The same evening they withdrew from the hospitals, and conducted to Retiro all the infirm soldiers. They put in requisition all the carriages and horses that could be found, and the troops prepared to march. In fact, that very night and on the morning of the 30th, a great part of the army, the sick, milliners, tradespeople, &c. of the French nation, set out. On the whole day of the 30th, there followed prepara-

tions for the march of Joseph and the remainder of the army. He dined at half past four in the afternoon, in order to proceed in the dusk, to sleep at Chamartin. The carriages were harnessed, and repaired to the court of the palace, but the coachmen and mule drivers, and most of the attendants of the royal carriages had disappeared; on which account Joseph could not depart that night, and was obliged to suspend his journey to the morning of the 31st, when he departed on horseback, as he was unable to put the carriages in motion. The same morning he took from the stables all the mules, horses, and harness, and shamefully sold all at the lowest price. In the evening of the same day, they forced open the gates of the public treasury and bank, putting the people in such terror, that we passed a most anxious night, thinking that a general pillage was about to take place. They took from those buildings above fourteen millions. At two in the morning of the 1st instant was heard a cannonade, which, though at first it was taken for a fatal signal, was in fact but the precursor of the brightest and happiest day that ever rose over Madrid. On this signal all the guards were withdrawn, and all the French filed off towards the parade, whence they marched off.—Scarcely did day appear, when all the people ran through the streets, and the posts of the guards, but nothing was to be found. They passed to the Retiro, and there they found only a few dying wretches, and here and there a dead body. They beheld, with amazement, the ditches, pallisadoes, and terrible batteries, directed against this city. The gun-carriages were in flames, above 70 cannon were spiked, and about 2000 barrels of powder thrown into a large pond. The inhabitants of Madrid, on seeing themselves delivered from this destructive appara-

tus, gave thanks to the supreme being, and immediately began to assume, for their badge, the portrait of Ferdinand VII.

ADDRESS FROM THE PROVINCE OF MURCIA.

[From the *Corunna Gazette*.]

Provinces and cities of Spain! Our sentiments are uniform, and our will has been marvelously and equivocally expressed. We are hastening to the defence of our country, and the preservation of the august titles of our amiable and endeared Ferdinand the seventh. Let us beware of disorganization and seriously consider the consequences, were any disunion to steal among us: be there no voice heard in the Peninsula, but what breathes union, confraternity, and mutual defence. Let us be great, and disguise the frivolities of precedence. Let us form a solid central government, to which all the provinces and kingdoms may have recourse, by means of representatives, and from whom orders and institutions may emanate under the name of Ferdinand VII.

The general Cortez held in the year 1789, have sworn by the Prince of Asturias as heir of the crown, the dignified actual monarch. The deputies of the Cortez, and King Charles the fourth, have sworn on the gospel mutually to preserve the privileges, laws, statutes, customs, and usages. The grandees and the nobles have rendered their solemn allegiance, according to the use and practice of Spain. By this mutual bond, neither can the subjects cast off their obedience pledged, nor the king contravene the sacred promise to uphold the laws, statutes, customs, and institutions of the nation.

The principal, and perhaps the most essential is the succession in the kingdom, established in our great code, entitled *de las Partidas*, by the laws of which, the succe-

sion has from the remotest antiquity been fixed. This nation has not chosen to reverse or alter this method; and thus, when our Lord Philip the fifth meditated the subversion of it, intending to introduce the Salic law of France, by which females are excluded, and his solicitude reviving in the said Cortez, it was by an unanimity of votes declared, that his Majesty could not alter the order of succession in Spain, the observance of which he had sworn to maintain, and consequently the Princess Charlotte of Brazil was to be admitted to the crown in default of her male brother.

Under this fact, by which the subjects have pledged their fidelity, and the sovereigns the accomplishment of their oath, it is manifest to the nation, that the renunciations and abdications of the crown, by our Lords Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. in behalf of the Emperor of the French, of an individual a stranger to the family pointed out in the said Cortez conformably to the laws, statutes, customs, and usages of Spain, and in defiance to the solemn and reciprocal oath verified between the king and his subjects in the Cortez solemnly assembled: to this nullity, which exempts us from all obligation of acknowledging as sovereign the emperor of the French, accedes the want of liberty under which they have been made, and the pretence of the same with a powerful army on the spot, where the renunciation took place, and whither the legitimate sovereign prince has been insidiously and treacherously conducted.

The king Francis the first evaded fulfilling the treaty made by him with the emperor Charles the Vth, under which he had been released at Madrid, on pretence of having made it in captivity. Let the nations compare, and see whether there can be any parallel. Francis the first was made prisoner in the

famous battle of Pavia, in an open and just war. Ferdinand VII. was seized at Bayonne, under the idea of embracing an intimate ally, who invited him to consolidate and draw closer the bonds of peace and union to augment the glory of both nations.

The cession and renunciation of a place, and even of a province, may be tolerated, if it prove the means of terminating a bloody and cruel war; but the unheard-of and astonishing renunciation of a great monarchy in the midst of peace, without further notification to the nation, or assent on the part of the states of the kingdom, than the announcement of its having been derived from the mouth of a captive monarch, or perhaps alleged only in print, without ever having been really affected, is so violent and extraordinary a result, that no precedent of it will be found among the robbers of kingdoms in the annals of the world.

The French papers have censured the conduct of England, when they seized our frigates, and the royal navy of Denmark! What have they to say now on the attempt of disposing of the whole Spanish monarchy, under the confidence of amity and alliance? Charles the great, at the head of powerful armies, and ruling vast provinces, attempted to validate certain titles on this nation; but Alphonso the chaste taught him in Roncesvalles, that sovereigns even of petty kingdoms, such as Leon, can overmatch the insolently proud. He that has justice on his side, is under the protection of God; and if God be with us, vain is the watch of those that seek to ensnare and persecute us.

Cities of vote in the Cortez; Let us unite and form one body, let us appoint a council, which, in the name of Ferdinand the seventh, may organize all the civil dispositions, and let us avoid the evils with which

disunion would threaten us. The portentous notion that in each capital the Junta of government should suppose itself supreme, without relative subordination, would draw anarchy, desolation, and ruin down upon us: united, we shall be invincible; disunited, the common enemy will find his gratification in our destruction. Woe to Spain, if that should happen! Ferdinand the seventh ordains; the Cortez have recognized him as hereditary Prince; the country has proclaimed him as monarch; Seville, Grenada, Valencia, Saragossa, noble cities, vouchsafe to take the lead, unite and embrace this resolution, point out and circulate the nomination of the place and day for the reunion of the representatives of the people; occupy by provision the faculties of the distinguished cities of Burgos and Toledo, at present disabled from raising their voices.

Captains-General, distinguished Commanders, protect this preservative of the nation; worthy heroes form the council, from which the orders may emanate, which those that conduct the armies shall have to execute, and by a knowledge of the state and position of all the forces of the nation, and of the movements of the enemy, you will know how to save the country.

Our city flatters itself that this remedy will be found decisive. A central government, a supreme government, are indispensable. Ferdinand the seventh ordains it; Ferdinand the seventh cannot be restored to his throne without such union of powers. When all the provinces are united by their representatives, there is an end of all jealousies of superiority, and the dangerous arms of division and intrigue are cut off to the enemy; the foreign powers will know with whom to treat both in peace and war; and an universal government being established in Spain, the monarchy will be pre-

served inviolate for its legitimate and beloved sovereign.

Murcia, June 22, 1808.

ON THE STATE OF EUROPE.

The Moniteur, of August 29, contains observations in the form of long notes on an article in *The Evening Star*, of August 8, relative to the probability of a war very soon taking place between France and Austria; and the affairs of Spain.

"Numerous Corps of French troops (says *The Star*) are already assembled at Strasburgh and in the environs, and orders have been given for the formation of an army of reserve."

On this passage *The Moniteur* has the following note:—"It is true that 40,000 men of the last conscription are going to Germany, to reinforce the skeleton regiments of the grand army, and replace double the number of veteran troops which have been drawn off for Spain. Thus the grand army will rather be diminished than augmented by this measure, which certainly shews no hostile intention."

When the English paper speaks of "the state of agitation in which the kingdom of Naples now is," *The Moniteur* says, "Never was the kingdom of Naples more tranquil; for a hundred years past never were there fewer assassinations and robberies. The galley slaves, which the English frigates landed there, were taken prisoners by the guards of the country, and delivered up to justice. The presence of the English army in Sicily is not felt there: it is entrenched in Syracuse and Messina. Experience will shew whether it will be able to defend Sicily."

The Star.—"A person who left Holland, last Tuesday, and arrived in London on Saturday the 6th, announces, that the Austrian ambassador in Holland had demanded his passports, and had set out for Vien-

na; that the Austrian ambassador at Paris had been recalled; that General Andreossi had left Vienna; and that French troops were pouring from all parts towards the frontiers of Austria and Bohemia."

The Moniteur.—"More stock-jobbing rumours—Count Metternich is at Paris, and what is better, is extremely well received there. General Andreossi is at Vienna. The French troops are in their cantonments, and at more than a hundred leagues distance from Austria, properly so called."

The Star.—"It appears, nevertheless, that he (Napoleon) thinks himself strong enough to make head against both Spain and Austria, at the same time."

The Moniteur.—"It is amusing to find it made a doubt, whether France and her allies can at once make war against Austria and Spain, when, without allies, she has conquered four coalitions ten times more formidable. It does not signify—the English would see with pleasure Austria make war, in the same spirit as they excited the coalition of Prussia, though they clearly foresaw what would happen to Russia. But they live from day to day. A war which should only last six months will be always so much gained for them; they never think of the result, which can only render their situation worse."

The Star.—"We ought to furnish the enemies of Napoleon with all the money and warlike stores they may want."

The Moniteur.—"England knows the close union which exists between France and Russia; she knows that those two great powers are resolved to unite their forces, and to consider as an enemy every friend of England; she knows that peace will not be disturbed in Germany; and she can have no reasonable hope of final success, but by fomenting the troubles and disorders in Spain. She knows that the blood there shed,

and the victims sacrificed are useless: but such incense is pleasing to her; the convulsions of the continent are her delight. Yet she knows well, that before the year has elapsed there will not be a single village in Spain in a state of insurrection; nor an Englishman in that country. But what signifies that to England? She is unacquainted with shame or remorse. Her armies will re-embark and abandon her dupes. She will treat the insurgents of Spain as she treated the King of Sweden. She put arms into the hands of that sovereign, and flattered him with powerful succours: 20 or 30,000 men were to aid him against Denmark, and against Russia. General Moore and 5000 men did arrive, and remained two months at anchor on the coast of Sweden, while Finland was conquered and the Swedes were driven out of Norway. But a few weeks since we were considering how England could with honour extricate herself from this foolish struggle of the North. Should she land an army, said we, that army will be made prisoners during the winter. We could not have expected, whatever bad opinion we might entertain of the good faith of Great Britain, that that perfidious power would abandon Sweden to her unhappy fate, and would thus give a new proof of what the allies of England have to expect from her—treachery and desertion. The Spanish insurgents will be betrayed and abandoned in like manner, when the French Eagle shall cover all Spain with her wings.

"Weakness and want of courage have caused our army to suffer some checks: they will soon be repaired, and then the English will precipitate their flight to their ships: they will abandon their allies, and, as at Quiberon, will fire on the unhappy wretches whom they have left on the beach.

"As to Austria, peace will be

maintained on the continent, because England has there no influence. The contempt and hatred which she inspires are common to all great powers—all have been her victims. Mr. Adair was driven from Vienna on the day M. de Starhemberg returned from London.

The armaments made by England under the American flag, which escorted English frigates to Trieste, were repulsed and proscribed by a late edict of Francis II. A good understanding between Austria and France has never been interrupted.

The obscure agents, whom England pays, and who conceal themselves among the crowd of knaves who are pursued by the police of all the governments in Europe, have reported at Vienna that France was about to make war upon Austria; and at Paris, that Austria was raising new armies to attack France. Idle persons, eager for news, and strong emotions, have been enabled by these dark rumours to imagine marches and counter-marches, and form plans of a campaign equally frivolous; but the two cabinets have never ceased to maintain with each other the most friendly relations.

In the interview which the Emperor Napoleon had with the Emperor Francis II. in Moravia, the Emperor Francis promised him that he would never make war upon him more. This Prince has proved that he will keep his word. It is curious to see that, while the cabinet of Austria assures and declares that it has a good understanding with France, and while France publishes the same assurances, it is curious, we say, to see that this intriguing faction, which lives by stock-jobbing, calumnies and libels, continues to disseminate disquietude among peaceable people.

The affairs of Spain are irrevocably fixed. They are acknowledged by the great powers of the continent. If we have been deceived in the hope of conducting that people to a

better order of things without disturbance, without disorder, without war, it is a victory which the genius of evil has gained over the spirit of good. It will, however, in the end be only fatal to England and her partisans. These truths are evident, and there is not a man of sense in London, who is not convinced of them. What can we think of the policy and reason of a cabinet, which having excited Sweden against Russia, expected to support her by an expedition of 5000 men.

While it shall only be required to calumniate, to seduce, to suborn, England will have the advantage; but the leopard, when he shall see the eagle pursue him in view, will feel the land fly from under his feet, and find no refuge but on the waves, and in the element of tempests.

"Peace is the wish of the universe. The events which have changed the face of the world since the rupture of the peace of Amiens, are to be attributed to the rupture of that peace. The events so unfavourable to England that have occurred since the death of Fox, are to be attributed to his death, and the rupture of the negotiations. The changes that have taken place in Europe since the peace of Tilsit, are to be attributed to the refusal of the mediation of Russia. What may yet happen on the Continent, contrary to the greatness and interest of England, if peace does not take place, will be to be attributed to that foolish obstinacy, to that blind and furious policy, which, notwithstanding the union of great powers, places all its hopes in dreams of an impossible division, and a renewal of coalitions which can only exist against herself! We may here justly apply the maxim of Cicero, THAT THE MOST POLITICAL CONDUCT IS, THAT WHICH IS MOST CONFORMABLE TO JUSTICE! The continuation of the peace of Amiens, would have left Europe in the state in which

it was. *The peace which Fox wished, would have prevented the ruin of Prussia, and the occupation of the cities of the North. The acceptance of the mediation offered by Russia, would have prevented the present state of affairs in the Baltic and in Spain. And if peace is not made within the year, who can foretell the events, contrary to the interests of England, which may occur before the year elapses.*"

The Star.—"A letter from Amsterdam of the date of the 28th, of July, announces the arrival at Vienna of an English minister, who is supposed to be Mr. Adair. It is said that he has received a flattering reception from Count Stadion, and that he has had several conferences with that minister, and with the Russian minister Prince Kurakin."

The Moniteur.—"What absurdity! There is no English ambassador on the Continent: and if there were one he would not be with Prince Kurakin, who does not receive the enemies of his master."

On a paragraph in the same paper, containing intelligence from the East Indies, *The Moniteur* says in a note—"We are informed by accounts received overland, that the affairs of the English in the Indies go on very badly; and that the arrival of the least European division would produce a complete insurrection."

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS IN SPAIN.

Paris, Sept. 6.

The following has been officially published.—

There are in Spain a very considerable number of enlightened individuals who think freely, and are anxious to see their country governed by a constitution which should guarantee the rights of the nation.

That kingdom also contains a number of persons, whose wishes accorded with the different scenes of the French Revolution.

The third part of the territory is in the possession of the secular clergy.

The Monks, almost all ignorant, but superstitious, exercise the most powerful influence over the lower orders of the people, who are in a state of much greater ignorance in Spain than in any other country; and who, under such a government, have during a century made progress only in superstition and idleness."

The events which occurred at the Escorial and at Aranjuez, made a great inroad upon the respect due to the throne; the convocation of a junta at Bayonne, to deliberate upon the fundamental principles of a constitution; the extraordinary and unforeseen events of the 2d of May, at Madrid—all these circumstances contributed to set the passions in motion, and to carry hope and fear respectively to the highest excess.

The English faction could not fail to convert this situation of affairs to their own advantage.—This faction had been all along very active and very powerful in the sea-ports, and its influence was continually felt at Madrid. It had by the general circumstances of the continent acquired greater influence, as well as by the sacrifices which the state of the Spanish commerce demanded.—Every artifice was thus resorted to, to excite a general disposition to throw off the alliance with France and to form a connection with England; and this secret inclination had a very considerable influence upon the event at Aranjuez, and those which followed them.

The greater part of the respectable and enlightened inhabitants, consisting of the nobility and higher clergy, were animated by a better disposition and ideas; but the party of the inquisition, and the monks urged on by the numerous agents which England maintained in Spain, availed themselves of the ignorance and blindness of the people, to lead them astray by false reports, and to place arms in the hands of the lower and poorer classes; and by the end of May, the insurrection broke out, at the very instant when all the arrangements respecting Spain were completed, when the junta at Bayonne was already assembled, and had entered upon its labours.

Miracles were solemnly proclaimed at Saragossa, Valladolid, Valentia, Seville, &c. These juggles, calculated only to dishonour religion, and, which would have had no effect in any other country on the continent, made the

greatest impression on the inhabitants of Spain. On the coast, a numerous party, known by their hatred to France, which incited the people to make a common cause with England, in order to procure the freedom of commerce, roused the passions of the people, and effected to participate in their superstitious errors. Out of this disposition sprung the most fatal disorders, which burst out at the same moment in the southern provinces of Navarre, Arragon, Estremadura, Castile, and the provinces of Leon, Asturia, and Galicia.

They broke out on the 17th of May in the southern provinces. The counsellor of state, Don Miguel Saavedra, who was captain-general of the kingdom of Valencia, endeavoured to oppose the views of the insurgents, but his life was threatened, and he fled to Requena. The insurgent's, however, informed of his place of retreat, proceeded thither in a body, seized his person, dragged him to Valencia, and murdered him at the house of the Count of Carbellon, who appeared to be of their party, but whose efforts to save the unfortunate victim were unavailing. The head of Don Miguel Saavedra was placed on a pike, carried round all the streets, and afterwards placed on the top of a pillar, whilst the Marquis d'Enerva, who was threatened with the same fate, had the good fortune to escape.

At the commencement of the insurrection, the insurgents gave orders, that all the French resident in that kingdom should be carried to the citadel, and that their property should be confiscated. A few days after, they imprisoned the crew of a French ship, which, being chased by an English frigate, sought protection in a Spanish port. On the 14th of June, in a new transport of rage, they put the prisoners to death; but on the 17th the members of the junta, who, under pain of death, were compelled to sanction these proceedings, complained formally of the author of these cruelties, consigning him to general detestation and particularizing him by the name of Balbazar Calbo, an attendant upon the altar, and a member of the chapter of St. Isidro, at Madrid.

At Cuenca, the corregidor and attendant were put in irons, and carried off by the riotous peasantry, who, be-

fore their departure, pillaged the houses of these two worthy magistrates, and treated their families with great cruelty.

At Carthagena the people put to death the governor, who had for a long period enjoyed the esteem of all ranks.

At Grenada, General Truxillos, the governor of Malaga, having arrived there on the 30th May, was put to death by the inhabitants, who dragged his body through the streets, hacked it in pieces, and afterwards consigned it to the flames.

At Algeiras the French consul was put in prison on the 2d of June, and a mutinous rabble demanded his head; but the firmness of the better disposed inhabitants prevented this additional atrocity.

At St. Lucar de Baramida, the governor of the place, a general of distinguished rank and merit, was massacred by the people.

At Jaen, the peasantry compelled the citizens to abandon their houses and properties, killed the corregidor, and plundered the town.

Seville having planted the standard of insurrection, formed a junta of insurgents; and a corps of soldiers, from the camp of St. Roch and Cadiz, seduced by the great pay which the insurgents promised them, repaired to their standard. The first proof that they gave of their prowess was the murder of Count d'Aguila, one of the worthiest men in Seville. A captain of smugglers was appointed commander in chief; and the insurgents, consisting of monks, deserters, and smugglers, marched out under arms to occupy the Pass of Cordova.

At Cadiz, the people rose, on the 27th and 28th of May, upon Lieut. Gen. Solano (Marquis del Socorro), who was Captain-General of the province, and governor of the city, a man heretofore universally respected; the insurgents procured arms from the barracks, and cannon from the ramparts, attacked his house, seized his person, and put him to death in the most cruel manner.

At Carolina, the corregidor, who wished to repress the tumult, was beheaded by the people.

Occurrences no less horrible took place in the provinces of Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia.

At Saragossa, the peasants shot the colonel of the King's regiment of dragoons; and thirty three officers of their

party, against whom they mutinied, were put to death in the most cruel manner.

The same rancour against all authority, and every person invested with a public character, produced events no less cruel in Estremadura and the Castiles.

At Badajoz the insurrection broke out on the 30th of May, and was instantaneously at its height. The residence of the governor, Count de la Torre del Fremo, was attacked. The insurgents demanded that they should be embodied and armed. The governor and the bishop presented themselves at a balcony, and admonished the multitude, but to no purpose, to return to a state of tranquillity. The more furious among them would listen to no advice. They overpowered the palace guard, forced their way into the governor's chamber, dragged him out and carried him as far as the Palmas-gate, where they put him to death, with sticks and knives, and having stripped the body, presented it bleeding to his wife, while they were engaged in plundering the palace.

At Valladolid, on the 5th of June, in pursuance of an order from General Cuesta, General Don Miguel Ceballos officer of engineers, was thrown into the prison of Carbonero; but the insurgents dragged him out, hewed him to pieces on the Campo Grande, in the presence of his wife and children, and tearing him joint by joint, carried his several limbs in triumph through the streets.

At Alavera, on the 5th of June, the corregidor attempted to punish some of the rioters; but they demanded his head, and it was owing to the courage of a few brave individuals that he had the good fortune to escape with his life.

The provinces of Leon and Asturias were at the same time the theatre of scenes equally bloody.

At Corunna, on May 29, General Filangeira endeavoured to pacify the peasantry by mild measures, but he would have been killed by a musket-shot, had not an artillery officer placed himself before his person, and by this means saved his life. On the following day, however, the insurgents got possession of his palace, which they destroyed. The General effected his escape to the cloister of St. Domingo.

At Ferrol, on the 22d of June, the

house of the Lieut.-Gen. of Marine, Obreson, was plundered; and that officer being discovered in the manufactory of Isquendo, was thrown into the prison of St. Anthony.

In the kingdom of Leon, the peasantry, on the 22d of June, entered several cities, towns, and villages. A number of the most respectable burghers were beheaded; and it is stated that the governor of Corrunna, the corregidor of Leon, and Count Castro Fuerte, Col. of the militia of Valto, on being put into the hands of Gen. Cuesta, were delivered over to the executioner.

Every where, those who, from their worth, rank, virtue, or fortune, possessed the general esteem, paid with their heads for their brave resistance against oppression, and for their attachment to their country; whilst committees of insurrection made themselves masters of the public treasure, organised themselves, and spread the reign of terror among all the well-disposed inhabitants.

The ministers, the members of the junta of Madrid, and the commission of Government, employed every means of pacification; but their efforts were unavailing, and they were unable to bring back to their obedience an ignorant and fanatical people, led astray by superstition and artifice, and who abandoned themselves to the seduction of power and the allurements of plunder.

This agitation was the inevitable result of the state of insecurity, suffering, and misfortune, into which a bad government had plunged the Spanish nation. It was prepared and excited into activity by the artifices and bribery of England, and that perversion of public opinion arising from the concurrence of political and party feelings, encouraged by the higher powers. It was necessary to have recourse to arms, in order to repress these excesses, and to strike terror into the evil-disposed.

Marshal Bessieres directed in the first instance, several detachments towards Logronno, Saragossa, Segovia, Valladolid, and St. Audero. These columns, though inconsiderable in number, were every where successful, without sustaining any considerable loss.

The town of Logronno was in a state of insurrection, and chose for its commander a stone-mason, known to be one of the worst characters in the dis-

strict. General Verdier having received orders to march thither, with two battalions, surrounded the place on the 6th. of June, and put the insurgents to flight, taking from them six pieces of bad artillery. He punished the most notorious of the insurgents, and placing again at the head of the magistracy the principal burghers, who had been thrown into prison, marched back to Vittoria.

General Frere advanced towards Segovia, where some commotions had also taken place. On the 7th. of June, having approached within a quarter of a mile, he sent a flag of truce to the magistracy, that they might exert themselves to bring back the insurgents to their duty; but the insurgents, about 5000 in number, having 30 pieces of cannon, which they had taken from the park at Segovia, prevented the flag of truce from approaching, by a discharge of artillery. This induced the General to make an immediate attack; and the place was taken by storm, after an action in which a great number of the insurgents were slain, numbers made prisoners, and all their artillery taken. The city being cleared of the insurgents, and again its own mistress, submitted.

General Lasalles advanced from Burgos upon Torquemada, where there were 6000 insurgents, whom he attacked on the 7th, with 500 foot chasseurs. They were driven out with the loss of 1200 killed, and the village of Torquemada was burnt.

General Lasalles advanced on the 8th to Palencia. On his approach he was met by a deputation, with the bishop at their head, to inform him of the submission of the place, which immediately returned to its duty. The 9th. and 10th. were occupied by General Lasalles, in disarming the city and province of Palencia.

On the 12th, the General proceeded to Duennas, where he formed a junction with General Merle, and thence continued his march to Valladolid. The banners of insurrection had been unfolded in that city; and Gen. Cuesta, the Captain-general, placed himself at the head of the disaffected, and took post at Cabecon, with 7000 insurgents and 6 pieces of cannon.

Having reconnoitred the position of the insurgents, General Lasalles ordered General Sabathier to attack them with the field artillery, while General Merle

was to take measures to cut off their retreat to Valladolid. After an action of half an hour, the insurgents were totally defeated, and put to the rout on all sides, leaving behind them their cannon, 4000 muskets, and about a thousand killed.

The bishop of Valladolid, with the principal clergy, came to meet General Lasalles, imploring forgiveness for the town and its inhabitants. The French division entered Valladolid in the midst of a multitude who deserved a severe chastisement, but who, with admiration, witnessed the mercy and generosity of the French. The city and province were disarmed; and ten persons from the councils of Valencia, Segovia, and Valladolid, were deputed to wait upon his catholic Majesty at Bayonne, in order to solicit his clemency, and to offer the homage and fidelity of their fellow-citizens.

The bishop of St. Andero, having excited his flock to insurrection, abandoned himself to excesses of every kind; General Morle directed his march towards the mountains of St. Andero, whither General Ducos also proceeded. On the 21st, at three o'clock in the morning, he attacked the insurgents in front of Lantiento, drove them from all their positions, and took from them two 18-pounders, which they had barely time to fire twice upon us, without wounding any one, though upon their side the loss was considerable.

General Ducos, on the 20th, arrived at Soncillo, where he attacked the insurgents, and drove them back a mile. On the 21st, he did the same, on the road to Ventade L'Escudo, which was defended by 3000 men, with four pieces of cannon. On the 22d, he was within four miles of St. Andero. On the 23d, Generals Morle and Ducos entered St. Andero, the one from the side of Torre de la Vega, the other by the road of Escudo. The moment they entered the place, the peasantry dispersed on all sides to their homes, and the inhabitants returned to the city.

The city of St. Andero having submitted, took a solemn oath of allegiance to his catholic Majesty, in the same manner as has been done by Segovia, Palencia, and Valladolid.

Thus did the troops under Marshal Bessieres, in the space of a few days, take 30 pieces of cannon and 50,000 muskets, and disarmed Palencia, Val

Iladolid, &c. which secured the peace of Navarre, Guiposcoa, Allava, and Biscay.

During the early operations of Marshal Bessieres, disturbances had also broken out in the Southern extremities of Navarre and Arragon.

General Lefebvre advanced from Pampeluna at the head of 3000 men, principally consisting of light troops of the first regiment of the Vistula. He advanced towards Tudela, where a body of 3 to 4000 men had arrived from Saragossa. He attacked and routed them on the 9th, of June, taking from them six pieces of cannon. He punished the chiefs of the insurgents; he caused the bridge over the Ebro, that had been burned down, to be re-established and marched at the head of the Polish light troops to Mallen, where the insurgents, reinforced from Saragossa, had again taken post. He came up with them on the 13th, and immediately began the attack. A single charge on the part of the Poles was sufficient to throw them into confusion, and put them to flight, leaving five pieces of cannon on the field.

Similar success was obtained on the 14th. at Alagon, where the insurgents, from 3 to 4000 strong, were put to flight, with the loss of their cannon. They made an equally ineffectual resistance on the 16th. in the olive plantations in the suburbs of Saragossa.

The actions of Epila and Monte Torrona, on the 23d. and 27th. had a similar result.

In these different expeditions, the insurgents had from 2 to 3000 men killed, and a great number wounded. A considerable number of them were made prisoners, and they lost all their cannon, consisting of about 30 pieces: the loss on our side in killed was only from about 20 to 30, and from 60 to 80 wounded.

General Vernier joined General Lefebvre before Saragossa, and they invested the town. On the 2d. of July, some howitzers began to play, which destroyed the monastery of St. Joseph, which covered a part of the walls of the city. Between the 2d. and 13th. of July, all the necessary arrangements were made for hemming in the insurgents more closely, and collecting materials for throwing a floating bridge over the Ebro. On the 11th. the passage of the river was forced, and some troops posted themselves on the left bank, in

order to defend the workmen in the formation of the bridge, which was completed by noon on the 12th. In the mean time, several corps assembled in the plains, in order to obstruct our communication; but they were beaten at Almunia, Catallajud, and Taresty, on the road to Tudela, with a loss, in the different actions, of a great number of men, and a considerable quantity of military stores. The troops that occupied the left bank of the river before Saragossa also sustained various attacks from the detachments sent out from the city; but the insurgents were in every encounter driven back with the bayonet, with the loss in all these affairs, and particularly at Jouslival, of a number of men, and several eight pounders. The blockade of the place, into which several corps of insurgents had thrown themselves, after having in vain endeavoured to keep the field, was now completely established.

Gen. Duhesme commanded in Catalonia, having his head-quarters at Barcelona. In several parts of his command, assemblies of the insurgents had taken place. The first symptoms of insurrection broke out in the towns of Manresa and Tarragona. In consequence of the applications made to them, they promised to lay down their arms; but not having fulfilled this promise, General Swartz occupied Manresa, and General Chabran Tarragona. Gen. Swartz had orders to proceed by the way of Lerida, and to visit Montserrat, where it was reported there were some disturbances. On the 6th of June he fell in with the insurgents at Bruck, defeated and killed a number of them. He obtained similar advantages at Espaguera, Martoreil, and at Malinos del Rey.

Other parties of insurgent peasantry had fortified themselves with cannon, in a position on the river Lobrega. They had taken possession of some artillery which they found on the coast.—Gen. Duhesme attacked them. They were every where defeated and pursued, from eight to eleven o'clock, and all their artillery was taken. This expedition terminated with very little loss on our side, but with great on the part of the insurgents.

New bodies of insurgents having

come down from the mountains, cut off the communication between Mont Gatte and Mont Cana, and occupied the little castle of Mont Gatte, where they entrenched themselves. They were suddenly attacked on the 17th. The castle of Mont Gatte was taken by storm, the insurgents lost a great number of their men, their colours, and 20 pieces of cannon.—Gen. Lecchi, in pursuing the fugitives, arrived at the city of Mattaro, which was put in a state of defence and barricadoed. He attacked and carried the city with the same rapidity, and took ten pieces of cannon.

General Duhesme directed his column to the passes of St. Paulus. On the 19th he attacked them, took them by surprise, and captured ten pieces of artillery.

After these various engagements, the object of which was to maintain the communications, Gen. Duhesme returned to Barcelona. His loss scarcely amounted to 100 men in killed and wounded; that of the insurgents was very considerable.

During these operations, a new line of insurgents had formed itself behind the Lobrega, which was considerably swelled by the melting of the snow a few days before, in the mountains, and the rain that had fallen. At Molinos del Rey, they had a battery of three pieces of artillery, which commanded the stone bridge, which was broken in different places. All the forts down to the very mouth of the river were defended. The right wing of the insurgents extended down to the beach, and two pieces of flying artillery manœuvred in the rear of the line. In the morning of the 30th of June, the troops marched to attack the insurgents. General Goulesse and Brigadier-Gen. Bressieres proceeded to the mouth of the river, and forced a passage to the right bank. They thus took in reverse all the positions of the insurgents, who offered no

resistance, and sustained a very heavy loss. In the mean time General Lecchi's division attacked and carried the bridge of Molinos del Rey and took the three pieces of cannon by which it was defended. The remains of the body of insurgents, defeated at all points, fell back to Martoveille, which was the general rendezvous. Gen. Lecchi pursued, routed them, and made himself master of that position. Their loss cannot be estimated. There were found on the field of battle 40,000 muskets; and the insurgents lost all the artillery which they carried off with them.

On the side of Figueras, several bodies of the peasants had united to cut off the communication with the city. General Rieble repaired thither on the 5th of July from Bellaguard: he defeated and routed the insurgents, supplied the place with provisions, and reinforced the garrison.

During these events which took place in Biscay, Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia, Marshal Moncey broke up with his army, in consequence of an insurrection in the kingdom of Valencia. On the 21st of June, he came up with the insurgents, in the fine positions which surround the village of Pesquera, and who defended with four pieces of artillery the bridge over the river of Gabrielle, and the entrance of the passes. The bridges and the passes were carried, the insurgents lost their artillery, and five hundred Swiss and Spanish guards came over to our ranks. The insurgents having formed a junction with their principal army, retreated to Las Cabrerias and Siete Annas, in front of which they entrenched themselves in a position which they conceived to be impregnable. Marshal Moncey came in sight of them on the 24th, and found them, in fact, in possession of a very excellent position, and extremely difficult of as-

cess. Having attacked them with the greatest fury, they were driven from one hill to another, lost all their positions, and fled in disorder, leaving behind all their artillery, consisting of 12 pieces, their ammunition, and almost all their baggage. The army continued its march towards Valencia, where a junta of insurgents had been formed. They came up with the insurgents about a mile and a half from that city. They had entrenched themselves behind the canal, and having broken down the bridge by the village of Quarte, defended the passage with artillery. Our artillery immediately took its station; the troops marched in columns upon various points, and in less than one hour their line was broken, the bridge re-established, the village of Quarte carried, five pieces of cannon taken, and the whole of the insurgents routed.

At day-break on the following day (the 28th) Marshal Moncey advanced towards Valencia. The environs of that city are intersected by a great number of canals, and covered with ruins and houses. The suburbs extend close to the gates. Marshal Moncey gave orders for the attack. French intrepidity overcame every obstacle. The suburbs were carried, and the streets strewn with dead bodies. Twenty pieces of artillery were taken; but the walls being surrounded with ditches filled with water, were secure against a surprise. The Marshal pitched his camp under them, waiting the arrival of some pieces of heavy artillery.

Some days after, he was informed that a division of insurgents, from five to six thousand men, were resolved to keep the field. He marched immediately, and proceeded to the right bank of the Xucar: the heights were instantly attacked and carried; the insurgents were defeated; they lost several pieces of cannon, and were pursued fighting all the way to the heights of Almanza.

On the 3d inst. they were surprised in the defiles: a great number of them killed. Our troops took possession of Almanza, where Marshal Moncey received orders to take a position at St. Clement's. He had collected heavy artillery necessary for the attack of Valencia, and he was upon the point of advancing to that place, when the events in Andalusia ordered it otherwise.

In these different affairs, in which Marshal Moncey had six different engagements, he killed a great many of the enemy, and took 80 pieces of cannon and three standards. His loss consisted of 200 killed and 300 wounded.

During these various operations the people of Cuenca were guilty of the greatest extravagancies against a French officer and several soldiers. Brigadier-General Caulincourt received orders to march for the purpose of chastising them. He withdrew from Tarencon, on the 1st of July, and arrived at Cuenca on the 3d, at 4 in the afternoon. The insurgents seemed determined to prevent the approach of the French troops; the latter consisted of between 3 and 4000 men, and two pieces of cannon. General Caulincourt attacked them immediately; they lost their artillery, and were put to the rout; so that they thought no more of defending the place, and fled in all directions towards the hills, leaving their arms, and between 7 and 800 killed and wounded behind them. The town, which was deserted on the approach of the French, was given up to plunder.

General Dupont, who left Madrid about the end of May, had repaired to Andalusia. He passed the Sierra Morena in the beginning of June, and was on his march to Guadaluquivir. When he arrived at Andujar, he learned that a rebellious junta was established at Seville, and that the cities of Cordova and Granada, and a part of Jaen, were

in a state of insurrection, while a numerous body was formed in the environs of Cordova. He instantly put himself in motion, and on the 6th he was in possession of Montoro, Carpio, and Bugalencia, without meeting with any of the insurgents. He, however, received intelligence from a messenger that he sent to Alcolea, a small distance from Cordova, that the insurgents were there in great force, and that it was their intention to dispute his passage over the Guadalquivir.

The bridge of Alcolea is very long, and difficult of access, and was defended by a *tete-du-pont*, by batteries placed upon a neighbouring height, and by infantry, which kept up a very brisk fire from both shores of the river. The first attack was made on the 7th, at the break of day. It was remarked that the bridge was not broken: an immediate attack was therefore ordered to be made on the entrenchments, which were defended by very deep ditches. The *tete-du-pont*, the bridge, and the village of Alcolea, were carried in a few minutes. The insurgents fled in the greatest disorder, leaving their cannon and a number of killed and wounded behind.

Those who escaped from Alcolea retreated to Cordova, without endeavouring to defend the camp, which the insurgents had pitched before the place, and where arms were found of the most wonderful and most extraordinary make, besides pikes and English arms.

The light corps having arrived before Cordova, the General summoned the Corregidor to attend him, and sent the prior of a cloister to admonish him to make no resistance, but to accept of the grace offered them by the French. These measures proved fruitless, as the insurgents were 15,000 in number, and about 2000 regular troops began to fire on all sides. The French cannon then beginning to fire, a breach

was made in the gates, and the place was entered by force.

The advantages of this day were complete: the enemy lost a number of men, and tranquillity was restored to Cordova.

On the 19th Capt. Base was sent with a column of 900 infantry, 100 cavalry, and artillery, to fetch provisions from Jaen. He was preceded by two flags of truce, upon whom the insurgents fired; on the following morning, he made an attack upon the entrenched camp, the strong castle, and the town. This attack was vigorous; all positions were forced. The insurgents had 200 killed and 500 wounded. The column lost scarcely five men.

In the mean while, two divisions of smugglers, making about 3000 men, had approached Sierra Morena, and interrupted the communication with Madrid. The Duke of Rovigo, who had taken the command in the room of the Grand Duke of Berg, dispatched General Vedel with his division, and that of General Gobert.

General Vedel arrived in the defiles of Pens Pnuor, on the 26th. To see the enemy, to attack him, to overcome him, and put him to flight, was only the work of a moment. The insurgents lost 900 men, their artillery, together with their ammunition and provisions. We had two killed and 10 wounded.—Thus the junction of General Vedel with General Dupont was effected. General Dupont placed General Vedel at Baylen, and General Gobert at Carohna.

With his first division he took possession of Andujar, where he formed a *tete-du-pont* on the Guadalquivir: another *tete-du-pont* was formed near the village of Menjibar, on the road from Jaen to Baylen.

To preserve the post of Jaen was an object of importance, because this was nearer to the line of communication than that of Andujar: of

course the latter might be maintained even when the enemy should be in possession of Jaen. Brigadier-General Cassague was dispatched to Jaen: he had been with the advanced guard in several engagements, in which he had been constantly victorious.

The situation of General Dupont, which had at first occasioned some uneasiness, was no longer so after he had thus been reinforced, and while there was a day's march between him and the enemy in the defile of Sierra Morena. He had a greater force under him than was necessary, if not for subjugating the whole province, at least quite sufficient for preserving it from surprise.

Such was the situation of affairs about the 20th of July, the period of the arrival of the King of Spain; far and wide was the dispersion of the insurgents: checked, subdued, or disarmed, they had not been able to carry any attempt of importance into effect.

The preparations for the siege of Saragossa were pursued with activity. The artillery necessary for that purpose had arrived from Bayonne and Pampeluna. The insurgents made a sortie on the 23d from Saragossa, to attack the troops posted on the left bank of the Ebro. The third battalion of the volunteers of Arragon, forming the flower of these insurgents, began their march on the 30th, in order to force their way into Saragossa. The insurgents were defeated with great loss in all their sorties, and were generally closely pursued under the walls.

On the 16th of August, about break of day, a breach being made, the storming of the place commenced. The gates of San en Gracio and Carmes were surprised and carried. After obstinate fighting, which lasted several days, fourteen cloisters, which had been fortified, three-fourths of the city, the arsenal, and all the magazines, were in our pos-

session. The peaceable inhabitants encouraged by the advantages of the French, hoisted a white flag, and coming forward to offer terms of capitulation to the French, were murdered by the insurgents, at whose head monks were seen acting as Captains and Colonels: a great number of these wretches were killed; the unfortunate city of Saragossa is almost ruined through fire, the bombs, and the explosion of the mines.

In the meanwhile, all the Spanish troops of the line in Galicia and Andalusia had taken part with the insurgents. The troops of the line at Madrid, St. Sebastian, Barcelona, &c. &c. left those places to join them.

The French having come into Spain as friends, and acting in concert with the ministers, the councils and the principal burghers, were unwilling to disarm the Spanish troops, and for a long time restrained themselves from any kind of hostilities; but the result has made it appear how fatal this generosity has proved to the French.

We were very soon informed that a corps of 35,000 men, with 40 pieces of cannon, were assembled at Benevente, with whom there were some English commissioners and officers, besides all the Spanish prisoners that had been sent to Spain by the English government; these were known by the red uniforms which they were supplied with from London.

This army began its march as though it had been intended to proceed to Burgos. Marshal Bessieres marched to meet them with General Monton's division of infantry, that of Merle, with General Lasalles division of cavalry, forming in the whole a corps of 12,000 men.

On the 14th, at day-break, he discovered the enemy covering a great extent of ground, and being

in possession of the heights of Medina del Rio Seco.

As soon as the position of the enemy was known, the Marshal formed the resolution of attacking their left. General Darnagnac was the first that was engaged at the head of his brigade. At this moment the attack became general. Monton, general of division, made himself master of the town of Medina del Rio Seco, with the bayonet; the Generals Lasalles, Ducos, and Sabattier, led on their troops, with the cry of 'Long live the Emperor!'—All the positions were carried, the enemy attacked with the bayonet, and the whole of their artillery, consisting of forty pieces of cannon, was taken, and the whole army of the insurgents thrown into the greatest confusion. Six thousand men were made prisoners; upwards of 10,000 were left on the field of battle; the whole of their baggage and ammunition fell into our hands; a number of superior officers were killed. The 10th and the 22d regiments of chasseurs, and all the troops in general, were covered with glory. Col. Picton, an officer of distinguished merit, is killed; Gen. Darnagnac is slightly wounded, together with the provisory major commandant of the 13th regiment. The adjutant-commandant Guilleminet, chief of Marshal Bessieres's staff, displayed great address and activity. The Marshal had not more than 300 men killed and wounded in this affair.

The enemy fled to Benevente in disorder, where they scarcely remained a moment, but retreated from thence to Labenara, Astorga, and Leon. At Villa Pardo, he left behind him 5000 pounds of powder and 100,000 cartridges. The English colonel, who acted as commissioner with the Spanish army, retreated to Lugo before the battle commenced.

Marshal Bessieres, pursuing the enemy, arrived at Benevente on the

19th, where he found 10,000 muskets, 26,000 pounds of powder, and 200,000 cartridges, which the insurgents had left behind them, in consequence of their precipitate flight. He received a letter of submission from the inhabitants of Zamora; and on the 20th, the day following, he entered that city, from whence he proceeded to Majorga, where he was informed that General Cuesta, who had passed through Leon with scarcely 500 cavalry, had ordered the fugitives to rally.

Arriving at Majorga, a deputation from Leon presented themselves to him. General Cuesta had left that city, where 12,000 new muskets, a number of pistols and sabres, with five pieces of cannon, remained.

Marshal Bessieres entered Leon on the 26th. The bishop came two miles out of that city to meet him, and the members of the government received the army on the outside of the gates, assuring the Marshal of the submission of the inhabitants, and praying for the generosity of the conqueror in behalf of the city and province of Leon.

By means of this important conquest, the provinces of Leon, Palencia, Valladolid, Zamora, and Salamanca, were subjugated and disarmed, and the communication with Portugal opened and secured.

All these events, connected with the arrival of the King at Madrid, seemed to portend a most favourable issue to the affairs of Spain, when General Dupont, after a succession of disasters, which we cannot account for, had the inexpressible misfortune of having his communication cut off with Madrid; and, what was still worse, to be himself separated from two-thirds of his force, being at that time six miles distant from his usual point of communication; and, lastly, on the 19th of July, being compelled to give battle with only one-third of his army, in a disadvantageous position,

after a forced march during the night without any opportunity for resting his troops.

There are few examples of a conduct so inconsistent with all the principles of the military art. The General, who was unable to command his army, discovered himself in the negotiations which have followed, equally destitute of political firmness and ability. Like Sabinus Titurius, he rushed upon destruction, entirely from a spirit of infatuation, and suffered himself to be deceived by the artifices and persuasions of another Ambiorix. But the Roman soldiers, more fortunate than ours, perished with their arms in their hands.

This unexpected intelligence, still more important from the encouragement which it must give the insurgents, the advices of numerous descents by the English on the coast of Galicia, and the excessive heat of the season, which checked all the operations which circumstances might render necessary, induced the King to assemble his troops, and to place them in a cooler climate than that of New Castile, and in a situation which presents a milder atmosphere and better water.

The King left Madrid on the 1st of August, and the whole army went into cooler cantonments.

So late as the 20th of August, the insurgents had not entered Madrid. They appear to be in a state of complete confusion and dissension.

On the 22d, the King was at Burgos, and parties sent out to the distance of from fifteen to twenty miles, could procure no intelligence of the enemy.

Every intelligent person sees with regret, that England has obtained the melancholy advantage of exciting among the Spaniards a civil war, of which the issue is not doubtful. But what influence can the rational and enlightened middle class

have upon the ignorant multitude when led astray by fanaticism, popular prejudices, and foreign corruption?

General Dabesme has again entered Barcelona, where he intends to unite his corps, and to keep that important city in check, all the forts of which are in his hands.

The English cruisers having landed some emissaries at Bilboa, the people of that city were weak enough to break out into insurrection in which, however, the mercantile and respectable classes of the inhabitants took no part. Gen. Merlin marched against the place with two squadrons of cavalry, and two regiment of infantry. He carried two monasteries by storm, disarmed the insurgents, and re-established the government of the province. The loss of the insurgents amounted to 500 men. Our's consisted in only three killed and twelve wounded.

Such is a correct abstract of the events of the campaign in Spain. There has been no battle, not a single action, in which the courage of our troops was not displayed to advantage.

Had General Dupont kept his troops united in a body, he would, without much difficulty, have dispersed the insurgents; their army having consisted only of three divisions, scarcely forming a total of 20,000 men.

The bodies of insurgents scarcely deserve to be mentioned in this war. They defended themselves behind a wall or a house, but could not maintain themselves in the open fields, and a single squadron of cavalry, or a battalion of infantry, is sufficient to put many thousands of them to the rout.

The principal army of the insurgents was that which Marshal Bessieres annihilated at Medina del Rio Seco.

All that the English papers have published, respecting the affairs of

Spain is unfounded and false. England knows well the part she is acting on this occasion. She also knows well what she is to expect from all her efforts. Her only object is to involve Spain in confusion, that she may thereby make herself mistress of such of her possessions as best suit her purposes.

FRENCH EXPOSE,
IN RESPECT TO SPAIN, AND ITS
RELATIONS WITH OTHER
POWERS.

Paris, Sept. 8.—On the 5th instant, the senate assembled, under the presidency of his Serene Highness the Prince Arch Chancellor, The Prince Arch Treasurer, the Prince Vice Grand Elector, and the Prince Vice Constable, assisted at the sitting.—The ministers of foreign affairs and of war communicated the following reports.—A message from his Majesty was also ordered to the senate.

REPORT OF THE MINISTER FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO HIS IM-
PERIAL AND ROYAL MAJESTY.

Bayonne, April 24, 1808.

SIRE.—The security of your Empire; the consolidation of its power, and the necessity of employing every means to compel to make peace, a government which making a sanguinary sport of mankind, and in violation of every thing held most sacred amongst men, has adopted the principle of perpetual war, imposes on your Majesty the obligation of putting an end to the anarchy which menaces Spain, and to the dissensions which agitate it. These important circumstances render the choice of a line of conduct extremely important, they involve considerations which interest in the highest degree both France and Europe.

Of all the states of Europe there are none whose fate is more neces-

sarily connected with that of France than Spain. Spain is to France either a useful friend or a dangerous enemy. An intimate alliance must unite the two nations, or an implacable enmity separate them. Unfortunately that jealousy and distrust which exist between two neighbouring states have rendered enmity habitual. It is thus that the ensanguined page of history affects the rivalry of Charles V. and Francis I., which was not less the rivalry of the two nations than of their Sovereigns, and which continued under their successors. The troubles of the league were excited and fomented by Spain, who was no stranger to the disorder of la Fronde, and the power of Louis XIV. did not begin to rise until after having conquered Spain, he formed with the then reigning house in that kingdom an alliance, which, in its consequences, placed the crown of that kingdom on the head of his grandson. That act of provident policy gave to the two countries an age of peace, after three ages of war.

This state of things, however, ceased with the cause which gave birth to it. The French revolution broke the permanent connection which existed between the two nations. Then came the third coalition, in which Spain, prodigal to France of protestations, of friendship, secretly promised her aid to the coalesced powers, as was discovered by the papers communicated to the English parliament. The English ministry determined from this moment to undertake nothing against Spanish America, already considering Spain as an ally, and Spain, as well as England, looked forward to the defeat of your armies. Events set aside that expectation, and Spain remained friendly.

At the epoch of the fourth coalition, Spain shewed more openly her hostile disposition, and betrayed, by a public act, the secret of her en-

gements with England. That famous proclamation cannot be forgotten, which preceded by nine days the battle of Jena, by which all Spain was called to arms, when no enemy threatened her, and which was followed by measures promptly effective, since the military establishment of that kingdom was raised from 118,000 men to 140,000. A report was at that time spread that the army of your Majesty was beaten, and that Austria was about to declare against you, and Spain imagined she might declare herself with impunity. The victory of Jena confounded her projects. The moment is arrived to give to France on the side of the Pyrenees a permanent security, so that if ever she is exposed to new dangers, she may, instead of haying any thing to fear from Spain, expect from her aid, and have recourse to the Spanish armies to march to defend her.

In its present state, Spain is ill governed, badly united, or rather not united at all, in a common cause against England. Her marine is neglected, scarcely are any ships to be seen in her ports, and those in the worst state; the magazines are badly supplied, the workmen and sailors not paid, whilst in her ports there are neither redoubts nor batteries, nor armaments. In all the branches of the administration the most horrible disorder prevails; all the resources of the monarchy are dilapidated, the state loaded with an enormous debt, is without credit. The produce of the customs, and the estates of the clergy, destined to diminish this debt, have another destination given them. Lastly, in the penury of its means, Spain abandoning totally her marine, occupies herself with the augmentation of her land force. Great evils can only be cured by great changes.

The most pressing object of solicitude with your Majesty is the war against England. England announ-

ces that she will not come to any accommodation. All the overtures of your Majesty have been rejected or neglected. The inability to continue the war will alone induce England to make peace. The war against her, therefore, cannot be carried on with too much vigour. Spain possesses maritime resources which are lost to her and to France. It is necessary that a good government should give them activity, improve them by a judicious organization, and that your Majesty should direct them against the common enemy, to arrive at length at peace, which humanity calls for, and of which all Europe stands so much in need. Every thing that leads to this end is legitimate. The interests of France and those of Continental Europe will not allow your Majesty to neglect the only means by which the war against England can be carried on with success.

The present situation of Spain compromises the security of France, and the fate of the war against England. That country, which possesses the greatest maritime means in Europe uses them the least.

SIRE,—Spain will not be to France a sincere and faithful friend, nor can the war against England be continued with the hope of arriving at peace, until a common interest shall unite the two houses reigning in France and Spain. The dynasty which governs Spain through its affections, its recollections, its fears, will be always the secret enemy of France; an enemy the more perfidious, because, pretending to be friendly and yielding every thing to France whilst victorious, it will be ready to overwhelm her the moment her victory becomes uncertain.

It will be for the interest of Spain as well as of France, that a firm hand should re-establish order in her administration, the disorder of which has crippled her government

and leads to that ruin towards which she is hastening with rapid strides. A prince, the friend of France by sentiment, by interest, having nothing to fear from her, and not being an object of distrust to her, will appropriate all the resources of Spain to her interest, prosperity to the re-establishment of her marine, and to the success of the cause which unites Spain to France and the continent. Thus the work of Louis XIV. will be re-established.

What policy suggests, justice authorises.—Spain is really in a state of war with your Majesty, her communication with England was an hostile act, her proclamation of the 15th of October, was really a declaration of war, which would have been followed by an act of aggression, if your Majesty had not conquered at Jena. In that case, the departments on the left of the Loire, which your Majesty had left without troops, would have been obliged to fly to repel this new enemy.

The French Merchants in Spain have lost their ancient privileges, the laws of the customs were directed chiefly against French commerce, and were remarkable for their arbitrary and perpetual variation. These variations could not be known, no publicity was given to them. It was only at the custom-house that it was learnt that the law of one day was not the law of the next. Merchandise confiscated often without any pretext, was never restored. All the applications made by, or on behalf of the French were rejected. Whilst Spain was thus making war in detail upon the French and their commerce, all her ports, and chiefly those of the Gulph Gascony were open to English commerce. The law of blockade proclaimed in Spain similar to that of France, was only rendered the means of favouring still more the contraband trade of England, the merchandize of

which was spread through Spain into the rest of Europe.

Exclusive, however, of the considerations which I have stated, existing circumstances do not permit your Majesty to refrain from interfering in the affairs of that kingdom. The King of Spain has been precipitated from his throne, your Majesty is called upon to judge between the father and the son. What part will you take! Will you sacrifice the cause of sovereigns, and sanction an outrage committed against the Majesty of the throne? Will you leave on the throne a Prince who cannot withdraw himself from the yoke of England, in consequence of which your Majesty must constantly keep on foot a powerful army in Spain. If, on the contrary, your Majesty determines to replace Charles IV. on the throne, it is known that it cannot be done without overcoming a great resistance, and shedding French blood. Can that blood, of which the nation is prodigal for the defence of its own interests, be shed for the interest of a foreign King whose fate is of no consequence to France.—Lastly, Can your Majesty, taking no interest in these important differences, abandon the Spanish nation to its fate, while already it is agitated by an extreme fermentation; and when England is sowing the seeds of trouble, and of anarchy, ought your Majesty to leave this new prey to England to devour? No; certainly not. Your Majesty, therefore, occupied of necessity with the regeneration of Spain, in a manner useful to that kingdom, and useful to France, ought neither to re-establish, at the price of much bloodshed, a dethroned King, nor abandon Spain to herself; for in both cases it would be delivering her to the English, whose money and intrigues have produced the dissensions in that country,

I have stated to your Majesty the circumstances which demand a great determination. Policy advises, justice authorises, the troubles in Spain enforce the necessity—your Majesty ought to provide for the security of the empire, and save Spain from the influence of England.—I am with respect, &c.

REPORT OF THE MINISTER FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Paris, Sept. 1, 1808.

SIRE—I have the honour to propose to your Majesty to communicate to the senate the two treaties which have placed the crown of Spain in your hands, and the constitution which under your auspices, and enlightened by your advice, the Junta assembled at Bayonne, after free and mature deliberation have adopted for the glory of the Spanish name and the prosperity of that kingdom and its colonies.

If in the arrangements made by your Majesty the security of France has been your principal care, the interest of Spain herself has, however, been dear, and in uniting the two states, by the most intimate alliance, the prosperity and the glory of both were equally the objects proposed. The troubles which have manifested themselves have particularly excited the solicitude of your Majesty, in depreciating their progress, in foreseeing their sad consequences, in hoping to prevent them by persuasive means, and by measures of wise and humane policy. Your Majesty interfered as a mediator in the midst of the divided Spaniards, shewing them on one side the anarchy which threatened them, and on the other England ready to profit by their divisions, and to make use of them to suit her convenience, and pointing out to them the way by which they might be saved from this double danger, by a constitution even provident, proper to provide, all of which they stood in need, and in which liberal ideas intermixed themselves with these ancient institutions which Spain wished to be preserved.

The expectations of your Majesty have been deceived. Individual interests, foreign intrigues, and the influences of foreign corruption have prevailed. Why is it so easy to lead nations

to their ruin by letting loose their passions? In a former report, I have made your Majesty acquainted with the influence which the English were acquiring in Spain, the numerous party that they had formed, the friends whom they had acquired in the commercial towns, by holding out to them the prospect of a revival of their trade. I had pointed them out to you as authors of the sedition which overturned the throne of Charles IV. and the favourers of the popular disorders which arose at that epoch. They had burst through that solitary restraint which keeps the people in submission, by operating upon their interest. The populace of Spain having shaken off the yoke of authority aspersed at governing. English gold, the intrigues of the agents of the inquisition, who were afraid of losing their authority, the influences of the numerous tribe of monks in Spain, who dreaded a reform, have in this critical moment occasioned the insurrection of several Spanish provinces, in which the voice of the more prudent class has been either mistaken or stifled, of whom not a few have fallen victims to their courageous opposition to popular tumult, and a dreadful anarchy has been seen to diffuse itself over the greatest part of Spain. Will your Majesty permit England to be able to say, "Spain is one of my provinces, my flag driven from the Baltic, the North Sea, the Levant, and even from the shores of Persia, rules in the ports France?" No, never, Sire!—To prevent so much shame and misfortune, two millions of brave men are ready to scale the Pyrenees, and the English will be chased from the Peninsula. If the French fight for the liberty of the sea, they must, to conquer, begin by wresting Spain from the influence of the tyrants of the ocean. If they combat for peace, they cannot obtain it until they have chased from Spain the enemies of peace.

If your Majesty, embracing the future as well as the present, aspires to the noble object of leaving after you your Empire calm, tranquil, and surrounded by powerful friends, you must begin by securing its influence in Spain.

Lastly, if honour is the first sentiment, as well as the first object of Frenchmen, your Majesty must promptly inflict vengeance for the outrages committed against the French name,

and the atrocities to which so great a number of our countrymen have fallen victims. Frenchmen established in Spain for more than twenty years, exercising in peace their useful industry, and almost regarding Spain as their country, have been massacred. Every where French property has been seized. The consular agents of your Majesty have experienced a treatment which would not have been suffered even in the most barbarous countries. What estimation, what consideration will the French name enjoy in Europe, if, in a country so near to us, atrocities so infamous and so public remain unpunished. Reparation ought to be had for them—but a reparation consonant to Frenchmen by victory.

It is no small advantage the probability of at length meeting the English, of fighting them man to man, of making them also feel the evils of war; of a war, of the dangers of which they are ignorant, having only caused it by their gold. The English will be beaten, destroyed, dispersed, or at least they will make haste to fly, as they did at Toulon, at the Helder, at Dunkirk, in Sweden, and every where where the French armies have been able to find them; but their expulsion from Spain will be the ruin of their cause. This last check will exhaust their means, annihilating at the same time their last hopes, and peace will become more probable. The wishes of all Europe will in this contest be with France. France and Russia make common cause against England. Denmark supports with honour a contest which she did not provoke. Sweden, betrayed and abandoned by the ally to whom an insane cabinet has sacrificed her, has already lost her most important provinces, and is hastening to that ruin which is the inevitable effect of alliance and friendship with England.

Such will be the fate of the insurgents in Spain. When the contest becomes serious the English will abandon Spain, after making them the sad bequest of a civil war—of a war for foreign interests, and for anarchy, the most cruel of scourges. It will be for the wisdom and beneficence of your Majesty to repair the evils of which they will be the cause.

The court of Vienna has constantly testified to your Majesty, the most amicable intentions; indignant at the

policy of England, she has recalled her minister from London, sent back the minister who was at Vienna, shut her ports against England, and placed herself in a state of hostility with that power. She has added to these measures an interdict in her ports against the admission of vessels, which, under a neutral flag, are only the carriers of English produce and merchandize. Your Majesty has cultivated this favourable disposition; has testified to the court of Vienna friendship and confidence; and has several times intimated to her, that France takes a real interest in her prosperity. Latterly, however, this power has carried its armaments beyond measure; its military force is out of all proportion to its population and finances. Your ministers, Sire, only wish to remark this in order that your Majesty may perceive the necessity of augmenting your force, for the purpose of still preserving the relative superiority which exists between the power and population of the two empires.

A new revolution has broken out at Constantinople. Sultan Mustapha has been deposed.

The Americans, a people who involve their fortune, their prosperity, and almost their existence, in commerce, have given the example of a great and courageous sacrifice. They have inhibited, by a general embargo, all commerce and all navigation, rather than shamefully submit to that tribute which the English impose on the navigation of all nations. Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and Holland are peaceable, and wait only for a maritime peace to exert all their industry.

That peace is the wish of the world, but England opposes it; and England is the enemy of the world. The French nation, all Europe knows the efforts made by your Majesty to obtain peace; they know that your enterprizes are the immediate result of the ill success of the attempts which you have made to obtain it.

The devotion of the French people is without bounds; and it is more especially under circumstances which are so essentially connected with their honour and its security, that their sentiments will be evinced, and that they will shew themselves worthy of reaping that harvest of glory and of honour, which your Majesty has prepared for them.

I am, with respect, &c.

MESSAGE OF THE EMPEROR AND KING
NAPOLEON TO THE SENATE.

SENATORS,—My minister for foreign affairs will lay before you the different treaties relative to Spain, and the constitutions agreed to by the Spanish junta. My war minister will acquaint you with the wants and the situation of my armies in the different parts of the world.

I am determined to carry on the war with Spain with the utmost activity, and destroy the armies which England has disembarked in that country. The future security of my subjects, the prosperity of commerce, and a maritime peace, must alike depend on these important operations.

My alliance with the Emperor of Russia extinguishes every hope which England can entertain from her projects. I have no doubts respecting the peace of the continent, but I neither will nor ought to rely upon the false calculations and the errors of other courts, and since my neighbours increase their armies, it is a duty incumbent on me to increase mine.

The Empire of Constantinople is struggling with the most violent convulsions; Sultan Selim, the best Emperor the Ottomans have had for a length of time, has just fallen by the hands of his own nephews. This catastrophe has deeply affected me. I impose fresh sacrifices on my people, confident of their support; they are necessary, in order to secure them from heavier sacrifices, and to lead them to the grand result of a general peace, which ought also to be considered as the moment of repose.

Frenchmen, my projects have but one object in view, your happiness and the permanent well-being of your children; and if I know you aright, you will hasten to comply with this new call, rendered necessary by the interests of the country. You have so often assured me of your affection, I will behold the sincerity of your sentiments in the alacrity with which you will second projects that are so intimately connected with your dearest interests, with the honour of the empire, and with my glory.

Given at the Imperial Palace of St. Cloud, Sept 4, 1808.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

REPORT OF THE WAR MINISTER TO HIS
MAJESTY THE EMPEROR AND KING.

SIRE,—I have the honour of laying before your Majesty the state and situation of your Majesty's armies in Poland, in Prussia, and in Silesia, in Denmark, in Dalmatia, in Albania, in Italy, Naples, and in Spain. I annex to it that of your Majesty's armies of reserve, at Boulogne, on the coasts on the Rhine, and in the interior.—Your Majesty will perceive that France never before possessed more numerous or better appointed armies, and that they were never better kept up, or better provisioned.

Notwithstanding, however, the different events which have taken place in Spain, have occasioned a pretty considerable loss, in consequence of an operation as inconceivable as it is painful, of the division under General Dupont; your Majesty has notified the resolution you have taken of assembling more than two hundred thousand men beyond the Pyrennees, without, however, weakening either the armies in Germany, or that of Dalmatia. For the attainment of this end, a levy of eighty thousand men appears to be indispensable. Your Majesty can only take these eighty thousand from the four classes of the conscription of the years 1806, 1807, 1808, and 1809.

It is ascertained by the registers kept in my office, that independently of the men who have married within these four years, the conscription for these years might furnish six hundred thousand. In taking from that number a levy of eighty thousand men, your Majesty will have called out only one conscript out of seven, and the vacancies in the armies will be filled up with soldiers of 21, 22, and 23 years of age; that is, with men fit and prepared to undergo the fatigues of war.

Nor has it escaped your Majesty's foresight, that such an augmentation of force would necessarily involve an increase of expence of several millions in the war department. It is not your Majesty's wish that I should detain your attention with that object in this report: your finance minister has taken upon him to make good that charge, without, in anywise increasing the taxes established by the last law.

It is true, Sire, that the custom observed of late years, might, to a certain degree, induce a part of your sub-

jects to consider themselves as released from the duty of the conscription, from the moment, that upon the total mass they had furnished the contingent required for the year; and under this point of view, what I propose to your Majesty, might appear to require from your subjects a sacrifice; but, Sire, there is no one but knows, that by the words of the law, your Majesty would be authorised to call to your standard, the whole of the conscription, not only of the last four years, but even of the antecedent years; and even were there the question of a real sacrifice, what sacrifice is it that your Majesty has not a right to expect from the love of your subjects? Who among us is ignorant that your Majesty wholly sacrifices yourself for the happiness of France, and that upon the speedy accomplishment of your high designs depends the repose of the world, the future safety, and the re-establishment of a maritime peace, without which France can never enjoy calm and tranquillity?

In proposing to your Majesty to declare, that henceforth no retrospective evil shall take on an antecedent conscription, I only participate, Sire, your paternal wishes.

I think it expedient, at the same time, to propose to your Majesty to order out the conscription of the year 1810, and to determine the amount of it, from the present instant, at eighty thousand men, to furnish the means, as occasion may require, of forming camps of reserve, and of protecting the coast in the spring time. This conscription would be raised only under the apprehension of a war with other powers, nor would it be called out before the month of January next.

Sire, it is a misfortune inseparable from the present state of Europe, that when one power exceeds the amount of the forces proportioned to its population, the other powers cannot dispense with increasing theirs in the same proportion.

England, independent of the immense number of her seamen, has on foot an army of more than two hundred thousand men; nor is she so much occupied in every session of her parliament with any thing so much as with the increase of her land forces. The armies of Austria have been considerably increased: France, although she has armies more numerous than all the other powers,

has, notwithstanding, fewer men under arms than any of them, compared with her population.

Your minister for foreign affairs assures me that a strict alliance subsisted between your Majesty and Russia. The armaments of Austria have often excited my solicitude. The same minister assured me, that the best understanding was kept up with Austria; and that her levies should only be considered either as precautions, or as the effect of apprehensions, which are forcibly impressed on every court, by the numerous agents which England continues in pay on the continent.

But if it does not belong to the business of my department to dive into the views and interests of states, and explore the tortuous labyrinth of politics, it is at least my duty to neglect nothing to make your Majesty's armies maintain, at all points, that just superiority which they ought to possess. The armies of Albania and Dalmatia, of Denmark, and of the Elbe, will not allow of any diminution, under the circumstances of the moment.

What I have to propose to your Majesty, will give the army of Spain two hundred thousand men, without weakening the other armies; so that, notwithstanding the augmentation of our force beyond the Pyrenees, when the conscription of 1810 shall be called out, your Majesty will have increased your armies of Germany, of the North, and of Italy, by more than eighty thousand men.

And when, in order to escape the crisis into which she has been drawn by a false as well as an angry policy, the English government, exerting every where its activity, does not hesitate to combine with the resources it draws from its inexhaustible finances and its formidable fleets, the arts of intrigue, of corruption, and imposture, would it be at all extraordinary that the immense population of France should hold out the spectacle of a million of armed men, ready to punish England and all those whom she may seduce; and present every where the same huge mass of force, to protect with the same shield the honour and security of France!

What other result, Sire, is there to be expected from armies so numerous, and a position so formidable, but the speedy re-establishment of the tranquillity of Spain, that of a maritime peace,

and of that general tranquillity, the object of your Majesty's incessant wishes? Much blood will have been spared, because a great number of men will have been ready to shed it. A durable happiness, prepared by the combination of your powerful genius, will be the effect, Sir, of the new proofs of affection and attachment which your people will afford you, and of the noble aspect of that nation, which your Majesty has pointed out to posterity under the name of the great nation.

The war minister, and under this denomination, the organ of the French soldiers, allow me, Sir, to be the interpreter of their sentiments for you. Your Majesty shall always see us ready to sacrifice our lives for your glory, which is inseparable from the national glory, to which you have so powerfully added, and for the important interests of the country.

I am, with respect, &c.

SPANISH PATRIOTS.

COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX MEETING.

A meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex was held on *Tuesday, Aug. 30*, at the Mermaid, at Hackney, in consequence of a requisition made to the Sheriff, to call a meeting for the purpose of taking into consideration the relative situation of England with Spain and Portugal, and the propriety of expressing the sense of the county thereupon, as well as of addressing the King on the subject.

The business being opened by C. Smith, Esq. one of the Sheriffs,—

Major Cartwright rose, and stated, that as one of the persons who had signed the requisition to the sheriff, he had thought himself bound (though he could have wished it had fallen into abler hands) to draw up some resolutions for the approbation of the meeting.—He trusted that, to those who knew him, the whole tenor of his pretty long life would, without any profession

from himself, be sufficient to exculpate him from any idea of party or factious motive in the resolutions he was about to move. He was equally indifferent to, and uninterested in, the *Ins* and the *Outs*. His only object was the good of his country; and of mankind in general, both of which, he was convinced, would be promoted by an attentive observance of, and adherence to, the principles breathed in the resolutions, which he should have the honour to submit to the meeting. The worthy mover then took an opportunity of contrasting the late and present situation of affairs in Spain. So long as that country had been under the influence of a despotic government, it was at enmity with Britain; but after it became sensible of the errors into which it was daily falling, and the links it was daily adding to its slavery, it rushed into our arms with an affection which did infinite honour to both nations. While she remained in alliance only with despotic governments, no hope could exist that even a single link of the chain, by which her own inhabitants were held, should be un riveted. Now, however, that we saw her inhabitants fighting for their country, there was every reason to hope that we should soon see them drive the Despot of the Continent out of the Iberian Peninsula, and so prove the commencement of the liberties of Europe.—*There was a remarkable lesson here held out to the monarchs and nations of the world. Deprived, as the people were, of their Sovereign, their nobles and their army, they rose, as it were, with one consentaneous opinion: the land had been plentifully sown with dragons' teeth: they had sprung up into armed men, and had done more in five or six weeks, than Monarchs had been able to effect in as many years. These alone were the means by which Europe was to be delivered! He had no doubt the two Emperors did feel uneasy under*

the circumstances in which they were at present placed; that they felt that happy disposition of which they had already given sufficient proofs—a disposition to change sides! They might probably again solicit the alliance, and, still more probably, the subsidies, of this country; but if the latter request were again made, he hoped it would receive its proper return—that the person making it would be desired to look to Spain, where they would learn their lesson. One of the emperors alluded to commanded a population of upwards of 23 millions, and the other a population of about 36 millions. These, with this country, Spain and Portugal, exceeded the population of the half of Europe. It was therefore only necessary for these Emperors to know, that by emancipating their own subjects, they would at once have it in their power to render themselves impregnable.—There was another thing on which the worthy mover deemed it incumbent upon the meeting to express their opinion, namely, the qualification necessary in an officer, by whom patriotic forces ought to be commanded; or, rather, a negative quality which such officer ought never to be allowed to possess—that of being generally unsuccessful.—He could not refrain from calling the attention of the meeting to the remarkable similarity which existed between this country and Spain—a circumstance which, he submitted, ought to bind us more firmly together. Spain was a peninsula—we were an island; Spain was separated from France by hills—we by a channel, which in particular circumstances might be as easily passed. They had their Cortez—we had our house of commons. They had achieved their late exploits by their armed inhabitants—we owed the liberties we enjoyed to our *posse comitatus*, the best model for ensuring the liberties and prosperity of a nation

which the world ever saw. It was impossible for us too strongly to inculcate into the minds of our brave allies in Spain what we ourselves knew to be the true principles of freedom, and of prosperity, and of safety—Liberty and arms in the hands of the people! These were the only means by which a nation could be defended against such a power as France; Since Bonaparte had taken on him to dictate to the Spanish nation, he had given them a constitution, which would not be unworthy the perusal of many gentlemen in the present meeting. In one clause their Cortez were secured to them; but, in many, 300,000 were to be represented by one man, and the whole nation by 36. These, again, were to meet at least once in three years; but this was to be at the option of the King. They were not to be at liberty to make any of their proceedings public; if promulgated, the person disclosing them was to be punished as if he had been guilty of causing an insurrection. Our Cortez, the worthy mover confessed, needed mending; but, he trusted, we would keep the mending of it in our own hands, and would never allow Bonaparte to interfere in so sacred, yet so necessary, a work. On this head, therefore, he should move a petition to the house of commons, convinced that the two nations could do no mutual good to each other, unless they strengthened themselves. Freedom and arms were the only means of doing so. These could only be secured by a fair representation of the people, and by the *posse comitatus* which we had enjoyed for a thousand years, having been handed down to us from the immortal Alfred.

As the worthy Mover began with thanking the King for his exertions in behalf of the Spaniards, so should he end with an address of thanks to him. Having stated the general objects of the resolutions, by

should move; he said, he should then propose that the whole, if agreed to, be printed in Spanish and English, and delivered to the Spanish Deputies. He concluded by reading the series of his propositions, together with the draught of the petition to the house of commons, and the address to his Majesty.

He then moved the resolutions severally, which were seconded by Mr. Holt White. The six first were as follows: and they were adopted unanimously, after a slight amendment to the third, proposed by Mr. Mellish, one of the representatives for the county, and cheerfully acquiesced in by the worthy Mover:—

1. That for aiding the Spanish cause, the King is entitled to the gratitude of mankind.

2. That a people who will fight for their liberties are alone worthy of the friendship of a free nation.

3. That to have formed such allies, is an event peculiarly gratifying to Great Britain.

4. That we ardently desire to see re-established in Spain the ancient government of a King, and an independent Cortez, so balanced as to secure their national liberties.

5. That in the grand example of Spain is seen how a nation is to be defended, and how Europe is to be delivered.

6 That what has been lost to the sacred cause of human liberty, by the vices and excesses of France, since from that cause she departed, we trust may be regained by the gravity, the virtues, and the moderation of Spain.

Major Cartwright then moved the 7th. as follows, which was also seconded by Mr. Holt White;—

7. That Spain being separated from France merely by a line of hills, and England merely by a channel, neither nation can hope for safety or repose, unless by means of national liberty and national arms-bearing, the sole preservatives of

which are the reality of representation in the legislature, and a permanent organization of the males who are able to bear arms.

Mr. Mellish objected to this motion; and as the whole of the propositions intended to be moved had been read, he wished to express his opinion generally, that due notice had not been given of the meeting; and that it was much to their credit to give dignity and weight to business of this importance. It surely was not, and could not be known to the county, under the terms of the advertisement, that it was intended to mix the question of Parliamentary Reform with a declaration of the sentiments in favour of the Spanish people. The meeting had only been advertised twice. He had heard of it by mere accident. He was 130 miles distant, and had hurried to town on purpose. He concurred in the resolutions declaratory of the sense of the nation on the affairs of Spain, but he could not concur in this.

Mr. Power put it to the Hon. Member for the county; seriously to reflect upon the effect the adoption of such a proposition would probably have; on the great cause which it was equally the duty and wish of the United Kingdom to support. Was it not a probable inference to assume, that the interests of the Spanish people would be considerably deteriorated, if a communication was made to the world, that a meeting of the freeholders of the first county in England, convened for the purpose of co-operating in that glorious struggle, was adjourned on account of the thinness of the attendance, and the consequently presumed apathy of so great and respectable a portion of the British nation? Surely, if the Hon. Member was sincere in his wishes for Spanish success, he would not persevere in a proposition replete with such hostility to the heroic ex-

ertions of that people, and to the character of his own country, for an ardent and disinterested support. The very suspension of the public expression might, in the interval, destroy its effect. The present was the moment to make it successful; whereas, to accede to his proposition, was to announce to all Europe that this country felt but a very languid interest either in the object or the destiny of the high-minded people of Spain. *It was not a little curious to hear the Hon. Member attack such importance to crowded assemblies. He who, from his public avocations, had so frequently witnessed some of the most important of the duties of the legislature carried into effect in houses not near so numerous as the respectable meeting which he (Mr. P.) then had the honour to address. Was there that attention paid to numbers, when laws, affecting the lives and liberties of the subject, were passed, and millions of money voted away, comparatively among empty benches?* Whatever was the cause which prevented a more numerous meeting, whether it arose from apathy, or from inattention, it was a duty which those assembled owed to themselves, to persevere in the great object for which they were that day convened.

Mr. Perry expressed an anxious wish that no part of the proceedings of the meeting might lead to controversy, or be subject to misrepresentation. He hoped, therefore that for the sake of that unanimity which had hitherto prevailed in the resolutions already adopted, the worthy mover would either modify the present proposition, or totally withdraw it. This was rendered the more necessary, because gentlemen might be unwilling to vote for the latter part of the proposition, who were constant friends and advocates for a reform in the representation of the people of Great Britain in Parliament; and who, on a fair occasion, would agree with the worthy mover

in a petition to the house of commons for that purpose.

Major Cartwright said, that his motion could not be subject to the charge of an interference with the rights of the Spanish nation; but was there any way, except by a free representation and an armed population, that any nation could be free? As to the subject of parliamentary reform, coming improperly before them on this occasion, every occasion was proper for it; and the words of the requisition sanctioned the discussion.

Mr. Wanthman expressed his surprise at finding the hon. member for the county an enemy to parliamentary reform. He had been of opinion, that the hon. member had only to look back to the borough of Great Grimsby, to see that gross corruption did exist in our representative system, and of course, that he would have been one of the most strenuous advocates for the reform of such a grievous abuse. He would ask, what was it that gave to the Spanish cause such success? It was well known that when they acted along with other nations, the troops of which were infinitely more numerous, and the natural courage at least supposed to be equal to theirs, disaster followed disaster, and dismay and ruin attended their united steps. What then, he would ask, was it that now made undisciplined troops of the same nation, which when accompanied by allies were uniformly unsuccessful, be at present, by themselves, successful on almost every occasion? *For his part, he had no hesitation in maintaining, that this change proceeded from the awakening of the principles of liberty.* The persons now engaged in this glorious cause in Spain were no other than those same people, who, if engaged in a similar struggle in this country, the hon. member would denominate a seditious rabble! And what, he would ask, were the principles by

which the Spaniards were actuated? Were they they not these:—We are willing to defend ourselves—give us but our constitution—redress our grievances—correct the infamous system of which we complain, and we will shew you we can defend our country! Did the hon. member, he would ask, think, if ministers were in such a situation as to desert this country, as most likely they would, that the people of this country would not have courage to stand and meet Bonaparte? They unquestionably would, as the Spanish people were now doing, and from a similar impulse. It was easy for gentlemen to admire the constitution of this country. Some, however, he was sorry to think, admired it, not for its *purity*, but for its *rottenness*, and because they were enabled to *fatten on its corruption*! The great Lord Bathurst (not the present) had said, and said truly, that if the king's coachman were prime minister, the wheels of the state machine would still move with equal ease and precision. If the constitution were good it would clear itself, but it could only do so by mending the cracks which it might occasionally sustain. As to the idea of this being a thin meeting, he saw nothing in it. Large meetings were collected only where an opposition was to be expected. Here there could have been no contemplation of any thing of the kind. All that was here wished to be decided was, were not the Spaniards to be supposed actuated by the same principles as ourselves? No person attempted to dispute that they were; nor was there any endeavour to shew that this was not the genuine cause of Spanish success. As to the motion being an interference with their independent rights, he thought his worthy friend too squeamish on the point.

Mr. Mellish replied, that in the case of the Great Grimsby petition, bribery and corruption were not

proved, at least in the committee. (*a universal laugh*).

Mr. Heygate was of opinion, however favourably he might think of parliamentary reform, which he might be inclined on another occasion to support, still that it was fair and reasonable that it should be met on its own merits, and not introduced into any foreign and extraneous discussion.

The question was then put on this resolution, which was negatived.

Another discussion then ensued on the question of adjournment, which was moved by Mr. Waithman, and supported by Mr. Mellish and his friends.

Mr. Clarkson desired to know explicitly from Mr. Mellish, whether by adjournment he meant to try to get rid of the resolutions already passed, and in which he had concurred. And upon explanation he moved, "That the six resolutions unanimously agreed to, be signed by the Sheriff, and published in the newspapers, and that the meeting do now adjourn."

On this a pretty long conversation took place, and on the propriety of bringing forward a question on parliamentary reform in so thin a meeting, there having appeared no more than 46 hands on the question that had been negatived.

Mr. Perry observed, however, that the number of hands held up on that question formed no criterion of the number of freeholders present, as many gentlemen abstained from voting altogether on that question from motives of delicacy to Spain, but who would not oppose a petition for parliamentary reform. But the meeting was certainly thin. If duly promulgated, it was certain that the most exalted characters in the country would have felt it a duty and delight to be present, and express their approbation of the Spanish cause. For this purpose another meeting might be more advisable—

particularly if the worthy mover was desirous of making the subject of a petition to the house of Commons for parliamentary reform a part of the proceedings. The motion of his worthy friend, Mr. Clarkson, would secure the publication of the excellent resolutions that had been adopted, and which, from their spirit, conciseness, and truth, could not fail to produce beneficial effects.

Major Cartwright saw no just cause for the delay of the petition. Nothing but a reform could do good; and he should certainly sign it before he left the room. It was not stated to be the petition of the meeting, but it purported to be the petition of the freeholders of Middlesex, whose names were thereunto signed; and every freeholder who approved of it might subscribe his name.

After some farther discussion, in which Mr. Sheriff Smith defended himself and colleague, as to the notice of the meeting, and declared that but the day before a body of 150 freeholders, assembled at Christ's Hospital, had concurred in the object of the meeting, Mr. Clarkson's motion was agreed to, and thanks voted to the Sheriff.

GRAMPOUND ADDRESS.

At a meeting of the Burgesses of the ancient and loyal borough of Grampound, held in the said Borough, on the 22d day of August, 1808, it was unanimously resolved, that an humble congratulatory address be presented to his Majesty, upon the present aspect of affairs in Spain; and an address having been drawn up, and presented to the meeting, it was resolved, that the same be presented to his Majesty by the Hon. A. Cochrane Johnstone.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble address of the Burgesses of the Ancient Borough of Grampound.

May it please your Majesty,

Mindful of the profound respect, due from us to our sovereign, and not unmindful of our own character and rights, we, your loyal subjects, the Burgesses of the ancient Borough of Grampound, beg leave to approach your Majesty, at this momentous crisis, with an expression of our sentiments in the language of free-born Englishmen, and not in that of the crouching slaves of Eastern despotism, which latter, though not uncoun tenanced by frequent example, could not fail to excite displeasure and disgust in the mind of a prince, *whose family was raised to the throne of these realms, not for the little purposes of faction or bigotry, but for the great, the sole, and solemnly declared object of better securing the rights and liberties of the people.*

From men of sentiments so congenial with those of your Majesty, your Majesty will anticipate a hearty congratulation on the events, which have recently come to pass, and are now passing in Spain, where, after ages of oppression on the people by the hands of a tyrannical and profligate, though effeminate and imbecile, Court and Nobility, the principles of political liberty appear to have burst forth into a train of action, calculated to defend the country without the aid of regular troops, to establish a government upon the immutable basis of public good, and to furnish a powerful example to all the still oppressed nations of Europe, whether writhing beneath the lash of open violence, or *wasting away under the LEECHES OF PECULATION!* We sincerely thank your Majesty for whatever aid your Majesty may have been graciously pleased to give in support of the glo-

rious cause ; and though with all humility, we, with earnestness, express our hope, that your Majesty will continue to reject the advice of all those (if any such obtain access to your royal ear) who would squander the treasure and the blood of Englishmen for the purpose of restoring to the throne those persons, under whose sway the people of Spain, amidst all the natural means of insuring individual happiness and national honour, ~~so long languished~~ covered with every species of misery and disgrace ; those persons, who, together with their greedy and unprincipled abettors, ~~so long insulted~~ the wretched nation with an ostentatious display of profusion and voluptuousness, notoriously supported by peculation and plunder ; those persons, who the more securely to set the popular feeling at defiance, resorted to that last resource of conscious tyranny, the introduction of foreign troops ; those persons, who, as the closing act of their regal authority, delivered over the long oppressed and long forbearing people to the rapacious grasp of a new, and as yet, unglutted tyrant, in the hope, and upon the express condition of thereby securing to themselves the uninterrupted enjoyment of ease and luxury for the remainder of their days. Far from us the belief, and even the suspicion, that the restoration of such persons to royal power, should, by your Majesty, be contemplated as the desired result of those enormously expensive preparations, to the making of which, for the sake of giving freedom to Spain, your people cheerfully submit ; and, firmly relying, that your Majesty does, and will, with respect to the affairs of Spain, entertain no other than this just and generous object, we beg your Majesty to accept the assurance of our continued and zealous support.

Among the means adopted by

NO. IV.

your Majesty, for insuring success to your Majesty's arms in this great and glorious enterprize, we see numerous objects, each of which might become the theme of our praise ; but, we select, as having thereunto a peculiar claim, that measure of enlightened and convenient reform, by which those of our fellow subjects who have the honour to serve in your Majesty's army, have, in consequence of a gracious expression of your Majesty's pleasure to that effect, been happily relieved from those pendulous encumbrances, which have, but for too long a time, disfigured their persons and obstructed their movements ; and we view this measure with the more satisfaction, as we cannot but regard it as the certain forerunner of a further and still more extensively useful reform, in which we confidently anticipate the severing of those unseemly hairy excrescences, together with the total abolition of all those other odious outlandish innovations of habit and discipline, which as bearing a strong resemblance to so many badges of subjugation, cannot but be hateful in the eyes of a people, who, at the call of your Majesty, are making such unparelleled sacrifices for the preservation of their country's independence. But, if these measures do so loudly demand our dutiful acknowledgements, well may we want words to express the gratitude which we feel towards your Majesty for that wisdom and virtue, that paternal solicitude for the lives of the army and for the honour of the English name, so conspicuously apparent in your Majesty's selection of officers hitherto appointed to command your Majesty's forces in Spain, amongst whom, we, in common with the whole of your Majesty's subjects, perceive, with inexpressible joy, the name of no one, who has heretofore, either by his ignorance or his cowardice, brought disgrace upon the

arms of England; or who, as far as we have learned, has in his conduct towards those overwhom he happened to possess immediate controul, ever manifested a disposition incompatible with exertions in the cause of freedom and justice.

Signed at the request of the burgesses of the ancient and loyal borough of Grampound, at a Meeting convened for the purpose, this twenty-second day of August, 1808.

(Signed) JOHN CROGGON,
ROBERT COOKE.

POETRY.

THE SUBSTANCE OF A LONG CONVENTION.

Dialogue.—Junot and Sir Hew.

JUNOT—Come, we will fight you once again;
Why don't your troops advance?

SIR HEW—I canna say I like your ken,
Would ye were aw in France!!

JUNOT—Send 'us but home with purse and sword,
We'll Lisbon leave to you.

SIR HEW—Troth, and I'll tak ye at your word,
No feighting for Sir HEW!!!

ON OUR GALLANT COMMANDER IN PORTUGAL.

—*Heu miserande! Virg.*

When knights of old their faulchions drew,
Their mot de guerre was "*Hack and Hew.*"
Our modern knight, of fighting shy,
Must make his motto—" *Hue and Cry.*"

HAL.

SIR ARTHUR'S SOLILOQUY.

Veni, vidi, vici.

What Cæsar said, DID I.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

GAZETTES EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-Street, Sep. 2.

Dispatches of which the following are copies and extracts, were last night received from Lieut. Gen. Sir Harry Burrard, and Lieut. Gen. Sir A. Wellesley, dated from head-quarters at Lourinha, addressed to Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Extract of a Letter from Lieut. Gen. Sir A. Wellesley, dated head-quarters at Caldas, August 16.

I marched from Lyria on the 13th. and arrived at Ahobacia on the 19th. which place the enemy had abandoned in the preceding night; and I arrived here yesterday. The enemy, about 4000 in number, were posted

about 10 miles from hence, at Borica; and they occupied Brilos, about three miles from hence, with their advanced posts. As the possession of this last village was important to our future operations, I determined to occupy it; and as soon as the British infantry arrived upon the ground, I directed that it might be occupied by a detachment, consisting of four companies of riflemen of the 60th. and 95th. regiments. The enemy, consisting of a small piquet of infantry and a few cavalry, made a trifling resistance and then retired; but they were followed by a detachment of our riflemen to the distance of three miles from Brilos. The riflemen were then attacked by a superior body of the enemy, who attempted to cut them off from the main body of the detachment to which they belonged, which had now advanced to their support; larger bodies of the enemy appeared on both the flanks of the detachment, and it was with difficulty that Major-Gen. Spencer, who had gone out to Oebidos when he had heard that the riflemen had advanced in pursuit of the enemy, was enabled to effect their retreat to that village. They have since remained in possession of it, and the enemy have retired entirely from the neighbourhood. In this little affair of the advanced posts, which was occasioned solely by the eagerness of the troops in pursuit of the enemy; I am concerned to add, that Lieut. Bunbury, of the 2d. battalion of the 95th. was killed, and the Hon. Captain Pakenham wounded, but slightly; and we have lost 1 rank and file killed, 5 wounded, and 21 missing.

*Head-Quarters at Villa Verde,
Aug. 16.*

MY LORD,—The French General Laborde having continued in his position at Roleia since my arrival at Caldas on the 15th. instant, I determined to attack him in it this

morning. Roleia is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley, which commences at Caldas, and is closed to the southward by mountains, which join the hills, forming the valley on the left, looking from Caldas. In the centre of the valley, and about eight miles from Roleia, is the town and old moorish fort of Oebidos, from whence the enemy's piquets had been driven on the 15th. and from that time he had posts in the hills on both sides of the valley, as well as in the plain in front of his army, which was posted on the heights in front of Roleia, its right resting upon the hills, its left upon an eminence on which was a windmill, and the whole covering four or five passes into the mountains in his rear.

I have reason to believe that his force consisted of at least 6000 men; of which about 500 were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon; and there was some reason to believe that General Loison, who was at Rio Major yesterday, would join Gen. Laborde by his right in the course of the night. The plan of attack was formed accordingly, and the army having broken up from Caldas this morning, was formed into three columns; the right consisting of 1200 infantry and 50 cavalry, destined to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in his rear; the left consisting of Major-Gen. Ferguson's and Brigadier-Gen. Bowes's brigades of infantry, three companies of riflemen a brigade of light artillery, and 20 British and 20 Portuguese cavalry, was destined under the command of Major-Gen. Ferguson, to ascend the hills at Oebidos, to turn all the enemy's posts on the left of the valley, as well as the right of his post at Roleia; this corps was also destined to watch the motions of Gen. Loison, on the enemy's right, who I had heard had moved from Rio Ma-

jour towards Alceontra last night. The centre column, consisting of Major-Gen. Hill's, Brigadier-Gen. Nightingale's, Brig.-Gen. Craufurd's and Brig.-Gen. Fane's brigades (with the exception of the riflemen detached with Major-Gen. Ferguson), and 400 Portuguese light infantry, the British and Portuguese cavalry, a brigade of nine-pounders, and a brigade of six-pounders, were destined to attack Gen. Laborde's position in front.

The columns being formed, the troops moved from Oebidos about seven o'clock in the morning. Brigadier-Gen. Fane's riflemen were immediately detached into the hills on the left of the valley, to keep up the communication between the centre and left columns, and to protect the march of the former along the valley; and the enemy's posts were successively driven in. Major-Gen. Hill's brigade formed in three columns of battalions, moved on the right of the valley, supported by the cavalry, in order to attack the enemy's left; and Brig.-Gens. Nightingale and Craufurd moved with the artillery along the high road, until at length the former formed in the plain, immediately in the enemy's front, supported by the light infantry companies, and the 45th. regiment of Brig.-Gen. Craufurd's brigade, while the two other regiments of this brigade (the 50th. and 91st.) and half of the nine-pounder brigade were kept as a reserve in the rear.

Major-Gen. Hill and Brig.-Gen. Nightingale advanced upon the enemy's position, and, at the same moment, Brig.-Gen. Fane's riflemen were in the hills on his right; the Portuguese infantry in a village upon his left; and Major-Gen. Ferguson's column was descending from the heights into the plain. From this situation the enemy retired by the passes into the mountains with the utmost regularity and the greatest celerity; and notwithstanding the

rapid advance of the British infantry, the want of a sufficient body of cavalry was the cause of his suffering but little loss in the plain.

It was then necessary to make a disposition to attack the formidable position which he had taken up. Brig.-Gen. Fane's riflemen were already in the mountains on his right, and no time was lost in attacking the different passes, as well to support the riflemen as to defeat the enemy completely.

The Portuguese infantry were ordered to move up a pass on the right of the whole; the light companies of Major-Gen. Hill's brigade and the 5th. regiment moved up a pass next on the right; and the 29th. regiment, supported by the 9th. regiment, under Brig.-Gen. Nightingale; moved up a third pass, and the 45th and 82d regiments, passes on the left. These passes were all difficult of access, and some of them were well defended by the enemy, particularly that which was attacked by the 29th and 9th regiments. These regiments attacked with the greatest impetuosity, and reached the enemy before those whose attacks were to be made on their flanks: the defence of the enemy was desperate, and it was in this attack principally that we sustained the loss which we have to lament, particularly of that gallant officer the hon. Lieut. Col. Lake, who distinguished himself upon this occasion. The enemy was, however, driven from all the positions he had taken in the passes of the mountains, and our troops were advanced in the plains on their tops. For a considerable length of time the 29th and 9th regiments alone were advanced to this point, with Brig.-Gen. Fane's riflemen at a distance on the left, and they were afterwards supported by the 5th. regiment, and by the light companies of Major-Gen. Hill's brigade, which had come up on their right; and by the other troops ordered to ascend the mountains, who

came up by degrees. The enemy here made three most gallant attacks upon the 29th and 9th regiments, supported, as I have above stated, with a view to cover the retreat of his defeated army; in all of which he was, however, repulsed; but he succeeded in effecting his retreat in good order, owing principally to my want of cavalry, and secondly, to the difficulty of bringing up the passes of the mountains with celerity a sufficient number of troops and of cannon to support those which had first ascended. The loss of the enemy has, however, been very great; and he left three pieces of cannon in our hands.

I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of the troops throughout this action. The enemy's positions were formidable, and he took them up with his usual ability and celerity, and defended them most gallantly. But I must observe, that although we had such a superiority of numbers employed in the operations of this day, the troops actually engaged in the heat of the action were, from unavoidable circumstances, only the 5th, 9th, 29th, the riflemen of the 95th and 60th, and the flank companies of Major-General Hill's brigade, being a number by no means equal to that of the enemy: their conduct, therefore, deserves the highest commendation. (Signed)

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

List of killed, wounded, and missing on the 17th Aug.

4 officers, killed; 20 officers, wounded; 4 officers, missing; 3 non-commissioned officers and drummers, killed; 20 non-commissioned officers and drummers, wounded; 2 non-commissioned officers and drummers, missing; 63 rank and file, killed; 295 rank and file, wounded; 68 rank and file, missing; 1 horse, killed; 2 horses, wounded.—Total 489.

Head-Quarters at Lourinha, Aug. 18.

MY LORD,—Since I wrote to you last night, I have heard from Brig-

General Anstruther, that he is on the coast of Piniche, with the fleet of victuallers and store-ships, in charge of Capt. Bligh, of the *Alfred*, with a part of the force detached from England under Brigadier-Gen. Ackland, in consequence of the receipt of orders which I had left at Mondego Bay for Gen. Ackland, which he had opened. I have ordered Brigadier-General Anstruther to land immediately, and I have moved to this place in order to protect his landing, and facilitate his junction.

Gen. Loison joined Gen. Laborde in the course of last night at Torres Vedras; and I understand that both began their march towards Lisbon this morning. I also hear that Gen. Junot has arrived this day at Torres Vedras, with a small corps from Lisbon; and I conclude that the whole of the French army will be assembled between Torres Vedras and the capital, in the course of a few days.—I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed)

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

[The next letter is from Lieut.-Gen. Burrard, introducing the following one from Sir A. Wellesley, whose conduct he so highly approved, that he did not think it necessary to make any alteration of the disposition of the troops, upon his landing on the 21st.]

Vimiera, Aug. 21.

SIR,—I have the honour to report to you, that the enemy attacked us in our position at Vimiera this morning. The enemy first appeared at eight o'clock in large bodies of cavalry on our left upon the heights on the road to Lourinha; and it was soon obvious that the attack would be made upon our advanced guard, and the left of our position; and Major-Gen Fergusson's brigade was immediately moved across the ravine to the heights, on the road to Lourinha, with three pieces of cannon; he was followed successively by Brigadier-General Nightingale with his brigade, and three pieces of cannon;

Brigadier General Ackland, with his brigade, and Brigadier-General Bowes, with his brigade. These troops were formed (Major-General Ferguson's brigade in the first line; Brigadier-General Nightingale's in the second; and Brigadier-General Bowles's and Ackland's, in columns in the rear) on those heights, with their right upon the valley which leads into Vimiera; and their left upon the other ravine, which separates these heights from the range which terminates at the landing-place at Maccira. On these last-mentioned heights, the Portuguese troops, which had been in the bottom near Vimiera, were posted in the first instance, and they were supported by Brigadier-Gen. Craufurd's brigade.

The troops of the advanced guard on the height to the southward and eastward of the town were deemed sufficient for its defence, and Major Gen. Hill was moved to the centre of the mountain, on which the great body of the infantry had been posted, as a support to these troops, and as a reserve to the whole army. In addition to this support, these troops had that of the cavalry in the rear of their right.

The enemy's attack began in several columns upon the the whole of the troops on this height; on the left they advanced, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the 50th regiment, and were checked and driven back only by the bayonets of that corps. The 2d battalion, 43d regiment, was likewise closely engaged with them in the road which leads into Vimiera; a part of that corps having been ordered into the church-yard, to prevent their penetrating into the town. On the right of the position they were repulsed by the bayonets of the 97th regiment, which corps was successfully supported by the 2d battalion 52d regiment, which by an advance in column, took the enemy

in flank. Besides this opposition given to the attack of the enemy on our advanced guard by their own exertions, they were attacked in flank by Brigadier-Gen. Ackland's brigade, in its advance to its position on the heights on the left, and a cannonade was kept up on the flank of the enemy's columns by the artillery on those heights.

At length, after a most desperate contest, the enemy was driven back in confusion from this attack, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and a great number of officers and soldiers killed and wounded. He was pursued by the detachment of the 20th light dragoons, but the enemy's cavalry were so much superior in numbers, that this detachment has suffered much, and Lieut.-Col. Taylor was unfortunately killed.

Nearly at the same time the enemy's attack commenced upon the heights on the road to Lourinha. This attack was supported by a large body of cavalry, and was made with the usual impetuosity of the French troops. It was received with steadiness by Major-Gen Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 36th, 40th, and 71st regiments; and these corps charged as soon as the enemy approached them, who gave way, and they continued to advance upon him, supported by the 82d, one of the corps of Brigadier-Gen. Nightingale's brigade, which, as the ground extended, afterwards formed a part of the first line; by the 29th regiment, and by Brigadier-General Bowes's and Ackland's brigades, while Brigadier-General Craufurd's brigade, and the Portuguese troops, in two lines, advanced along the height on the left. In the advance of Major-General Ferguson's brigade, six pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy, with many prisoners, and vast numbers were killed and wounded.

The enemy afterwards made an attempt to recover a part of his artillery, by attacking the 71st and 82d regiments, which were halted in a valley in which it had been taken. These regiments retired from the low grounds in the valley to the heights, where they halted, faced about, fired, and advanced upon the enemy, who had by that time arrived in the low ground, and they thus obliged him again to retire with great loss.

In this action, in which the whole of the French force in Portugal was employed under the command of the Duke D'Abrantes in person, in which the enemy was certainly superior in cavalry and artillery, and in which not more than half of the British army was actually engaged, he has sustained a signal defeat, and has lost 13 pieces of cannon, 23 ammunition waggons, with powder, shells, stores of all descriptions, and 20,000 rounds of musket ammunition. One general officer (Beniere) has been wounded and taken prisoner, and a great many officers and soldiers have been killed, wounded, and taken.

I have the honour to inslose herewith a return of killed, wounded, and missing. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) A. WELLESLEY.

To Lieut.-Gen. Sir Harry Burrard.

N. B. Since writing the above I have been informed that a French general officer, supposed to be Gen. Thebault, the chief of the staff, has been found dead upon the field of battle.

A. W.

List of killed, wounded and missing.

1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 128 rank and file, 30 horses, killed; 3 majors, 10 captains, 19 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 2 staff, 27 serjeants, 4 drummers, 466 rank and file, 12 horses, wounded; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 2 drummers, 46 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.—Total, 733.

Return of Ordnance and Ammunition taken in the action of the 21st inst.

1 Six-pounder, 4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 6 five-and-half-inch howitzers, 2 ammunition waggons, 21 Portuguese ammunition cars, 40 horses, 4 mules. The above is only the number already received in the park; but, from several accounts, there are eight more taken from the enemy. The ammunition waggons and cars contain a portion of powder, shells, and stores of all descriptions, and about 20,000lbs. musket ammunition.

Downing-Street, Sept. 16.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was received yesterday evening from Lieut.-Gen. Sir Hew Dalrymple, commanding his Majesty's troops in Portugal, addressed to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, and brought by Capt. Dalrymple, military secretary to Sir Hew Dalrymple.

Head-Quarters, Cintra, Sept. 3.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to inform your lordship that I landed in Portugal, and took the command of the army on Monday the 22d of Aug. the next day after the battle of Vimiera, and where the enemy sustained a signal defeat, when the valour and discipline of British troops, and the talents of British officers, were eminently displayed.

A few hours after my arrival Gen. Kellermann came in with a flag of truce from the French General in chief in order to propose an agreement for a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of concluding a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops. The inclosed contains the several articles at first agreed upon and signed by Sir Authur Wellesley and General Kellermann; but as this was done with a reference to the British Admiral, who, when the agreement was communicated to him, objected to the 7th article, which had for its object the disposal of the Russian fleet in the Tagus, it was finally concluded, that Lieut.-Col. Murray,

quarter master general to the British army, and Gen. Kellermann should proceed to the discussion of the remaining articles, and finally to conclude a convention for the evacuation of Portugal, subject to the ratification exchanged the 30th of last month.

After considerable discussion and repeated reference to me, which rendered it necessary for me to avail myself of the limited period latterly prescribed for the suspension of hostilities, in order to move the army forwards, and to place the several columns upon the routes by which they were to advance, the convention was signed, and the ratification exchanged the 30th of last month.

That no time might be lost in obtaining anchorage for the transports and other shipping, which had for some days been exposed to great peril on this dangerous coast, and to insure the communication between the army and the victuallers, which was cut off by the badness of the weather and the surf upon the shore, I sent orders to the 10th and 42d regiments, which were on board of transports with Sir Charles Cotton's fleet, to land and take possession of the forts on the Tagus whenever the Admiral thought it proper so to do. This was accordingly carried into execution yesterday morning, when the forts of Cascais, St. Julien's, and Bugio, were evacuated by the French troops, and taken possession of by ours.

As I landed in Portugal entirely unacquainted with the actual state of the French army, and many circumstances of a local and incidental nature, which doubtless had great weight in deciding the question; my own opinion in favour of the expediency of expelling the French army from Portugal by means of the convention the late defeat had induced the French general in chief to solicit, instead of doing so by a continuation of hostilities, was principally

founded on the great importance of time, which the season of the year rendered peculiarly valuable, and which the enemy could easily have consumed in the protracted defence of the strong places they occupied, had terms of convention been refused them.

When the suspension of arms was agreed upon, the army under the command of Sir John Moore had not arrived, and doubts were even entertained whether so large a body of men could be landed on an open and a dangerous beach; and that being effected, whether the supply of so large an army with provisions from the ships could be provided for under all the disadvantages to which the shipping were exposed. During the negotiation, the former difficulty was overcome by the activity, zeal, and intelligence of Capt. Malcolm, of the Donegal, and the officers and men under his orders, but the possibility of the latter seems to have been at an end, nearly at the moment when it was no longer necessary.—Capt. Dalrymple, of the 18th dragoons, my military secretary, will have the honour of delivering to your lordship this dispatch. He is fully informed of whatever has been done under my orders, relative to the service on which I have been employed, and can give any explanation thereupon that may be required. I have the honour to be, &c.

HEW DALRYMPLE, Lieut. Gen.
(TRANSLATION.)

Suspension of arms agreed upon between Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. on one part, and the General of Division, Kellermann, Grand officer of the Legion of Honour, Commander of the Order of the Iron Crown, and Grand Cross of the Order of the Lion of Bavaria, on the other part, each having power from the respective Generals of the French and English armies.

*Head quarters of the English army,
Aug. 22, 1808.*

ART. 1. There shall be, from this

date, a suspension of arms between the armies of his BRITANNIC MAJESTY and his IMPERIAL AND ROYAL MAJESTY, NAPOLEON I. for the purpose of negotiating a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French army.

2. The Generals in chief of the two armies, and the commander in chief of the British fleet at the entrance of the Tagus, will appoint a day to assemble on such part of the coast as shall be judged convenient, to negotiate, and conclude the said convention.

3. The river of Sirandree shall form the line of demarcation to be established between the two armies. Torres Vedras shall not be occupied by either.

4. The General in chief of the English army undertakes to include the Portuguese armies in this suspension of arms, and for them the line of demarcation shall be established from Liera to Thomar.

5. It is agreed provisionally, that the French army shall not, in any case, be considered as prisoners of war; that all the individuals who compose it shall be transported to France with their arms and baggage, and the whole of their private property, from which nothing shall be excepted.

6. No individual, whether Portuguese, or of a nation allied to France, or French, shall be called to account for his political conduct, their respective property shall be protected, and they shall be at liberty to withdraw from Portugal within a limited time, with their property.

7. The neutrality of the port of Lisbon shall be recognized for the Russian fleet. That is to say, that when the English army or fleet shall be in possession of the city and port, the said Russian fleet shall not be disturbed during its stay, nor stopped when it wishes to sail, nor pursued when it shall sail, until after the time fixed by the maritime law.

8. All the artillery of French calibre, and also all the horse of the cavalry, shall be transported to France.

9. This suspension of arms shall not be broken without 48 hours previous notice.

Done and agreed upon between the above-named Generals, the day and year above mentioned.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

KELLERMANN, General of Division.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

The garrisons of the places occupied by the French army shall be included in the present convention, if they have not capitulated before the 25th inst.

DEFINITIVE CONVENTION FOR THE EVACUATION OF PORTUGAL BY THE FRENCH ARMY.

The Generals commanding in chief the British and French armies in Portugal, having determined to negotiate and conclude a treaty for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops, on the basis of the agreement entered into on the 22d. inst. for a suspension of hostilities, have appointed the undermentioned officers to negotiate the same in their names, viz. On the part of the General in chief of the British army, Lieut. col. Murray, quarter-master-general, and on the part of the General in chief of the French army, Monsieur Kellermann, General of division, to whom they have given authority to negotiate and conclude a convention to that effect, subject to their ratification respectively, and to that of the Admiral commanding the British fleet at the entrance of the Tagus.

Those two officers, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the articles which follow:

Art. 1. All the places and forts in the kingdom of Portugal, occupied by the French troops, shall be delivered up to the British army in the state in which they are at the period of the signature of the present convention.

2. The French troops shall evacuate Portugal with their arms and baggage; they shall not be considered as prisoners of war, and, on their arrival in France, they shall be at liberty to serve.

3. The English government shall furnish the means of conveyance for the French army, which shall be disembarked in any of the ports of France between Rochfort and L'Orient, inclusively.

4. The French army shall carry with it all its artillery of French calibre, with the horses belonging to it, and the tumbrils, supplied with sixty rounds per gun. All other artillery, arms and ammunition, as also the military and naval arsenals, shall be given up to the British army and navy, in the state in which they may be at the period of the ratification of the convention.

5. The French army shall carry with it all its equipment, and all that is comprehended under the name of the property of the army; that is to say, its military chest, and carriages attached to the Field commissariat and field officers, or shall be allowed to dispose of such part of the same on its account as the commander in chief may judge it necessary to embark. In like manner all individuals of the army shall be at liberty to dispose of their private property of every description, with full security hereafter for the purchasers.

6. The cavalry are to embark their horses, as also the Generals and other officers of all ranks. It is, however, fully understood that the means of conveyance for horses at the disposal of the British commanders are very limited; some additional conveyance may be procured in the port of Lisbon; the number of horses to be embarked by the troops shall not exceed 600, and the number embarked by the Staff shall not exceed 200. At all events every facility will be given to the French army to dispose of the horses belonging to it, which cannot be embarked.

VII. In order to facilitate the embarkation, it shall take place in three divisions, the last of which shall be principally composed of the garrisons of the places, of the cavalry, the artillery, the sick, and the equipment of the army. The first division shall embark within seven days of the date of the ratification, or sooner, if possible.

VIII. The garrison of Elvas, and its forts, and of Peniche and Palmela will be embarked at Lisbon. That of Almeida at Oporto or the nearest harbour. They will be accompanied on their march by British commissaries, charged with providing for their subsistence.

IX. All the sick and wounded who cannot be embarked with the troops are entrusted to the British army. They are to be taken care of whilst they remain in this country at the expence of the British government, under the condition of the same being reimbursed by France when the final evacuation is effected. The English government will provide for their return to France, which shall take place by detachments of about 150 or 200 men at a time. A sufficient number of French Medical

officers shall be left behind to attend them.

X. As soon as the vessels employed to carry the army to France shall have disembarked it in the harbour specified, or in any other of the ports of France to which stress of weather may force them, every facility shall be given them to return to England without delay, and security against capture until their arrival in a friendly port.

XI. The French army shall be concentrated at Lisbon, and within a distance of about two leagues from it. The English army will approach within three leagues of the capital, and will be so placed as to leave one league between the two armies.

XII. The forts of St. Julien, the Bagio and Cascais, shall be occupied by the British troops on the ratification of the convention. Lisbon and its citadel, together with the forts and batteries as far as the Lazaretto or Trafalgar on one side, and Fort St. Joseph on the other, inclusively, shall be given up on the embarkation of the second division, as shall also the harbour and all armed vessels in it of every description, with their rigging, sails, stores, and ammunition. The fortresses of Elvas, Almeida, Peniche, and Palmela, shall be given up as soon as the British troops can arrive to occupy them. In the mean time the general in chief of the British army will give notice of the present convention to the garrisons of those places, as also to the troops before them, in order to put a stop to all farther hostilities.

XIII. Commissaries shall be named on both sides, to regulate and accelerate the execution of the arrangements agreed upon.

XIV. Should there arise doubts as to the meaning of any article, it will be explained favourably to the French army.

XV. From the date of the ratification of the present convention, all arrears of contributions, requisitions, or claims whatever, of the French government against subjects of Portugal, or any other individuals residing in this country, founded on the occupation of Portugal by the French troops in the month of December 1807, which may not have been paid up, are cancelled, and all sequestrations laid upon their property, moveable or immovable, are

removed, and the free disposal of the same is restored to the proper owners.

XVI. All subjects of France, or of powers in friendship or alliance with France, domiciliated in Portugal, or accidentally in this country, shall be protected. Their property of every kind, moveable and immovable, shall be respected, and they shall be at liberty either to accompany the French army, or to remain in Portugal. In either case their property is guaranteed to them, with the liberty of retaining or of disposing of it, and passing the produce of the sale thereof into France, or any other country where they may fix their residence, the space of one year being allowed them for that purpose. It is fully understood that the Shipping is excepted from this arrangement, only, however, in so far as regards leaving the port, and that none of the stipulations above mentioned can be made, the pretext of any commercial speculation.

XVII. No native of Portugal shall be rendered accountable for his political conduct during the period of the occupation of this country by the French army; and all those who have concurred in the exercise of their employments, or who have accepted situations under the French government, are placed under the protection of the British commanders. They shall sustain no injury in their persons or property, it not having been at their option to be obedient or not, to the French government; they are also at liberty to avail themselves of the 16th article.

XVIII. The Spanish troops detained on board ship in the port of Lisbon, shall be given up to the commander in chief of the British army, who engages to obtain of the Spaniards to restore such French subjects, either military or civil, as may have been detained in Spain, without being taken in battle, or in consequence of military operations, but on occasion of the occurrences of the 29th of last May, and the days immediately following.

XIX. There shall be an immediate exchange established for all ranks of prisoners made in Portugal, since the commencement of the present hostilities.

XX. Hostages of the rank of field officers shall be mutually furnished on the part of the British army and navy, and on that of the French army, for

the reciprocal guarantee of the present convention. The Officer of the British army shall be restored on the completion of the articles which concern the army; and the officer of the navy on the disembarkation of the French troops in their own country. The like is to take place on the part of the French army.

XXI. It shall be allowed to the General in chief of the French army, to send an officer to France with intelligence of the present convention. A vessel will be furnished by the British admiral, to convey him to Bourdeaux or Rochefort.

XXII. The British admiral will be invited to accommodate his excellency the commander in chief, and the other principal officers of the French army, on board of ships of war.

Done and concluded at Lisbon, this 30th day of August.

GEORGE MURRAY,
Quarter-Master-General.

KLEBERMAN,
le General de Division.

The Duke of Abrantes, General in chief of the French army, has ratified, and does ratify the present definitive convention in all its articles, to be executed according to its form and tenor.

The Duke of ABRANTES.
Additional Articles to the Convention of Aug. 30.

Art. 1. The individuals in the civil employment of the army, made prisoners either by the British troops, or by the Portuguese in any part of Portugal, will be restored, as is customary, without exchange.

II. The French army shall be subsisted from its own magazines up to the day of embarkation; the garrisons up to the day of the evacuation of the fortresses.

The remainder of the magazines shall be delivered over in the usual form to the British government, which charges itself with the subsistence of the men and horses of the army from the above-mentioned periods till their arrival in France, under the condition of their being reimbursed by the French government for the excess of the expence beyond the estimation to be made by both parties of the value of the magazines delivered up to the British army. —The provisions on board the ships of war, in possession of the French army, will be taken on account of the British

government, in like manner with the magazines in the fortresses.

III. The General commanding the British troops will take the necessary measures for re-establishing the free circulation of the means of subsistence between the country and the capital.

Done and concluded at Lisbon, this 30th day of Aug. 1808.

GEORGE MURRAY,

Quarter-Master-Gen.

KELLERMANN,

le Gen. de Division.

We, the Duke of Abrantes, General in chief of the French army, have ratified and do ratify the additional articles of the convention to be executed according to their form and tenor.

THE DUKE OF ABRANTES.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 16.

Capt. Halsted, first captain to the squadron under the command of Admiral Sir C. Cotton, Bart. commander in chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels on the coast of Portugal, arrived yesterday at this office, with dispatches from the admiral to the hon. Wm. Wellesley Pole, of which the following are copies:—

Hibernia, off the Tagus, Sept. 3.

SIR,—Inclosed herewith, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, is a copy of a convention entered into by Lieut.—Col. Murray and General Kellermann, for the evacuation of Portugal by the French army; such convention having been ratified by Lieut. Gen. Sir Hew Dalrymple, myself, and the French commander in chief. British troops, consisting of the 3d and 42d regiments, were on the 2d inst. landed, to occupy the forts of Cascais, Saint Antonio, Saint Julien, and the Bugio, and no time shall be lost to embark the French troops agreeably to the said convention. Capt. Halsted, first captain of this ship, and captain of the fleet, who is the bearer of dispatches to their lordships respecting the Russian squadron in the Tagus, is in full possession of my confidence, and will be able to explain to their lord-

ships the motives inducing me to ratify the convention in question, as well as give any further information that may be thought necessary.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. COTTON.

Hibernia, off the Tagus, Sept. 4.

SIR,—Herewith I have the honour to inclose to you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of a convention entered into by me with Vice Admiral Siniavin, commanding the Russian fleet in the Tagus; by which it will appear to their lordships, that such fleet has been surrendered to me, to be held by his Majesty as a deposit, until six months after the conclusion of a peace between Russia and England.

—I have charged Capt. Halsted, first captain of the *Hibernia*, and captain of the fleet, with the delivery of this dispatch to their lordships; he was sent by me to negotiate the convention with Vice-Admiral Siniavin, and will be able to explain every particular.—To Capt. Halsted I feel greatly indebted for his able advice and assistance: upon all points of service, his zeal and diligence have been exemplary, and entitle him to my highest commendation.

Rear Admiral Tyler has been directed to superintend the 1st division of the Russian fleet, which I purpose ordering under his protection immediately to Spithead; to him (since with me) I have been indebted for every assistance, and to the captains, officers, and crews of those ships that have been employed throughout a tediously protracted blockade (by whom every exertion has been made with a degree of cheerfulness doing them infinite honour) I feel extremely grateful, and deem it my duty to offer every possible testimony of my approbation in their favour.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. COTTON.

ARTICLES OF A CONVENTION

Entered into between Vice-Admiral Siniavin and Admiral Sir Chas. Cotton, for the surrender of the Russian fleet.

Art. 1. The ships of war of the Emperor of Russia, now in the Tagus, shall be delivered up to Admiral Sir C. Cotton immediately, with all their stores, as they now are; to be sent to England, and there held as a deposit by his Britannic Majesty, to be restored to his Imperial Majesty, within six months after the conclusion of a peace between his Britannic Majesty and his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.

H. Vice-Admiral Siniavin, with the officers, sailors, and marines under his command, to return to Russia without any condition or stipulation respecting their future services; to be conveyed thither in men of war, or proper vessels, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.

(Signed) DE SINIAVIN.
CHARLES COTTON.

List of the Ships referred to in the foregoing Convention.

Tuesday, Vice-Admiral Siniavin, of 74 guns and 736 men.—Skoroy, of 60 guns and 524 men.—S. Cafael, of 74 guns and 610 men.—Ste Helene, of 64 guns and 598 men.—Ratvizau, of 66 guns, and 549 men.—Siluoy, of 74 guns and 604 men.—Motchnoy, of 74 guns and 629 men.—Rafael, of 80 guns and 646 men.—Fregatte Kilduyn, of 26 guns and 222 men.—Yaroslavi, of 74 guns, and 567 men.—Total 5685 men,

The Gazette of the 20th contains an account of a gallant action in the Baltic sea, on the 26th ult, where Sir Samuel Hood, with the Centaur and Implacable, Captain Martin, both of 74 guns, being joined by four Swedish ships of the line, three sailed in pursuit of the Russian fleet of 9 sail of the line, three 50 gun ships and 12 frigates and smaller vessels; Sir Samuel with the above two ships led the van, and greatly outailed the Swedish men of war, but without waiting for them, after a 34 hours chase, he, by a bold manœuvre, cut off a Russian ship called the Sewolad, of 74 guns, which after about 20 minutes severe fighting, struck; but running

aground, and being very leaky, Sir Samuel ordered her to be burnt, having first taken out the prisoners and wounded. On board the Centaur were 3 killed and 37 wounded; and in the Implacable 6 killed and one officer (Lieut. Thomson) and 25 wounded. The loss of the Russians is estimated at nearly 400 killed and wounded.—Sir S. Hood gives great praise to Capt. Webly and Lieut. Case. The remainder of the Russian Fleet, 8 sail of the line and frigates, took shelter in Rogewick-bay, sometimes called Port Baltic, where they are blockaded by Sir S. Hood, who has since been joined by Sir J. Saumarez, with 4 more sail of the line, having previously detached 5 sail of the line to blockade Cronstadt.

Dutch papers to the 20th instant, and German and Danish journals to a late date, have been received. They continue to speak of the formidable military preparations and movements upon the continent, all forboding the speedy commencement of hostilities between Austria and France. The contingents of the Rhenish confederacy appear to be nearly organised; and on the other hand, the Austrian army has been divided into eight formidable corps, and the commanders appointed to each, the whole under the chief command of the Archduke Charles. The Dutch, as well as the French papers, state, that Strasburgh is the immediate destination of Bonaparte, where he is to be joined by the Kings of Wirtemberg, Westphalia, Bavaria, and the other members of the confederation of the Rhine, with their armies.—A numerous Russian corps is assembled in the frontiers of Galicia; two large French divisions in Silesia menace Moravia; the Saxon contingent has approached the frontiers of Bohemia; the extensive camps at Erfurth, Molsham, Bamberg, &c. and on the Rhine, threaten Austria. A large body of

Bavarians is assembled in the Tyrol, and are to be joined by a corps of Italian troops, in the event of a war; to penetrate into Saltzburgh; while the French army in Friuli, augmented to nearly 50,000 men, threatens an irruption with Suria. Thus extensively menaced, Austria presents a bold front and confident attitude.

Dutch papers and letters to the 28th ult. contain an account of a dreadful insurrection having taken place at Constantinople, in which the Grand Seignior fell a victim to popular rage; his head was cut off in his own palace, and his body thrown into the street.—It is added, that several of his children had also been murdered, and thrown out of the windows of the Seraglio. Near 40,000 men were in arms, and the most dreadful carnage had taken place.—Of the character of this event we are not accurately informed, but it is supposed to be favourable to France. It originated in some disputes among the Turkish ministers, of whom some were zealous in their exertions to maintain the French influence.

Protest made by Bernardin Freire de Andrade, General of the Portuguese Troops against the articles of the convention agreed on between the English and French armies, for the evacuation of Portugal.

I protest, in general, on account of this treaty being totally void of that deference due to his royal highness the Prince Regent, or the government that represents him; on account of what may be hostile in it to the Sovereign authority and independence of this government, and for all that may be against the honour, safety, and interests of the nation: and, in particular, I protest against what is stipulated in the following articles:—

ARTICLES I, IV, and XII.—Because these articles determine the surrender of Portuguese fortified places, stores, and ships to the English forces, without solemnly declaring that this surrender is momentary, and that it is intended

they should be immediately restored to the Prince Regent of Portugal, or the government that may represent him, to whom they belong, and in whose aid the English forces came as auxiliaries.

ART. XVI.—Because it permits the residence in Portugal of the individuals mentioned in it.

ART. XVII.—Because it attempts to tie down the government of this kingdom, not to bring to justice and condign punishment those persons who have been notoriously and scandalously disloyal to their Prince and their country by joining and serving the French party, and, even if the protection of the English army should be allowed to screen them from the punishment they have deserved, still it should not prevent their expulsion, whereby this country would no longer have to fear being again betrayed by the same men.

First of the additional articles.—This article can by no means bind the government of this kingdom, as no reciprocal conditions are stipulated.

I protest finally, on account of the want of attention to the safety of the inhabitants of the capital and its environs, nothing having been stipulated in their favour to insure their not being still vexed and oppressed by the French during their stay—not even an equivalent for what is established by Art. XVI and XVII, in favour of the French and their followers.

And to these heads I limit my protest, in order not to make too long a list, passing over other objects of less importance, such as the concession of 800 horses, which was made without considering that they almost all belong to Portugal, and thus cannot be considered as the property of the French; that of the magazines of the army, filled at the expence of the country, and consequently only belonging by fact, not by right, to the unjust occupants of the country.

(Signed) B. F. D'ANDRADE.
Head quarters, Sept 14.

DREADFUL FIRE AT COVENT GARDEN.

On Tuesday the 20th. about four o'clock in the morning, a thick smoke and immediately afterwards flames were seen issuing from the large tent at

on the roof of *Covent-Garden Theatre*. Within ten minutes several parts of the roof were perceived to be on fire, and in half an hour the whole of that immense building was in flames, burning with such fury and intenseness, that though it was then broad day-light, the column of fire they threw up was perceivable even in many of the environs of the metropolis. The engines of every fire-office in the town, and of all the neighbouring parishes, rattling through the streets, spread an universal alarm. Every person within half a mile supposed, on looking out, the fire to be within three or four houses of him. The theatre was speedily surrounded with engines, and thousands of persons ready to give all the assistance in their power; but the building is so closely surrounded with high and deep houses, that for some time very little, or nothing, could be done by all their efforts in checking the progress of the flames. The roof fell in about six, and about eight o'clock the whole interior of this magnificent building, the audience part, the stage, the different entrances, the treasury, and the music-rooms, were consumed. Of so great a destruction, effected in so short a time, there is, perhaps, no former instance; but the large area of the theatre gave air to the flames, and almost every article composing it was combustible.

The endeavours of the firemen were now all applied to the prevention of an increase of the calamity, the houses on the four sides of the theatre being evidently in great danger. Their height made it impossible for the engines to play over them; but the leathern pipes were carried up the staircases of the houses to the third floors, and, being thrown down, the ends were fastened to the engines below. All these exertions could not prevent the progress of the flames to the houses in Bow-street, to which side what little wind there was inclined. Several of these are connected with the theatre, and appropriated to different parts of the establishment: most of which are destroyed and some others. The house of Mr. M'Kinnon, a bookbinder, in very extensive business, and where there was a vast quantity of printed books in sheets, is consumed, with all its contents. At this moment (3 o'clock) a vast mass of fallen wood-works is on fire in the late area of the theatre, and the flames, it is feared, are

not quite out in some of the adjoining houses. The engines are playing on all sides.

But great as the calamity is to the proprietors and other sufferers, the most dreadful occurrence is yet to be mentioned. An engine (the *Phoenix*) was placed within the great door of the theatre, situated under the Piazza, at which were at work about sixteen persons, firemen and labourers, with some bye-standers, when on a sudden a dreadful crash was heard, and part of the building gave way, which forced to the door. In this dreadful situation the poor souls were placed, when in a moment the fabric gave way, and the spot became their grave! Some corpses have been carried to the burial-ground in Drury-Lane, and many wounded persons to hospitals.

The fire is supposed to have broken out in what is called the mechanists' room, which was between the roof and the ceiling, immediately over the pit. The cause of it is wholly unknown. All the precautions long established by the rules of the theatre had been taken as usual. The persons who light the tapers and candles, had extinguished them; the house-keeper had gone over the whole building afterwards; and the two watchmen of the interior had been their rounds during the night.

The treasurer, (Mr. Hughes,) though infirm, contrived to secure all the books and papers relative to the concerns of the theatre, as well as the produce of last night's performance.

Six houses in Bow-street are totally destroyed, of the seventh little more than the exterior walls are left.

The amount of the insurance on the theatre is understood to be 75,300*l.*—scarcely half the loss.

The Company will perform at the Opera-house, as did the Company of Drury-Lane theatre, when that house was burned.

The number of persons who have lost their lives by this dreadful calamity cannot be yet ascertained: between 30 and 40 bodies have been dug up, several in such a mutilated state, that no one can own them. The men belonging to the *Phoenix* fire office are the principal sufferers. A subscription has been opened (the Duke of Bedford at the head) for the relief of the families of the deceased, and the most distressed of the surviving sufferers.

THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST PRICE OF STOCKS FROM AUGUST 25, TO SEPTEMBER 24, 1898, inclusive.

By JOHN HEMMING, Broker, No. 3, Capel Court, Bartholomew Lane, London.

Days	Bank Stock.	India Stock.	3 pr. Ct. Reduced.	3 per Ct. Consols.	4 pr Ct	5 per Ct.	Long Ann.	Omn.	India Bonds.	Exche. Bills.
Aug 25	239½	179	66½	65½ 66½	82½ 83½	97½ 98½	18.9-16	¾d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
26	239		66½	66	83½ 83½	98½	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
27			66½	65½ 66½	82½ 83½	98½	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
28			66½	66½	82½ 83½	97½ 98½	18.9-16	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
29	239½		66½	65½ 66½	82½ 83½	97½ 98½	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
30	239½		66½	65½	82½	97½	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
31	239½		66½	65½	82½	97½	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
Sep. 1	240	177½	66½	66	Shut	97½ 98	Shut	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
2	240	178	66½	65½ 66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
3	240	178½	66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
4			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
5			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
6	240		66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
7			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
8			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
9			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
10			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
11			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
12			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
13			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
14			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
15			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
16			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
17			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
18			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
19			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
20			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
21			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
22			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
23			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.
24			66½	66	97½ 98	97½ 98	18½	1d.	3. 4p.	3. 4p.

Stocks open.
Bank, Oct. 20.
Red. — 21.
4 p.cts. — 22.
L. Ay. — 24.

N. R. The days omitted are Sundays, or Holidays.—The blank spaces denote that nothing was done in that fund.—
P. stands for Premium, and D. for Discount.

THE
MONTHLY REGISTER,

FOR OCTOBER, 1808.

STATE PAPERS.

THE POPE.

The last official documents which we presented in relation to the dispute between the Pope and Bonaparte, terminated, as our Readers may recollect, with the dismissal of the Papal nuncio from the court of France; the continuation of these papers has now been published, and place the trials and contumelies which have been sustained by the old head of the Romish church in such a point of view, that we are induced to insert as much of their contents as the limits of our journal will allow.

They begin with Le Febvre's demand of his passports, which he obtains; they next complain of the seizure, by the French, of the apostolic governor of Rome.

The following is the substance of Nos. XIV. and XV.—

"Napoleon, by the Grace of God, &c. Whereas the TEMPORAL sovereignty of Rome has refused to make war against England, and the interest of the two kingdoms, that of Italy and of Naples, demand that their communications should not be intercepted by a hostile power; and whereas the donation of Charlemagne, our illustrious predecessor, of the countries which form the Holy See, was for the good of christianity, and not for that of the enemies of our holy religion:—We therefore decree that Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camarino, be for ever united with the kingdom of Italy; to which kingdom all cardinal prelates, &c. natives of those districts, are commanded to return by the 5th of June

(past), on pain of confiscation of goods, &c."

No. XVI.—His Holiness having received the painful notification of the (abovementioned) four provinces, has, under the distressing feelings which this rigorous treatment has occasioned, charged Cardinal Gabrielli to make the following declaration:—

DECLARATION OF HIS HOLINESS.

Quirinal Palace, May 19, 1808.

His Holiness having received the painful notification of the union which is about to take place, of his four duchies of Urbino, Macerata, Ancona, and Camerino, with the kingdom of Italy, amid the cruel uneasiness which this rigorous treatment causes him, has charged the Cardinal Gabrielli, pro-secretary of state, to make the following frank declaration to your most illustrious highness.

The Holy Father has seen, with infinite pain, that the force of the reasons contained in the note of the 19th of April, addressed to M. Le Febvre, the charge d'affaires, has not prevented his Imperial and Royal Majesty from putting his threats in execution. He has seen, with the same feelings, that this powerful monarch, in whose hands he placed, at the altar, the sceptre, and the rod of justice, has proceeded, contrary to every species of right, to inflict upon him a new spoliation of the best part of the states which remained to him.

But what has been the astonishment of his Holiness in observing a decree, dated one day anterior to the note of M. Champagny; so that

even before that minister had renewed his propositions, and received an answer, the fate of the three usurped provinces was already decided !

The astonishment of the holy father was still farther augmented, when he saw it assigned as a legitimate cause of this spoliation, that he had constantly refused to make war upon England, and to confederate with the Kings of Naples and of Italy. However, his Holiness had never ceased to represent, that his sacred character of minister of peace—the God, whose representative he is upon earth being the God of peace—that his quality of universal pastor, and of the common father of all the faithful—that the holy laws of justice, of which, as the representative of the God who is their source, he ought to be the guardian and the avenger—could never permit him to enter into a permanent system of war, and much less still to declare war, without any motive, against the British government, from which it had never received the slightest offence. However, the holy father conjured his Majesty to reflect, that not having, and not being in the capacity of having enemies, because he is the Vicar of Jesus Christ, who came into the world not to foment but to destroy animosities, he could not bind himself and his successors, in perpetuity, as the Emperor wished, to make war for the quarrels of another.

But his Holiness had also urged the incalculable evils which would result to religion, should he enter into a system of perpetual confederation, and that, without compromising his honour, without incurring universal hatred, without betraying his duties and his conscience, he could not place himself in the situation, by the league proposed, of becoming the enemy of every state, even a catholic sovereign, and of binding himself to make war upon him. But all the representations,

and all the reasons so frequently submitted to his Majesty with paternal mildness, have not produced the least impression.

It has been sought to justify the spoliation upon another pretext, by assigning as the second motive which produced it, that the interests of the two kingdoms, and of the two armies of Italy and Naples, demanded that their communication should not be interrupted by a hostile power.

If by this power is meant to be understood England, the history of almost two centuries will shew the falsity of this specious pretence.—The catholic princes of Spain, and of the house of Austria, from the Emperor Charles V. to Charles II. of Spain, possessed the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, which forms at present the principal part of the kingdom of Italy ; and they never perceived that their interests were compromised ; they never experienced this pretended obstacle to the communication of their armies. They were frequently at war with Great Britain, and still oftener with France, but they were never apprehensive of an intermediate debarkation upon the territory of the holy see ; still less did they pretend to force the pontiffs of that period to unite and confederate with them, or to despoil them of their possessions, should they have refused.

But putting history aside, what risks could the interests of these separated kingdoms even run ? The neutrality of the holy fathers, recognised and respected by all other powers, and the measures taken to prevent its violation, are more than sufficient to place these interests in security.

To render this security still greater, and to take away every sort of pretext, his Holiness carried his compliance as far as he consistently could ; he declared himself disposed to shut his ports against the English during the present war, and to employ

his troops to guard the coasts of his states from every hostility whatever.

But what attack could be dreaded upon these two kingdoms, which border upon the states of the holy see, while French troops, for so long a period, without regard to the interests of the public or of individuals, have violated his neutrality, occupied all his ports, and covered all his coasts?

If, however, by a hostile power, it was wished to designate the person of the holy father, his character itself, mild and pacific, puts an end to this injurious imputation; but the better to refute it, his holiness calls to witness the French empire and the kingdom of Italy, in favour of which he signed two Concordats, whose violation has been the source of perpetual grief to his heart, in having constantly, but in vain, pressed their faithful execution. He calls Europe itself to witness, which has seen him, in his old age, in the most rigorous season of the year, traverse the Alps, and proceed to Paris, not without exciting the jealousy and disgust of other great powers, in order to consecrate and crown his Imperial and Royal Majesty. He calls to witness the whole French troops, from the commander to the meanest soldier, either those who have traversed the states of the holy see, or those who have resided there, whether they have not experienced in the Papal territory a reception the most friendly, and a hospitality the most generous;—a hospitality which cost bitter tears to the holy father, who was indispensably obliged to load his subjects with imposts for the maintenance and payment of the French troops; in short, his Holiness calls to witness his Majesty himself, for whom he has not ceased on all occasions to testify the most particular regards.

But if his Holiness were able to testify the surprise excited by the two first articles, advanced to justify this spoliation, he wants words

to express the profound astonishment produced by the expressions contained in the third. It bears upon the donation of Charlemagne, and it is remarked that that was made for the benefit of christianity, and not for the enemies of our holy religion. It is well known that this celebrated and glorious monarch, whose memory will be eternally blessed by the church, did not give to the holy see the provinces which have been usurped. It is notorious that they were, at an epoch very remote from his age, in the possession of the Roman pontiffs, in consequence of the voluntary submission of the people, who were abandoned by the Emperors of the East; that the Lombards, having afterwards occupied the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, which include these provinces, Pepin, the illustrious and religious father of Charlemagne, recovered them, and restored them to Pope Stephen; that that great emperor, who was the honour and admiration of the eighth century, far from wishing to revoke the generous and pious donation of his father, approved and confirmed it under Pope Adrian; that far from wishing to strip the Roman church of her possessions, he had no other intention than to secure and aggrandise them; that consequently, in his will he laid an express obligation on his three sons, to protect the states of the church with their arms; that he reserved to his successors no right of revoking that which his father Pepin had done for the advantage of the chair of St. Peter; that his whole design was to protect the Roman pontiffs against their enemies, and not to compel them to excite enemies; that ten centuries, which have passed away since the days of Charlemagne, a thousand years of peaceable possession, render useless all more ancient investigations, and all ulterior interpretations; that, even if that pious prince had, instead of

a free restitution or gift of these territories, restored or given them for the profit of christianity, it is exactly for the welfare of christianity, or, to speak more strictly, of the catholic religion, that the holy father wishes peace with all the world, avoids to provoke the resentment of any power, and refuses to interfere in political quarrels. After so many voices have been raised against different popes, who have, for the best reasons, engaged in wars, the holy father cannot perceive why it can be attributed to him as a crime that he refused to assume a warlike character, and, at the suggestion of a foreign power, commence a war without any provocation, and which must be highly prejudicial to religion and his subjects.

His holiness cannot on any account overlook the injury which is done him in the forementioned decree, wherein it is remarked, *that the gift of Charlemagne was not made for the benefit of the enemies of our holy religion*; thereby accusing his holiness of betraying the interests of the church. This accusation has made a lively impression on the mind of his holiness, who for upwards of three years has been suffering persecution in behalf of religion, and for having acted faithfully in his apostolic capacity. He has suffered it, that he might not implicate himself in a permanent system of warfare, and that he might not, by his conduct, obstruct the free exercise of the Catholic worship.

His holiness has submitted to it, because he could not admit the principles which were frequently intimated to him, which were, that if his holiness was bishop of Rome, his Majesty was notwithstanding emperor of it, and that the holy Father ought to submit to him in temporal matters, in the same manner as his Majesty submitted to his holiness in religious matters; that the

territories of the holy See belonged to the French empire, and that therefore the pope ought always to make common cause with the Emperor and his successors; that he ought at all times to consider the enemies of France as his own, and that he ought of consequence to become a part of the federative system of the empire.

The solemn oaths which the Holy Father has made to maintain his liberty and independence, so essential to the catholic religion, and the free exercise of his supreme spiritual power, do not allow him to subscribe to those destructive and fatal maxims. His holiness suffers this persecution, because he would not consent to the pretensions of his Majesty to nominate as many French cardinals as should form one third of the sacred college, which must have sapped the fundamental base of its constitution, attacked the independence of his spiritual power, and again introduced those unhappy disasters which the church still deploras. His holiness suffers, because he would not enter into an offensive and defensive league against any power in Europe, Catholic or otherwise, to the manifest injury of religion. If this refusal implies an abandonment of religion, let heaven, the church, the world, and posterity, judge. The holy father has the most conscientious reflection, that he never did any injury to his Majesty, or to France; but if his Majesty actually had any complaints against his holiness personally, that would not justify him in resenting on the catholic church, by irrevocably and for ever robbing it of that very property which the same decree declares to have been bestowed for the good of christianity, nor to rob that church, which is not the proprietor, more than the pontiff, who is only the guardian of it. That church having the spiritual superintendence of every other,

hath, since the peace of Constantine, been enriched by the piety of monarchs and people, and hath, by an admirable order of Providence, first accumulated considerable property, and afterwards different states, that it might maintain its spiritual government with more decency, liberty, and advantage—this very church, which his Majesty would reduce to a state of degradation, and incapacity of exercising its divine supremacy.

His holiness cannot sufficiently regret the error into which his Majesty has fallen, since, in his decree, whereby he deprives the holy See of a part of its states, on the ground "*that they were not intended to benefit the enemies of the Catholic religion.*" His Majesty has published in the same states, that code, against which his holiness hath so often, but unsuccessfully, complained, on account of the articles it contains contrary to the gospel and the laws of the church, particularly of marriage and divorce.

His holiness cannot conceal his astonishment at seeing the demand of his excellency Cardinal Caprara, for his passports, made an additional motive to justify this scandalous spoliation. After what the undersigned had the honour of signifying, in answer to the note of his Excellency M. Champagny in the month of April, his holiness believes that the grounds of the principal accusations are completely refuted. He hath already sufficiently proved that the application for passports was accompanied with the equitable condition that the French emperor should evacuate Rome, and relinquish those pretensions which his Holiness felt inadmissible. His Holiness, therefore, cannot abstain from repeating, that it was discretionary with his Majesty either to permit the departure of M. Caprara, who was not only the ambassador of the court of Rome, but at the same time the apostolic legate,

or to permit him to continue his residence at Paris. His departure ought not, therefore, to be made any subject of complaint.

If the injustice of this decree hath increased the grief wherewith the mind of his Holiness is overwhelmed, he could not but be additionally afflicted on perusing the other decree of the same date, which enjoins all cardinals, prelates, and officers, holding any employment at the court of Rome, who are natives of Italy, to return, under the penalty of their whole property in case of disobedience. It is, therefore, perfectly clear to his Holiness, that it is not his temporal authority, but also his spiritual, which is intended to be subverted, although the second decree makes a studied distinction between the temporal sovereign of Rome, and the Vicar of Jesus Christ, under the pretext of shewing a seeming respect for the latter.—It must be evident to the universe, that the intentions of his Majesty the Emperor are to render his Holiness incapable of fulfilling his sacred duties, by dispersing his senate, and overturning the church establishment, and removing from him those persons most dear to him, thereby depriving him of the only consolation which remained to him in the exercise of his apostolical functions, already on the decline.

The pope is not only the bishop of Rome, as hath been so improperly asserted, but he is at the same time the head of the catholic church, and in that character, he is entitled to choose his ministers and coadjutors from the different nations of the earth. In fact, since the commencement of christianity, the clergy of Rome have been always composed, not only of Romans, but of individuals from all nations, as is evident from the number of strangers admitted amongst the clergy of Rome, and who, during the first four centuries, ascended the chair, of St. Peter. All these motives

justify the grief of his Holiness, who protests against a law, which spares not even distinguished Ecclesiastics, chosen to assist him in his labours for the church of God. His Holiness at the same time strongly protests, in the face of all the earth, against the usurpation of his states. He solemnly declares it to be unjust, vain, void, and of no avail; that it never can truly affect the imprescriptible and legitimate rights of sovereignty and possession of his Holiness and successors for ever; and if force shall deprive him of its possessions, he is determined to maintain the integrity of his rights, because the holy See can recover the real possession, when it may please *the true and faithful God, who fights for justice, and who hath inscribed on his garments and forehead,* THE KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

At the same time his Holiness addresses the most ardent vows to the Father of mercy, to inspire his subjects, withdrawn from his power, and who shall always remain dear to his heart, with a spirit of patience and resignation, to the end that they may one day obtain from heaven consolation and peace, and that they may always preserve inviolate in their hearts, religion and faith. *The God of Israel will grant his people strength and virtue.*

These are the sentiments and protestations which the undersigned has been required by his holiness to make to your Excellency, as Charge d'Affaires of the Kingdom of Italy, with which these provinces have been incorporated. The undersigned hath made it a sacred duty to obey faithfully the orders which he has received, and at the same time to renew to you the assurance of his sincere consideration.

G. CARDINAL GABRIELLI.

To Signor Cavaliero Aldini,
Charge D'Affaires of the Kingdom
of Italy.

RESIGNATION OF THE CROWN OF SPAIN
BY KING CHARLES IV. AND THE
PRINCE OF ASTURIAS.

[From the *Moniteur*, Sept. 7.]

Napoleon Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Charles IV. King of Spain and the Indies, animated equally by a desire to put an end to the anarchy to which Spain is a prey, and to save that brave nation from the agitation of faction, and the convulsions of civil and foreign war, and place it in the sole position which in the extraordinary circumstances in which it is now found, can maintain its integrity, guarantee its colonies, and enable it to unite all its means to those of France, to obtain a maritime peace; have resolved to combine all their efforts, and to regulate by a particular convention interests so dear to them, to this effect they have appointed,—

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, the General of division Duroc, grand marshal of the palace;

His Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, his Serene Highness Manuel Godoy prince of the peace, count of Evora Mont, who after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed as follows:—

ART. I. His Majesty King Charles having during his whole life only had in view the happiness of his subjects, and constantly adhering to the principle, that all the acts of the Sovereign ought solely to attend to that object; as the present circumstances can only be a source of dissensions the more fatal, because factions have divided his own family, has resolved to cede and does cede by these presents, to his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, all his rights to the throne of Spain and the Indies, as the only means in the state at which things have arrived, which can re-establish order; it being always understood, that the said cession only takes place in order that his subjects may enjoy the two following conditions:—1. The integrity of the kingdom shall be maintained; 2. The Prince whom his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall judge proper to be placed on the throne of Spain, shall be independent, and the limits of Spain shall undergo no alteration.

II. The catholic, apostolic and Roman religion shall be the only one in Spain; no reformed religion shall be tolerated there, and still less infidelity, according to the usage now established.

III. All acts contrary to those of our faithful subjects, since the revolution of Aranjuez, are null and of no validity, and their property shall be restored to them.

IV. His Majesty King Charles having thus secured the prosperity, the integrity, and the independence of his subjects, his Majesty the Emperor engages to give an asylum in his states to King Charles, to the Queen, to the Prince of Peace, as also to those of their servants, who shall wish to follow them; who shall enjoy in France a rank equivalent to that which they possessed in Spain.

V. The Imperial palace of Compeigne, and the parks and forests dependent on it, shall be at the disposal of King Charles during his life.

VI. His Majesty the Emperor gives and guarantees to the King Charles a civil list of 80,000,000 of reals, which his Majesty the Emperor will cause to be paid him without delay every month, from the treasury of the crown.

At the death of King Charles a revenue of 2,000,000 shall form the dowry of the Queen.

VII. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon engages to grant to all the Infantes of Spain an annual rent of four hundred thousand livres, to be enjoyed by them and their descendants in perpetuity, saving the reversibility of the said rent from one branch to the other, in case of the extinction of one of them, according to civil laws. In case of the extinction of all the branches, the said rents shall revert to the crown of France.

VIII. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall make such arrangements as he shall judge proper with the future King of Spain for the payment of the civil list, and the rents stipulated in the preceding articles; but his Majesty King Charles IV. is understood to have no relation with respect to that object, except with the treasury of France.

IX. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon gives in exchange to his Majesty King Charles the castle of Chambord, with the parks, forests, and farms, dependent on it to enjoy in full propriety,

and to dispose of as shall seem to him good.

X. In consequence his Majesty King Charles renounces in favour of the Emperor Napoleon, all the allodial and particular property not appertaining to the crown of Spain, but possessed personally.

The Infantes of Spain shall continue to enjoy the revenues of the commanderies they possess in Spain.

XI. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged, within eight days, or sooner if possible.

Done at Bayonne, May 5, 1808.

DUROC.

THE PRINCE OF THE PEACE.

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the confederation of the Rhine, and his Royal Highness Prince of Asturias, having differences to regulate, have appointed for their Plenipotentiaries — his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, the General of division Duroc, grand marshal of the palace; and his Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, Don Juan d'Escoiquitz, counsellor of state to his Catholic Majesty, and Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Charles III.; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:—

ART. I. His Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias accedes to the cession made by the King Charles of his rights to the throne of Spain and the Indies, in favour of his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy; and renounces as much as may be necessary to the rights accruing to him as Prince of Asturias, to the crown of Spain and the Indies.

II. His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy grants, in France, to his Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, the title of Royal Highness, with all the honours and prerogatives which the Princes of his blood enjoyed. The descendants of his Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias shall preserve the title of Princes, that of Most Serene Highness, and shall always hold the same rank as the Princes dignitaries of the Empire.

III. His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy cedes and gives, by these presents, in full property, to his Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, and to his descendants; the

palaces, and parks, and farms of Navarre, and the woods dependent on them, to the amount of fifty thousand acres, the whole free from incumbrance, and to enjoy in full property from the day of the date of the present treaty.

IV. The said property shall pass to the children and heirs of his Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias; in default of them, to the children and heirs of the Infante Don Charles; in default of them, to the descendants and heirs of the Infante Don Francisco; and finally, in default of them, to the children and heirs of the Infante Don Antonio. Letters patent and particular conferring the title of Prince, shall be made out to him of those heirs to whom the said property shall revert.

V. His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, grants to his Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, four hundred thousand livres of appanage rent on the treasury of France, and payable one twelfth part every month, to be enjoyed by himself and his descendants, and the direct descent of his Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias; failing this, the appanage rent shall pass to the Infante Don Charles, his children and heirs; and they failing, to the Infante Don Francisco, his descendants and heirs.

VI. Independently of what is stipulated in the preceding articles, his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, grants to his Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, a rent of six hundred thousand livres, in like manner on the treasury, to be enjoyed during life. The half of the said rent shall revert to the Princess, his consort, if she survive him.

VII. His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, grants and guarantees to the Infante Don Antonio, uncle of his Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, and to Don Charles and Don Francisco, the brother of the said Prince,

1. The title of Royal Highness, with all the honours and prerogatives which the Princes of his blood enjoy; the descendants of their Royal Highnesses shall preserve the title of Prince, that of most Serene Highness, and shall always hold the same rank in France as the Princes dignitaries of the Empire.

2. The enjoyment of the revenues of all their commanderies in Spain during their lives.

3. An appanage rent of four hundred thousand livres, to be enjoyed by him and their heirs in perpetuity. It has always understood that the Infante Don Antonio, Don Charles, and Don Francisco, dying without heirs, or their posterity becoming extinct, the said appanage rents shall appertain to his Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, or to his descendants and heirs in the whole, on condition that their Royal Highnesses Don Charles, Don Antonio, and Don Francisco, accede to the present treaty.

VIII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within eight days, or sooner if possible.
Bayonne, May 10, 1808.

DUROC.

JUAN DE ESCOQUETTE.

Paris, Sept. 13.—Yesterday the Emperor and King received the senate at the palace of St. Cloud, when the following address, voted in the sitting of the 5th, was presented to his Majesty:—

SIRE,—The senate have listened with the liveliest emotion to the message of your Imperial and Royal Majesty. They have also received with a profound and respectful gratitude, the communication which your Majesty has been pleased to make respecting the affairs of Spain, the constitution accepted by the junta, and the report presented to your Majesty on the state of your armies in the several quarters of the globe. They have unanimously adopted the *Senatus Consultum* which your Imperial and Royal Majesty has proposed, and one hundred and sixty thousand brave men shall participate in the immortal fame of your numerous and formidable legions.

You believe in the peace of the Continent, Sire, but you will suffer yourself to depend upon errors and perverse calculations of foreign courts. Your Majesty sires to defend solemn and solemnly concluded treaties—to maintain a constitution freely discussed, ratified, and sworn to, by a nation

justa—to suppress a barbarous anarchy, which now covers Spain with blood and mourning, and threatens our frontiers—to rescue the true Spaniards from a shameful yoke by which they are oppressed—to assure to them the happiness of being governed by a brother of your Majesty—to annihilate the English troops, who unite their arms with the daggers of the banditti—to avenge the French blood so basely shed—to put out of all doubt the security of France, and the peace of our posterity—to restore and complete the work of Louis XIV.—to accomplish the wish of the most illustrious of your predecessors, and particularly of him who was by France the most beloved—to extend your great power, in order to diminish the miseries of war, and to compel the enemy of the Continent to a general peace, which is the sole object of your measures, and the only epoch for the repose and prosperity of our country. The will of the French people is, therefore, Sire, the same as that of your Majesty. The war with Spain is politic, just, and necessary !

The French, who are penetrated with affection for the hero whom they admire—who display so much enthusiasm whenever they have the good fortune to behold you, will answer the call of your Majesty with zeal, and nothing shall shake the determination of the senate and the people to support your Majesty in every undertaking which you may judge necessary for the great interests of the Empire.

May it therefore please your Majesty to accept this new tribute of our respect, our attachment, and our fidelity.

SENATUS CONSULTUM.

The *Senatus Consultum* referred to in the above address, and which is in conformity with the minister of war's report, is of the following tenor :—

ART. 1. There are placed at the disposal of the government 80,000 conscripts, who are inscribed in the classes for 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809; 20,000 for each year.

2. These 80,000 conscripts may be immediately placed in active service.

3. The conscripts of the year 1806, 1807, and 1808, who are married before the publication of this decree, shall not be drawn for the above 80,000.

4. The conscripts for the years, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, who have answered to their conscription, and are not under orders for distribution in the army, shall be now freed from service; and from these classes no new levy shall be made.

5. Eighty thousand conscripts from the classes of the year 1810, are also placed at the disposal of the government.

6. These conscripts shall be allotted to the formation of corps for the defence of the coast, but shall not be called out before the 1st. of January next, unless before that period some other power shall be in a state of war with France. In this case they may be immediately called into actual service.

7. The present *Senatus Consultum* shall be transmitted by a message to the Emperor and King.

At the last parade on the 11th inst. when the advanced guard of the grand army was present, his Majesty ordered the troops to be formed in close columns, and the officers being assembled, he spoke as follows :—

“Soldiers, after having triumphed on the banks of the Danube and the Vistula, you have passed through Germany by forced marches. I shall now order you to march through France, without allowing you a moment's rest.

“Soldiers, I have occasion for you. The hideous presence of the leopard contaminates the continent of Spain and Portugal. Let your aspect terrify and drive him from thence. Let us carry our conquering eagles even to the pillars of Hercules. *There also we have an injury to avenge.*

"Soldiers, you have exceeded the fame of all modern warriors. You have placed yourselves upon a level with the Roman legions, who in one campaign, were conquerors on the Rhine, the Euphrates, in Illyria, and on the Tagus.

"A durable peace, and permanent prosperity, shall be the fruits of your exertions. A true Frenchman can never enjoy any rest till the sea is open and free!

"Soldiers, all that you have already achieved, and what still remains to be done, will be for the happiness of the French people and my glory, and shall be for ever imprinted in my heart."

Bilboa, Sept. 2.—On the 26th, 27th, and 28th of August, was held here a general and extraordinary junta, of the province of Biscay, and under the presidency (by appointment of his Catholic Majesty) of his excellency Don Joseph Domingo de Massaredo, captain General of the navy, minister for marine affairs, &c.

At the opening of the first sitting, and after their full powers had been delivered in by the deputies from 113 communities, which have the right of deputation to the general assembly, in which to the number of 108 were present, the following speech was delivered by the president:

Biscayans!—The unfortunate occurrences which have induced the King to give orders for assembling the deputies of these provinces, must doubtless be disagreeable to you, chiefly on account of the evils suffered by many of your countrymen. But you have the testimony of your own consciences, and the happiness of seeing that this province has had no share in the insurrection, which has been excited only in the city of Bilboa, by worthless persons of no weight, enemies, as well of your province, as of the public tranquillity, and who led astray the com-

mon people, as is generally the case, for the purpose of fettering the general congress, and substituting a cruel anarchy in its place.

It is not unknown to you, inhabitants of Biscay, that these disturbances, and those which the whole kingdom yet suffers, have arisen from the errors into which the general feelings have been led away, and by giving more weight to individual passions than to reason and the common good; and these have arisen to such a height, that the rights of widows, the lamentations of children, the miseries of misguided families, are counted as nothing. Heaven grant that the mischiefs which our native country has already suffered, be not followed by new disasters! For only by weighing well the dangers which threaten, can it avoid them.

There is no longer any uncertainty. The Emperor Napoleon cannot possibly depart from the resolution which he has taken. The great powers of the Continent have acknowledged Joseph Napoleon as King of Spain, and have sent to their ministers new credentials. Dreadful armies approach for the purpose of effectuating the undertaking.

Biscayans! his Majesty has ordered me to assemble you, 1st. To know from yourselves what share you have had in the insurrection excited in the city of Bilboa; whether you approved of, or abhorred it.—2d. To assure you, in case you disapprove of it, that his Majesty has consigned to oblivion the mistakes and errors of the insurgents, and that he will punish only the heads and beginners of the insurrection, with regard to whom the law must take its course, for the purpose of preventing them in future from disturbing your repose and prosperity. —3d. In order to make known to you his beneficent designs, and to place before you, and make you acquainted with his wishes for all that

may contribute to the prosperity of the country.

You will deliberate on each of those subjects in succession, and in the order in which they shall be submitted to you.

There shall be named a committee of three intelligent persons, to whom it shall be given in charge, to submit to his Majesty all that may contribute to the accomplishment of the plans which his Majesty has formed for your advantage; for the King knowing how much my soul has been plunged in grief, by the news of the disturbances which have laid waste this country, has ordered me immediately, and in respect of the affection which I bear towards you, to make known to you the feelings by which his paternal goodness is animated in your favour. I trust that I shall have the satisfaction of carrying to the foot of his Majesty's throne, not only the homage of your fidelity and gratitude, but also the assurance that these reign, and shall ever reign, in your hearts. This is for his Majesty the richest glory of his throne.

Upon the delivery of this address, the members of the junta solemnly assured the president, that the commons of the province had no share in the insurrection which had taken place; that they themselves disapproved of and detested it, declaring at the same time their feelings of affection and loyalty to his Majesty, &c. The president having received these declarations, communicated to the junta the regulations adopted by his Majesty for enabling the province to enjoy the advantages ensured by the constitution to the whole kingdom, together with special favours, tending to promote the manufactures and commerce of Biscay—all which were received by the junta with the greatest thankfulness.

At the close of the sitting of the following day, the president, standing up, asked the members of the

junta, whether, in all that had been submitted to their deliberation, every thing had not marked the proofs of paternal goodness on the part of his Majesty, and on the arrangements which he will make for the highest prosperity of the country: they replied with acclamations of applause. He then asked them, whether they lovingly, truly, and obediently took the oath to the King, Joseph Napoleon? They replied, that they took this oath to Joseph Napoleon, their lord and King.

IMPERIAL DECREE.

NAPOLÉON, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, wishing to afford spiritual help to our subjects of the Greek persuasion, we have decreed, and do decree, as follows:

Art. I.—There shall be in Dalmatia a bishop of the Greek ritual.

II.—There shall also be a chapter and a seminary for the instruction of clergymen of the same worship.

III.—We grant to the bishop an endowment of 15,000 livres per annum, from our royal treasury.

IV.—The same sum is granted from the treasury, is granted to the chapter and seminary, for their annual support.

V.—In the course of the approaching month of November, a synod shall be convoked, over which the providitor-general shall preside, composed of forty persons of the Greek ritual, to be selected by the providitor-general, from double the number, who shall be communicated by the archimandrite, &c.

Given at the Palace of St. Cloud,

Sept. 17, 1808.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

(Counter-signed) A. ALDINI,
Italian Secretary of State.

SPANISH PATRIOTS.

MANIFESTO OF THE JUNTA OF SEVILLE.

The defence of our country and of our King, that of our laws, our religion, and of all the rights of man, trodden down and violated in a manner which is

without example, by the Emperor of the French, Napoleon I. and by his troops in Spain, compelled the whole nation to take up arms, and to choose itself a form of government; and in the difficulties and dangers into which the French had plunged all, or nearly all the provinces, they as it were, by the inspiration of heaven, and in a manner little short of miraculous, created supreme juntas, delivered themselves up to their guidance, and placed in their hands the rights and the ultimate fate of Spain.

The effects have hitherto most happily corresponded with the designs of those who formed them. The provinces have armed themselves; some have formed large armies of veteran troops, and have united to them the enlisted peasants; all, or nearly all, have fought and are fighting against the French, in behalf of their King, Ferdinand VII. with a valour and a constancy, of which neither Greece nor Rome, nor any other nation of the world, had any idea. The French are really amazed and terrified, and the hopes of conquering them are as sure as human certainty can reach.

The only thing which can impair or frustrate them is discord, and the want of union among the provinces themselves. Hence the supreme junta paid its first attention to remove that danger, with which view it printed and published the official paper, entitled *Precautions*, which it communicated in every possible manner to all the provinces of Spain. The bringing this plan to perfection, and carrying it into complete execution, is now more than ever necessary. Our enemies are anxious to foment our divisions. Human passions, personal interests ill understood, the ignorance, the weakness, the blindness of men, may, perhaps, without their knowing it, assist the evil designs of our enemies, and thus destroy a beginning so glorious, and facilitate and consummate the entire ruin of Spain. This it is that we are endeavouring to guard against, urged only by the most sacred motives, by our honour, by our loyalty as affectionate subjects, by our duty as Spaniards, by our faith as christians; and here we protest before God and man, whose aid we invoke with all fervency, that we will write nothing but what is dictated to us by the love of our country, the preservation of our King

and of our rights, not mingling with it any thing that appears to partake of passion, of interest, or of any other personal motive, but being always ready to hear the opinions of the other provinces, and to amend our own errors, wherever it shall be shewn that we have committed any.

Be it the chief care to avoid every thing which is not absolutely necessary, and which may serve to sow the seeds of disunion in the provinces, and to excite divisions among them; and of this nature we esteem all conversations about the royal house, and of the order of succession in different families who derive a right from it. There is no person so ignorant of the history of Spain, and of the manner in which the throne has been occupied, as not to know the changes which have taken place in the succession. It is also known what are the legislative proceedings upon this point; what the manner in which endeavours were used to introduce an alteration into them; the different pretexts for this alteration; and, lastly, the final settlement which was made by the cortes of 1789, and which ought in future to be the rule.

But are we in a situation to talk of these matters? Long live our King and indisputable Sovereign, Ferdinand VII. and long live his august brothers, heirs of the crown after his attested decease. Why then anticipate those enquiries which can only be necessary in default of these? The anticipation may produce, by the diversity of opinions which it creates, a cruel disunion, which, of itself alone, will utterly ruin the only aim and object which Spain at present has in view, and that is, its own entire and independent preservation for its Sovereign Lord and King, Ferdinand VII. and his undisputed successors; and, with its King, the preservation of its own rights and laws, and the unity of the holy Roman catholic apostolical religion, which it has gloriously professed and defended for so many ages. It is therefore both absurd and dangerous to dispute about the succession in cases evidently remote; all the provinces of Spain ought to confine themselves in this respect to this general expression—"Hereditary succession according to the fundamental laws of the monarchy."

Not so is it with the second question moved by the various juntas of the

kingdom, which certainly keeps the people in a state of inquietude and agitation, is the continual object of public conversation, and may produce divisions fatal to the generous design and the virtuous obligation into which we have entered, of defending ourselves against our enemies, and of preserving our country, our King, our monarchy, our laws, and our religion. This second question is—is there a necessity for creating a supreme government, which may unite the sovereign authority of all the provinces, till the restitution of King Ferdinand to his throne?

This supreme junta declares openly, that from the beginning to the present time it has been persuaded that such a supreme government is altogether necessary, and that without it the country is in danger, and its enemies will find means of completing its ruin; and the reasons of this determination and declaration are so evident, and present themselves with such clearness to the eyes of all, that they cannot fail of convincing all who have the least notion of public affairs, or a correct insight into the nature of man, the passions which move him, and the order of human affairs in all ages. Various supreme juntas and military chiefs have expressed their conviction of this truth.

A conviction of the same springs from the indispensable necessity of a civil government in every nation whose duty it is to attend to the happiness of the kingdom, and to which the military may be subordinate. The confidence of the nation, and, consequently, the public funds and the capitals of individuals, must, necessarily, have a civil government for their support. Without it, the military power would, indispensably, be under the necessity of employing violence, with the view of acquiring that confidence which it never could attain, and getting a command of those capitals, which it would be equally impossible for it to bring within its grasp; and thus it would ultimately destroy that public prosperity and happiness, which ought to be the sole object of every government. Let us not vainly flatter ourselves with notions of Roman dictators, and the other military chiefs of the ancient republics: they were placed under very prudent restraints, and the duration of their authority was limited to a very short period. The dangers of complete despotism and

usurpation kept them in continual alarm, and compelled them to take very rigorous precautions, which are very incompatible with the habits of modern times. Spain has derived a lesson of wisdom from the history of past ages: she has never thought of appointing a military dictator. Her military chiefs (and it is a fact most honourable to the Spanish name) have been the first to embrace, with the utmost cordiality, a system of things as ancient in Spain as the monarchy itself. The experience of our times—the confidence of the people in the supreme juntas—the facility and abundance with which pecuniary resources have been placed at their disposal—the heroic loyalty with which the military chiefs and the army have acknowledged and obeyed them, and the happy issue hitherto of their civil administration, and the military enterprises which they have directed, have placed in the most conspicuous light, and established beyond all doubt, this fundamental truth, and most essential political principle.

But who is to create this supreme civil government? Who are to compose it? Where shall be its place of residence? What the extent of its authority? How shall it be established without interrupting the public tranquillity, and producing disunion among the different provinces? How is the public opinion to be so regulated as that, without opposing it, this tranquillity shall be attained, and all risk of disturbance obviated? These are the important and serious questions which we shall now proceed to examine; and upon which, influenced solely by the loss of our country, and our anxiety to promote its welfare, we will enter into a frank explanation of our sentiments.

In the various papers that have been published upon this subject, we are told that the courts should assemble; that they should elect representatives; and farther that the old council of Castile should convoke them, and the whole of the proceedings should be executed under its authority.

Most assuredly we do not understand the grounds upon which the decision rests. The council of Castile, though a lawful assembly, never convoked the cortes. Why then should we give it an authority which it does not possess? Is it because it lent the whole weight of its influence to such important changes,

with regard to which it had no powers, nor any authority whatsoever? Is it because it has acted in opposition to those fundamental laws, which it was established to preserve and defend? Is it because it afforded every facility to the enemy to usurp the sovereignty of Spain, to destroy the hereditary succession to the crown and the dynasty legally in possession, and recognized and seated on the throne a foreigner, destitute even of the shadow of a title to it; for it is incontrovertibly manifest, that the renunciation of Charles IV. in his favour gave him no such claim? What confidence could the Spanish nation place in a government created by an authority invalid and illegal, and which had also rendered itself suspected by the previous commission of acts of so horrible a description, that they may be justly ranked with the most atrocious crimes against the country?

The council of Castile being thus excluded from all consideration—who should convoke the cortes? The authority to convoke them is a part of the peculiar and exclusive prerogative of the King. The provinces would not submit to any other authority; they would not unite: there would be no cortes, and should a few delegates assemble, that very circumstance would exasperate the kingdom to division—the evil all wish to avoid.

Besides, the cities who have votes in the cortes have not undertaken the defence of the kingdom, nor of themselves, nor in their corporate capacity have they made any effort to defend it. We entertain the most profound respect both for them and their rights; but truth compels us to speak out.

Most undoubtedly, however, the cities who have votes in the cortes, in thus conducting themselves, acted with consummate prudence, and with a due observance of law. The kingdom found itself suddenly without a government—a situation indeed unknown in our history and to our laws. The people legally resumed the power of appointing a government: and this truth has been openly avowed by various supreme juntas.

The people created these juntas without paying any regard to the cities who have votes in the cortes. The legitimate power is therefore deposited with the supreme juntas, and in virtue of that power, they have governed and do

govern with real authority, and have been and still are acknowledged and obeyed by all ranks of subjects, and by all cities in their respective districts having votes in the cortes. Their situation has not changed; the danger still exists; no new authority was supervened; the lawful authority therefore resides entire in the juntas which the people created, and to which they confide it.

It is, therefore, incontestible that the supreme junta have the sole and exclusive right of electing those who are to compose the supreme government, as the only means of protecting and preserving the kingdom, whose defence the people have entrusted to them, and which cannot be accomplished but by the establishment of a supreme government. Nothing is more evident than this truth.

And whom shall the supreme junta elect? Most certainly individuals of their own body; for they alone derive their power from the people, and it is in their constituent members that the people have reposed their entire confidence. Should any other person be chosen, they would possess neither the confidence nor the consent of the people, and all their acts would be null and void; and from this want of confidence, the nation would be exposed to intestine divisions, the last and greatest of all our calamities.

Hence, if there be any province in which the military power has alone been retained, results the absolute NECESSITY OF CONSTITUTING SUPREME JUNTAS IN WHICH THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE SHALL RESIDE, AND BY WHICH THEY MAY ACT.—Whether they shall be constituted by the petty Cortes or any other bodies, their appointment in some form or other is indispensable, in order that the concentration of the LEGITIMATE POWER OF THE PEOPLE, and the establishment of a civil Government, which shall inspire confidence into the people, and proceed to the choice of persons who shall compose the supreme government, which, under the present circumstances, cannot be legitimate, UNLESS IT HAS ITS ORIGIN IN THE FREE CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE!

It seems then to be indispensably necessary, that all the supreme juntas, meeting on the same day, should each elect from among their own members two deputies to form the supreme

vernment, and the person so elected, should, from that moment, be reputed, and actually be the governors-general of the kingdom; and that as such they should be universally acknowledged and obeyed.

Their authority is well known, and cannot be subject to any doubt. The supreme junta of Valencia has most judiciously marked its extent and limit, in the paper which they published on this question, on the 16th. of July. We shall, therefore, be excused from going at large into the consideration of it.

We will only add, that the supreme junta ought to be continued with all their appointments and insignia, and be invested with the internal government of their respective provinces, until the conclusion of the present state of things, but at the same time under the subordination of the supreme government. In those supreme juntas resides the legitimate power of those portions of the people who have respectively created them. It is their duty to take measures for insuring the happiness of their constituents, through the medium of a just government, and vigilantly to protect and defend the rights of every individual among them. For this purpose they ought to give their instructions to their respective deputies, constituting the supreme government; and it will be the duty of the latter to observe them, and to represent and support the claims of their provinces, as far as may be consistent with the general prosperity. If there existed among us a royal personage, capable of presiding in this supreme government, reason and justice prescribe that he, and no other, should be appointed to that office. But if there be no such royal personage, the supreme government must elect a president from its own body. To obviate every danger, however, the presidency should be temporary, and continue only for a fortnight, a month, or any other term agreeable to the supreme government, upon the lapse of which period it should be incumbent on them to choose a different person. We have already remarked, and it is unnecessary to repeat it, that the supreme juntas should elect as deputies to the supreme government such of their members as are most distinguished for their talents, their general knowledge of legislation, and all the branches of public welfare and go-

vernment, recollecting that they are to be the depositaries of the hopes of the kingdom. This supreme junta, in full reliance upon the generous character of Spaniards, and their ardent attachment to the good of their country, assures itself that intrigue, party, or personal interest or predilections, will have no influence upon this occasion.

The supreme juntas will, in the first instance, appoint the place which shall be the seat of the supreme government, who shall afterwards adhere to or alter that appointment, as they think fit, according to a plurality of votes. The seat of government, as has been most wisely observed by the supreme junta of Valencia, ought to be at a distance from all dangers of war, and should, as a claim to preference, possess other advantages of a local nature. Seville conceives herself to possess all these advantages, but has no anxiety to be selected; for she will most cordially sacrifice all her claims to what the other supreme juntas shall decide to be for the general prosperity of the kingdom. The supreme juntas will, therefore, make known their pleasure as to this point, when they notify the election of their deputies. In the mean time we will frankly state that La Mancha appears to us the most convenient for the seat of government, and there we would particularly name its large cities of Cuidal Real or Almagro. But on this subject we are no wise anxious; we leave it entirely to the free choice of the supreme juntas.

It remains only that we speak of this supreme junta of Seville, upon which point we shall not say much. Certain persons, either ignorant or malevolent, have endeavoured to spread the persuasion that we affected a superiority over the other provinces. Any such thought has been far from us, although the general good of the nation has been our guide, and as it were the soul of all our determinations. We possessed the only foundery for cannon in the kingdom, and arms and ammunition in a certain degree of abundance. Various captains general acknowledged us from the commencement, and veteran troops were more numerous in our province than in other parts; and thus we formed an army in a shorter time, and have harassed the enemy, who have surrendered prisoners of war, with their General

Dupont, and have capitulated for the divisions of Generals Vedel and Gubert, who are to be conducted to France, amounting, altogether, to 17,000 men, so that there does not remain a single French soldier in arms in the Andalusias; a victory most glorious and singular, which has been effected without the effusion of much Spanish blood, in which it appears we stand alone.

The local situation of the Andalusias presents also a more probable mode of defence against the arms of Napoleon, if he means to attack us; and, with this view, we have united with us the Portuguese provinces of Agave and Alentejo, who have placed themselves under our protection: and the Canary Isles have sent us a deputy for the same purpose.

The great opulence and other peculiar circumstances of these provinces offers resources which the rest want; and we have thus been enabled to make provision at immense expence, without having received any money from any other part, or imposing any contributions.

The marine arsenal of the Isle of Leon, perhaps the most considerable of all, obeyed us from the beginning, and with it the Spanish squadron of Cadiz, whose force is the greatest, and has been since augmented by that of the French moored in that harbour, and surrendered to us at discretion.

Gibraltar, the famous English fortress, is in our territory, and one of the most numerous squadrons of that nation kept our coast in a state of blockade. We immediately, therefore, opened a communication with Gibraltar, and with the English squadron, which has given us all the assistance that was in its power, sent us a resident minister at the very first, and conveyed our deputies to London, to request subsidies, and settle a peace advantageous to the whole nation.

Amidst so many serious cares, we have transmitted all the arms which it was possible to transmit to Granada. Estramadura has received a still greater number, and has experienced our protection, and so has Cordova and Jean. We have offered arms to La Mancha, to Murcia, to Tarragon, to Gerona, who requested them of us, and we exerted ourselves to the utmost to fulfil the promises which we had made.

We have not forgotten the rest of the

European provinces and kingdoms, and we hope in time that the effects of our zeal and vigilance will be made clear and public.

The Americas claimed at the first a great share of our attention, in order to preserve that so principal a part of the Spanish monarchy. We have sent envoys and commissaries thither and to Asia, in order that they may unite themselves to us, which we could not do without qualifying ourselves as the supreme junta for the government of Spain and the Indies, and we trust that this title and our cares will not be found useless. So many labours, surrounded by so many dangers, will, we trust, deserve some consideration of our country, for the love and defence of which only we have done and suffered so much.

With all this, we repeat that we neither effect nor desire any superiority. Whatever we have done, we owe to our country: it was an indispensable obligation upon us. Our only object is, that Spain may preserve its integrity and independence, for our lord and King, Ferdinand VII. and for that object we joyfully sacrifice our lives. May God, who has so clearly and marvelously shewn his protection of Spain, grant a safe return to its King Ferdinand VII. and then with the supreme government, he will determine what may be his royal will, either commanding an union of the Cortes, or by such other means as his prudence may suggest, and will facilitate the reform of abuses and the general happiness of the kingdom, securing it upon such foundations as are firm, and subject to no change. If these hopes are vain, in which the clemency of God leads us to indulge, then the existing supreme government will itself determine which is most conducive to the interest of the kingdom, conforming itself to the fundamental laws thereof, defending it against the fury and malice of our enemies, and preserving this monarchy, in which itself, the liberty of nations, and the catholic church, the beloved spouse of our Lord Jesus Christ, is so deeply interested.

Given at the royal palace of Seville, the 3d. day of August, 1808.

FRANCIS SAAVEDRA, Archbishop of Laodicea; the Dean of the Chapter of the holy church; FRANCIS

XAVIER CIENFUEGOS; VINCENTI HORFE; FRANCIS DIAZBERMUDO; MANUEL GIL, C. M.; Father JOSEPH RAMIREZ; JUAN FERNANDO AGUIRE; Count TILLY; Marquis de la GRANINA; Marquis de TORRES, and eleven others.

By command of his Serene Highness.

EXPOSITION

Of the Practices and Machinations which led to the Usurpation of the Crown of Spain, and the means adopted by the Emperor of the French to carry it into execution.

By Don Pedro Cevallos, first secretary of state and dispatches to his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII.

At a period when the nation has made and continues to make the most heroic efforts to shake off the yoke of slavery attempted to be imposed upon it, it is the duty of all good citizens to contribute, by every means in their power, to enlighten it with respect to the real causes that have brought it into its present situation, and to keep up the noble spirit by which it is animated.

To make known to Spain and the whole world the base means resorted to by the Emperor of the French to seize the person of our King, Ferdinand VII. and to subjugate this great and generous nation, is a duty well worthy of one who, like myself, is in a condition to discharge it; inasmuch as circumstances placed me in a situation to be an eye witness of the events which preceded the catastrophe of Bayonne, and in which I bore a part. It was not in my power to do this before, in consequence of personal restraint, and from not having collected the documents necessary to accredit my statement. Some are still wanting, which it was necessary to burn, in consequence of dangerous circumstances, in which every thing was to be feared; others have disappeared through the various incidents connected with that unhappy period; but those which I now present are

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sufficient to prove the atrocious violence committed against our beloved King, Ferdinand VII. and the whole nation.

Though the conduct of Spain towards France since the peace of Basle, a very interesting portion of its political history in these latter times, is intimately connected with the important events which form the subject of this Exposition, it is not necessary to dwell even upon its principal periods. It will be sufficient to state what the whole nation, and all Europe, knows, that the political system of Spain has constantly been during this time to preserve friendship and the best understanding with France, and to maintain, at all hazards, the ruinous alliance concluded in 1796.

To attain this end, there is no sacrifice which Spain has not made; and as the preservation of the Prince of the Peace in the high degree of favour he enjoyed with Charles IV. depended in a great measure upon the continuance of this system, it was maintained with the greatest constancy and indefatigable attention. Fleets, armies, treasure, every thing was sacrificed to France; humiliations, submissions, every thing was suffered, every thing was done to satisfy the insatiable demands of the French government, but the idea never once occurred of preserving the nation against the machinations of an ally who was over-running Europe.

The treaty of Tilsit, in which the destiny of the world seemed to be decided in his favour, was hardly concluded, when he turned his eyes towards the west, and resolved on the ruin of Portugal and Spain; or what comes to the same purpose, to make himself master of this vast peninsula, with a view of making its inhabitants as happy as those of Italy, Holland, Switzerland, and the league of the Rhine.

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At this very time, the Emperor was revolving in his mind some designs fatal to Spain (for he began to disarm her), by demanding a respectable body of our troops to exert their valour in remote regions, and for foreign interests. This he effected without difficulty, and there was placed at his disposal a gallant and picked force of 16,000 men of all descriptions.

The enterprize of making himself master of Spain was not so easy as Napoleon imagined. It was, above all, necessary to find some pretext for carrying into execution the daring and gigantic plan of subjugating a friendly and allied nation, that had made so many sacrifices for France, and which this very Emperor had praised for its fidelity and nobleness of character.

Nevertheless, being accustomed to act with that disregard to delicacy in the choice of his means, which is characteristic of the man who imagines that the conquest of the whole world, the destruction of the human species, and the havoc of war are conducive to true glory, he resolved to excite and foment discord in the royal family of Spain, through his ambassador at this court.

The latter, though perhaps not initiated in the grand secret of his master, succeeded in seducing the Prince of Asturias, our present King and Master, and suggested to him the idea of intermarrying with a Princess related to the Emperor. The affliction which his highness laboured under from a conjunction of circumstances, as lamentable as notorious, and his anxiety to avoid another connection into which it was attempted to force him, with a lady selected for him by his greatest enemy, and on that account alone the object of his aversion, induced him to acquiesce in the suggestions of the ambassador, but with the stipulation that it was to meet the appro-

bation of his august parents, and under the impression that it would strengthen the friendship and alliance then subsisting between the two crowns. His highness, actuated by motives so cogent in a political point of view, and yielding to the solicitations of the ambassador, wrote accordingly to his Imperial Majesty.

A few days after our beloved Prince wrote this letter, occurred the scandalous imprisonment of his august person in the royal monastery of St. Laurence, and the still more scandalous decree which was issued in the name of the King, and addressed to the council of Castile. There are very strong reasons to believe, that the unknown hand that frustrated this feigned conspiracy was some French agent employed to forward the plan which Napoleon had formed.

Fortunately the Spanish nation was deeply impressed with its situation, entertained a just opinion of the good disposition and religious principles of their Prince of the Asturias, and suspected instantaneously that the whole was a calumny fabricated by the favourite, as absurd as it was audacious, in order to remove the only obstacle which then opposed his views.

It is already known, that on the imprisonment of the Prince of Asturias, his royal father wrote to the Emperor, no doubt, at the suggestion of the favourite, complaining of the conduct of the ambassador Beauharnois, in his clandestine communications with the Prince of Asturias, and expressing his surprise that the Emperor had not come to a previous understanding with his Majesty on a subject of such eminent importance to sovereignty.

As the imprisonment of the Prince of Asturias, and, above all, the scandalous decree fulminated against his royal person, produced a completely contrary to the intentions of the favourite, he began

be afraid, thought proper to recede, and to mediate a reconciliation between the royal parents and their son. With this view as is stated in the abstract of the Escorial cause, circulated by the council in consequence of his Majesty's orders of the 8th. of April, he forged certain letters, and made the Prince of Asturias sign them while a prisoner, which being delivered into the hands of the royal parents, were supposed to have softened their hearts; and by these singular means did this innocent Prince obtain a nominal liberty.

This was the state of affairs when a French courier arrived at the royal palace of St. Laurence, with a treaty signed at Fontainebleau on the 7th. of October, by Don Eugenio Isquierdo, as plenipotentiary of his catholic Majesty, and Marshal Duroc, in the name of the Emperor of the French. Its contents, as well as those of the separate convention, constitute Nos. 1. 2. of the documents annexed to this exposition.

It is worthy of observation, that the department of the ministry, of which I was at the head, was totally unacquainted with the measures taken by Don E. Isquierdo, at Paris, as well as with his appointment, his instructions, his correspondence, and every part of his proceedings.

The result of this treaty was to render the Emperor master of Portugal with very little expence; to furnish him with a plausible pretext for introducing his armies into our peninsula, with the intent of subjugating it at a proper opportunity, and to put him in immediate possession of Tuscany.

The favourite was to have for his portion the Algarves and Alentejo, and all property and sovereignty, but the Emperor's answer to the letters of the royal father had not yet arrived, it was completely uncertain what it would be, and this filled him with fear and anxiety.

The intimate relations which the favourite maintained at that period with the Grand Duke of Berg, thro' the medium of his confident Isquierdo, flattered him to a certain degree with the hope that every thing would be settled to his wishes, though the interposition of a few millions might be necessary. But neither the favourite nor his confident knew the real intentions of the person they were treating with at Paris. In fact, the instant the Emperor found that the favourite had committed himself, and the royal parents were brought into discredit, he shewed no disposition to answer his Majesty's letters, for the purpose of keeping them in suspense, and inspiring them with dread, in the hope that they might form the resolution of withdrawing, though at that time he had not completed his plan for taking an advantage of such an occurrence.

The Grand Duke wrote to the favourite, that he would employ every means to support him, but that the negociation was rendered very delicate, owing to the extraordinary attachment which prevailed in Spain towards the Prince of Asturias, and the consideration due towards a Princess who was cousin to the Empress, and in consequence of the part of the ambassador Beauharnois, her relative, took in the business.(1.)

Now it was that the favourite began clearly to discover how much his credit had sunk, and he gave himself up for lost, in consequence of being deprived of the support of his imaginary protector, the Emperor of the French. There were no means now neglected by him to endeavour to ingratiate himself with the Grand Duke of Berg; every sort of expression, every kind of deference was employed for this purpose; and

(1.) All this appears from the correspondence of the favourite with the Grand Duke, which the latter carried off from the office of the secretary of state during his lieutenantancy.

the more effectually to avert the impending storm, he prevailed on the royal parents to write to the Emperor direct, and to request his consent to the marriage of one of his cousins to the Prince of Asturias.

Meanwhile the Emperor of the French appeared to be very much dissatisfied with the conduct of Isquierdo, and kept him at a distance, in order to cut off this direct mode of communication, and to make himself more impenetrable.

His Imperial Majesty set off on a journey to Italy, with that studied parade which all Europe has witnessed, giving it such an air of importance, that it was to be presumed he was going to fix the destinies of the world. But there is reason to surmise, that his real object was no other than to divert the general attention to that quarter, for the purpose of misleading the other states, whilst his real designs were directed to the invasion of Portugal and Spain.

This artifice and dissimulation did not, however, prevent the discovery of one of the articles in the secret treaty of Fontainebleau, by his expelling, with the greatest precipitation, from Tuscany, the Queen Regent and her children, and plundering the royal palace, and seizing all the public funds of a court that was ignorant of the existence of such a treaty, and had committed no act of forfeiture.

Whilst the Emperor kept Europe in suspense by his journey to Milan and Venice, he thought fit to answer the letters, which he had some time before received from the royal father, assuring his Majesty, that he never had the slightest information of the circumstances which he communicated respecting his son the prince of Asturias, nor ever received any letter from his Royal Highness. (2). Nevertheless his Ma-

(2). Compare this statement, with the contents of the letter (No. 3) from

jesty consented to the proposed intermarriage with a Princess of his family, undoubtedly with an intention of amusing the Royal parents; whilst he was sending into Spain, under various pretexts, all the troops which he had then disposable, and was studiously propagating an idea that he was favourable to the cause of the Prince of Asturias, and thus endeavouring to captivate the good opinion of the Spanish nation.

The royal parents struck with the terror which this conduct of the Emperor naturally inspired, and the favourite being still more astonished, opposed no obstacle to the entrance of the French troops into the peninsula; on the contrary, they gave the most effectual orders that they should be received and treated even on a better footing than the Spanish troops.

The Emperor, under the pretence of consulting the security of these troops, ordered his generals, by stratagem or force to get possession of the fortresses of Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Figueras, and Barcelona, which alone could present any obstacle to an invasion. They were accordingly taken by fraud and surprise, to the indignation and sorrow of the whole nation, to which the French still affected to profess friendship and alliance.

The Emperor, conceiving himself already master of all Spain, and thinking the time had arrived for accelerating his measures, thought proper to write a letter to the royal father, complaining in the bitterest terms, that his Majesty had not renewed his application for an Imperial Princess for his son the Prince of Asturias. The King was pleased to return for answer, that he adhered to his former proposal, and was willing his Imperial Majesty to King Ferdinand, in which he acknowledges having received the letter written to him by the Prince of Asturias, on the suggestion of Ambassador Beaumont.

ting that the marriage should immediately take place.

Some important proceeding was still necessary to carry the project to a proper degree of maturity, and the Emperor not willing to trust it to writing, thought he could not find a better instrument than Don Eugenio Isquierdo, whom he had detained in Paris in a state of great dejection and terror, that had been artfully impressed upon him for the purpose of his more effectually executing his commission, by impressing the royal parents and the favourite with the same feelings.

In this state of things, the Emperor ordered Isquierdo to repair to Spain, which he accordingly did, in a very precipitate and mysterious manner. According to his verbal statements, he brought no proposal in writing with him, nor was he to receive any, and he had orders to remain only three days.

On his arrival, under these circumstances, at Aranjuez, the favourite conducted him to the presence of the royal parents, and their conferences were conducted with so much secrecy, that it was impossible for any one to discover the object of his mission; but soon after his departure from this capital, their Majesties began to shew a disposition to abandon the metropolis and the peninsula, and to emigrate to Mexico.

The recent example of the determination taken by the royal family of Portugal, seemed to have fully corresponded with the views of the Emperor, and there is reason to think that his Imperial Majesty promised himself a similar success in Spain.

But he must have been very ignorant of the Spanish character to flatter himself with such expectations. Scarcely had the first reports gone abroad of the intention of the royal family to abandon their residence, a resolution clearly indi-

cated by the many preparations which were going on, when discontent and fear were depicted in the most lively colours in the features of all the inhabitants of the capital, and of all ranks and classes of persons. This alone was sufficient to induce their Majesties to refuse the rumour, and to assure the people that they would not abandon them.

Nevertheless, such was the general distrust, such the magnitude of the evils which must have resulted, and such and so many the symptoms of a determination to emigrate, that every one was on the alert, and all seemed to be impressed with the necessity of preventing a measure pregnant with so many mischiefs. The danger increased, and the fears of the public kept pace with it. The consequence was that the commotions of Aranjuez, on the 17th and 19th of March, burst forth like a sudden explosion; the people being led by a sort of instinct of self-preservation. The result was, the imprisonment of the favourite, who without the title of King, had exercised all the functions of royalty.

Scarcely had this tempestuous scene taken place, when the royal parents, finding themselves deprived of the support of their favourite, took the unexpected but voluntary resolution which they had for some time entertained to abdicate their throne, as they accordingly did, in favour of their son and heir the Prince of Asturias.

The Emperor, ignorant of this sudden event, and perhaps never supposing that the Spaniards were capable of displaying such resolution, had ordered Prince Murat to advance with his army towards Madrid, under the idea that the royal family were already on the coast, and on the point of embarking, and that far from meeting the slightest obstacle on the part of the people, all of them would receive him with

open arms, as their deliverer and guardian angel. He conceived, that the nation was in the highest degree dissatisfied with their government, and never reflected that they were only dissatisfied with the abuses which had crept into the administration of it.

The instant the Grand Duke of Berg was apprized of the occurrences at Aranjuez, he advanced with his whole army to occupy the capital of the kingdom; intending, no doubt, to profit by the occasion, and to take such steps as should be best calculated to realise, by any means, the plan of making himself master of Spain.

In the mean while, the mysterious obscurity of the Emperor's projects, the proximity of his troops, and the ignorance in which Ferdinand VII. was of the real object of the Emperor's approach, induced the King to adopt such measures as appeared to his Majesty best calculated to conciliate the good will of the Emperor. Not satisfied with having communicated his accession to the throne in the most friendly and affectionate terms, the King appointed a deputation of three grandees of Spain to proceed to Bayonne, and in his name to compliment his Imperial Majesty. He also appointed another grandee of Spain to pay a similar compliment to the Grand Duke of Berg, who had already arrived in the vicinity of Madrid.

One of the contrivances which the French agent immediately had recourse to, was to assure the King, and to spread the rumour in all quarters, that his Imperial Majesty's arrival might be expected every moment. Under this impression, the necessary orders were given for preparing apartments in the palace suitable to the dignity of so august a guest; and the King wrote again to the Emperor, how agreeable it would be to him to be personally acquainted with his Majesty, and to

assure him with his own lips, of his ardent wishes to strengthen more and more the alliance which subsisted between the two sovereigns.

The grand duke of Berg had in the mean time entered Madrid, at the head of his troops. He was no sooner acquainted with the state of affairs, than he began to sow discord. He spoke in a mysterious manner of the abdication of the crown, executed by the royal father in favour of his son, amidst the tumults of Aranjuez, and gave it to be understood, that until the Emperor had acknowledged Ferdinand VII. it was impossible for him to take any step that should appear like an acknowledgement, and that he must be under the necessity of treating only with the royal father.

This pretext did not fail to produce the effect which the Grand Duke intended. The royal parents, the moment they were informed of this circumstance, availed themselves of it to save the favourite, who remained in confinement, and in whose favour prince Murat professed to take an interest, for the sole purpose of flattering their Majesties, mortifying Ferdinand VII. and sowing fresh matter of discord between the parents and the son.

In this state of things, the new King made his public entry into Madrid, without any other parade than the most numerous concourse of all the inhabitants of the capital and its environs, the strongest expressions of love and loyalty, and the applauses and acclamations which sprung from the joy and enthusiasm of his subjects—a scene truly grand and impressive, in which the young King was seen like a father in the midst of his children, entering his capital as the regenerator and guardian angel of the monarchy. The Duke of Berg was a witness of this scene; but, in ~~his~~ abandoning his plan, he resolved to persist in it with greater ardour.

The experiment upon the royal parents produced the desired effect ; but whilst the beloved King, who came to the throne under such good auspices, continued to be present, it was impossible to carry the plan into execution. It was, therefore, necessary to make every effort to remove Ferdinand VII. from Madrid.

To accomplish this purpose, the Grand Duke every moment spread reports of the arrival of a fresh courier, with accounts of the Emperor's departure from Paris, and that he might be speedily expected to arrive in this capital. He directed his efforts in the first instance to induce the infante Don Carlos to set off to receive his Imperial Majesty, upon the supposition that his Highness must meet him before he had proceeded two days upon his journey. His Majesty acceded to the proposal being influenced by the purest and most beneficent intentions. He had no sooner succeeded in procuring the departure of the Infante, than he manifested the most anxious desire that the King should do the same, leaving no means untried to persuade his Majesty to take this step, and assuring him that it would be attended by the most happy consequences to the King and the whole kingdom.

At the same time that the grand duke of Berg, the ambassador, and all the other agents of France, were proceeding in this course, they were, on the other side, busily employed with the royal parents to procure from them a formal protest against the abdication of the crown, which they had executed spontaneously and with the accustomed solemnities, in favour of their son and legitimate heir.

His Majesty being incessantly urged to go to meet the Emperor, painfully hesitated between the necessity of performing an act of courtesy to his ally, which he was assured would be attended with such

advantageous results, and his reluctance to abandon his loyal and beloved people under such critical circumstances.

In this embarrassing situation, I can assert, that my constant opinion, as the King's minister, was, that his Majesty should not leave his capital until he received certain information that the Emperor was already arrived in Spain, and was approaching Madrid ; and that even then, he should only proceed to a distance so short as not to render it necessary to sleep one night out of his capital.

His Majesty for some days persisted in the resolution of not quitting Madrid until he received certain advice of the Emperor's approach ; and he would have probably continued in that determination, had not the arrival of General Savary added greater weight to the reiterated solicitations of the Grand Duke, and the ambassador Beauharnois.

General Savary was announced as envoy from the Emperor, and in that capacity demanded an audience from his Majesty, which was immediately granted. At this audience he professed that he was sent by the Emperor merely to compliment his Majesty, and to know whether his sentiments with respect to France were conformable to those of the King his father, in which case the Emperor would forego all consideration of what had passed, would in no degree interfere in the internal concerns of the kingdom, and would immediately recognise his Majesty as King of Spain and the Indies.

The most satisfactory answer was given to General Savary, and the conversation was continued in terms so flattering, that nothing more could have been desired. The audience terminated with an assurance upon his part, that the Emperor had already left Paris, that he was near Bayonne, and on his way to Madrid.

Scarcely had he left the audience chamber, when he began to make the most urgent applications, to induce his Majesty to meet the Emperor, assuring him that this attention would be very grateful and flattering to his Imperial Majesty; and he asserted so repeatedly, and in such positive terms, that the Emperor's arrival might be expected every moment, that it was impossible not to give credit to his assertions. It was in fact very hard to suspect that a General, the envoy of an Emperor, should have come merely for the purpose of deception.

The King at length yielded to so many solicitations, and so many flattering hopes and assurances; and his love of his subjects, and ardent desire to contribute to their happiness, by putting an end to the dreadful crisis, triumphed in his generous heart over every feeling of repugnance and apprehension.

The day appointed for his Majesty's departure arrived. General Savary, affecting the most zealous and assiduous attention to his Majesty, solicited the honour of accompanying him on his journey, which, at the farthest, could only extend to Burgos, according to the information which he had just received of the Emperor's approach.

During his absence, supposed to be only for a few days, the King left at Madrid a supreme junta of government, consisting of the secretaries of state, and presided over by his uncle, the most serene infante Don Antonio, in order that the urgent affairs of the government should be attended to.

General Savary followed him to Burgos, in a separate carriage; but the Emperor not having arrived there, he used every exertion to induce his Majesty to continue his journey as far as Vittoria. Various discussions arose as to the course which ought to be pursued; but artifice and perfidy contended with honour,

innocence, and good faith; and, in so unequal a strife, the same benevolent intentions which drew his Majesty from his capital, urged him to proceed to Vittoria.

General Savary, convinced that his Majesty had resolved to proceed no farther, continued his journey to Bayonne with the intention undoubtedly of acquainting the Emperor with all that had passed, and of procuring a letter from him which should determine the King to separate himself from his people.

At Vittoria his Majesty received information that the Emperor arrived at Bourdeaux, and was on his way to Bayonne. In consequence of this advice, the infante Don Carlos, who had been waiting at Tolosa, proceeded on to Bayonne, whether he had been invited by the Emperor, who, however, delayed his arrival some days longer.

Nothing particular occurred at Vittoria, except that the supreme junta of government at Madrid having written to the grand duke of Berg had imperiously demanded that the favourite should be released, and placed in his hands, his Majesty did not think proper to comply with this demand; and in communicating this determination to the junta of government, enjoined them to enter into no explanations with the Grand Duke respecting the fate of the prisoner.*

In the mean time General Savary concerted with the Emperor in what manner they should prepare to give the finishing blow; and while the French troops in the vicinity of Vittoria were making suspicious

* Every body knows that the prisoner was at length delivered up to the French, and conducted under an escort to them to Bayonne. This step was solely owing to an order from the junta of government yielding to imperious circumstances and the peremptory mandates of the Grand Duke, as is more at large in the Appendix to this publication.

movements, he made his appearance in that city, with the letter No. 3, to his Majesty from the Emperor.

To the contents of this letter, which were neither flattering nor decorous, General Savary added so many and such vehement protestations of the interest which the Emperor took in the welfare of his Majesty, and of Spain, that he even went so far as to say, 'I will suffer my head to be cut off, if within a quarter of an hour of your Majesty's arrival at Bayonne, the Emperor shall not have recognized you as King of Spain and the Indies. To support his own consistency, he will probably begin by giving you the title of Highness, but in five minutes he will give you that of Majesty, and in three days every thing will be settled, and your Majesty may return to Spain immediately.'

His Majesty, however, hesitated as to the course which he should take: but anxious to redeem the pledge which he had given, and, above all, to relieve his beloved subjects from the cruel anxiety in which they were, he banished from his heart every apprehension of danger, and shut his ears against my counsels, and those of other persons in his train, as well as to the supplications of that loyal city, and determined to proceed to Bayonne; his royal mind being incapable of suspecting that a sovereign, his ally, should invite him as a guest, for the purpose of making him a prisoner, and of putting an end to a dynasty, which, so far from having offended him, had given him so many striking proofs of its friendship.

Scarcely had his Majesty set foot on the French territory, when he remarked that no one came to receive him, until, at his arrival at St. Jean de Luz, the Mayor made his appearance, attended by the municipality. The carriage stopped, and he addressed his Majesty with the most lively expressions of the joy he

felt at having the honour of being the first to receive a King, who was the friend and ally of France.

Shortly after, he was met by the deputation of the three grandees of Spain, who had been sent off to meet the Emperor; and their representation, with respect to the intentions of the Emperor, was not the most flattering. He was, however, now too near Bayonne to think of changing his course, and he therefore continued his journey.

There came out to meet the King, the prince of Neufchatel and Duroc, marshal of the palace, with a detachment of the guard of honour which the citizens of Bayonne had formed to attend the Emperor, and they invited his Majesty to enter Bayonne, where a place had been prepared for his residence. This residence appeared to all, and was in reality, but little suitable to the rank of the august guest who was to occupy it. This remarkable and expressive neglect formed a singular contrast with the studied magnificence which the King had employed in making the preparations at Madrid for the reception of his ally.

His Majesty was doubting what could be the meaning of a reception that he so little expected, when he was informed that the Emperor was coming to pay him a visit. His Imperial Majesty arrived, accompanied by a number of Generals. The King went down to the street-door to receive him, and both Monarchs embraced each other with every token of friendship and affection. The Emperor staid but a short time with his Majesty, and they embraced each other again at parting.

Soon after marshal Duroc came to invite the King to dine with his Imperial Majesty, whose carriages were coming to convey his Majesty to the palace of Marac: this accordingly took place. The Emperor came as far as the coach-steps to receive his Majesty, embraced him

again, and led him by the hand to the apartment provided for him.

The King had no sooner returned to his residence, when General Savary waited on his Majesty to inform him that the Emperor had irrevocably determined that the Bourbon dynasty should no longer reign in Spain; that it should be succeeded by his; and therefore his Imperial Majesty required that the King should, in his own name and that of all his family, renounce the crown of Spain and the Indies, in favour of the dynasty of Buonaparte.

It would be difficult to describe the surprise with which the royal mind of his Majesty was affected, and the consternation with which all those who were nearest to his person were struck at hearing of such a proposition. His Majesty was not yet recovered from the fatigues of a toilsome journey, when the same man who had made him so many protestations of security at Madrid, and on the road, who had drawn him from his capital and from his kingdom to Bayonne, on the pretence of adjusting matters of the greatest importance to both states, and of his being recognised by his Imperial Majesty, had the audacity to be the bearer of so scandalous a proposal.

On the following day, I was sent for by the Emperor to his royal palace, where I found the minister of foreign affairs, M. Champagny, waiting to enter upon a discussion of the proposals verbally stated by General Savary. I instantly complained of the perfidy with which so important an affair was proceeded in; representing that the king, my master, came to Bayonne, relying on the assurances given by General Savary, in the name of the Emperor, and in the presence of the Dukes del Infantado, S. Carlos, D. Juan Escoiquiz, and myself, that his Imperial Majesty would recognize him at the very first interview between the two

sovereigns, in the Imperial palace of Marac; that when his Majesty expected to witness the realization of this promised recognition, he was surprised with the propositions above alluded to; and that his Majesty had authorized me to protest against the violence done to his person, in not permitting him to return to Spain; and as a categorical and final answer to the solicitation of the Emperor, that the King neither would nor could renounce his crown in favour of another dynasty, without being wanting in the duties he owed to his subjects and to his own character; that he could not do so in prejudice to the individuals of his own family, who were called to the succession by the fundamental laws of the kingdom; and much less could he consent to the establishment of another dynasty, which ought alone to be called to the throne of the Spanish nation, in virtue of their original right to elect another family upon the termination of the present dynasty.

The minister of foreign affairs insisted on the necessity of the renunciation which had been proposed, and contended that the abdication signed by Charles the IVth. on the 19th. of March, had not been voluntary.

I expressed my surprise that the King should be importuned to renounce his crown, at the same moment that it was asserted that the renunciation of his father was not his free act. I wished however not to be understood as entering into such a discussion, as I could not acknowledge the smallest authority in the Emperor to intermeddle with matters which were purely domestic, and peculiarly belonging to the Spanish government; following in this respect the example of the cabinet of Paris, when it rejected as inadmissible the applications of his Majesty, the royal father, in favour of

his ally and first cousin, the unfortunate Louis XVI.

Nevertheless, desirous of giving to truth and innocence a testimony which they alone had a right to exact, I added, that three weeks before the disturbance at Aranjuez, Charles IV. in my presence, and that of all the other ministers of state, addressed her Majesty the Queen, in these words: "Maria Louisa, we will retire to one of the provinces, where we will pass our days in tranquillity; and Ferdinand, who is a young man, will take upon himself the burden of the government."

I represented to him, that, on the 17th 18th. and 19th. no violence was done to his Majesty, in order to extort an abdication of his crown, either by the people who had risen purely from the apprehension that his Majesty was going to remove to Seville, and thence to America; or on the part of his son, the prince of Asturias, or any other persons; of which fact the ministers of the *corps diplomatique*, as well as all the persons about the court, were fully convinced, since all of them congratulated and complimented the new Sovereign, with the exception of the French ambassador, who pretended that he had not been furnished with the necessary instructions, disregarding the example of his colleagues, who were as little provided with instructions from their respective courts.

I concluded with proving to him that the renunciation of the royal father was only the consequence of his Majesty's predilection for the tranquillity of a private life, and his persuasion that his constitution, enfeebled by age and habitual indisposition, was incompetent to support the heavy burden of the government. This irrelevant objection having been got rid of, Mr. Champagny stated, that the Emperor could never be sure of Spain, in case of a war with the powers of the North,

while the Spanish nation continued to be governed by a dynasty, who must regret to see its elder branch compelled from the monarchy of France.

I answered, that in a regular system of things, such prepossessions never prevailed over the interests of states, and that the political conduct of Charles IV. since the treaty of Basle, afforded a recent proof that Sovereigns paid little regard to family interests, when they were in opposition to the interests of their dominions; that the friendship between Spain and France was founded in local and political considerations, that the topographical situation of the two kingdoms was of itself sufficient to demonstrate how important it was for Spain to preserve a good understanding with France, the only state on the Continent of Europe with which she had direct and very extensive relations, and consequently that every reason of policy induced Spain to maintain a perpetual peace with France. Besides, what ground of suspicion had the Emperor with respect to a nation, who, to considerations of interest, add the inflexible and religious integrity with which at all periods, according to the admission of French writers themselves, they had preserved their federative system?

I added, that there were reasons no less important why France should not endanger the continuance of that harmony which prevailed since the treaty of Basle, with equal advantage to herself and to Spain; that the Spanish nation, whose generosity and affection for their Sovereigns were proverbial, if from a principle of fidelity they had submitted to the caprices of despotism, when covered with the veil of Majesty, would, from the operation of the same principle, display their well-known valour, when they saw their independence, and the security of their beloved Sovereign, violated; that if

unfortunately France should commit so atrocious an insult, that power would lose an ally whose armies, fleet, and treasure, had in a great measure contributed to her triumphs; that England, which had in vain attempted to shake the good faith of the Spanish cabinet, for the purpose of separating her from France, would avail herself of such a conjuncture to diminish the force of her enemy, and to augment her own, by specific relations with a power which she would assist with money and with her forces by land and sea, in the glorious enterprize of defending our independence, and the security of our King and natural lord; that the feeble colonies of France would not in that event find the maritime forces of Spain employed in obstructing the plans of conquest entertained by Great Britain; and that the commerce of that power must inevitably come into competition at the Spanish market with the French merchandize, which is now peculiarly favoured.

Besides these considerations, having a direct relation to the interest of both states, I expatiated on others no less cogent, and connected with the character of the French cabinet.

I reminded the minister, that, on the 27th. of October last, a treaty was signed at Fontainebleau, wherein the Emperor guaranteed the independence and integrity of the Spanish monarchy as it then was; that nothing had since occurred which could justify its infraction; on the contrary, that Spain had continued to add new claims to the confidence and gratitude of the French empire, as his Imperial Majesty himself had confessed, by the praises which he bestowed on the good faith and constant friendship of his intimate and first ally.

What confidence, I added, can Europe place in her treaties with France, when she looks to the perfidy with which that of the 27th. of

October has been violated? And what must be her terror when she sees the captious means, the seductive artifices, and the false promises by which his Imperial Majesty has confined the King in the city of Bayonne, in order to despoil him of the crown to which, with the inexpressible joy of his people, he has been called by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and the spontaneous abdication of his august father. Posterity will not believe that the Emperor could have given so great a blow to his own reputation, the loss of which will leave no means of conducting a war with him, than that of total destruction and extermination.

This was the state of the discussion, when the Emperor, who had overheard our conference, ordered me to enter his own cabinet, where, to my great surprise, I was insulted by his Imperial Majesty with the infamous appellation of traitor, upon no other ground, than that having been minister to Charles IV. I continued to serve his son Ferdinand VII. He also accused me, in an angry tone, of having maintained, in an official conference with General Monnier, that my master, in order to his being King of Spain, did not stand in need of the recognition of the Emperor, although that might be necessary, in order to continue his relations with the French government.

His Imperial Majesty manifested still greater irritation on account of my having said to a foreign minister, accredited to the court of Spain, that if the French army offered any violation to the integrity and independence of the Spanish Sovereignty, 300,000 men would convince them that a brave and generous nation was not to be insulted with impunity.

After this ill treatment which I met with, which was as satisfactory to my own feelings, on account of the real cause of it, as it was painful on account of the Royal Ensignage whose interests were in question.

his Imperial Majesty, with his natural asperity, entered into a conversation upon the points which had already been discussed. He was not insensible of the strength of my reasons, and the solidity of the arguments by which I supported the rights of the King, his dynasty, and the whole nation; but his Majesty concluded by telling me, '*I have a system of policy of my own. You ought to adopt more liberal ideas; to be less susceptible on the point of honour, and not sacrifice the prosperity of Spain to the interest of the Bourbon family.*'

His Majesty, distrusting the apparent complacency with which I received the attention which he was pleased to shew me, as I was taking leave of him, sent to inform the King, that upon the subject under discussion a more flexible negociator would be necessary. Whilst his Majesty was considering whom he should appoint to succeed me in this negotiation, one of the many puppets who played their parts in this intrigue, introduced himself to the archdeacon D. Juan de Escoiquiz, and persuaded him to pay a visit to the minister Champagny. He accordingly went, under the impulse of a most zealous regard for the interests of his Majesty, and prevailed on the minister of the foreign affairs, to communicate to him the most recent propositions of the Emperor, which the said seignor Escoiquiz immediately put into writing, and a literal copy of them will be found in No. 4, of the annexed documents.

In this state of things, his Majesty, impressed with the qualities which adorn the most excellent seignor, Don Pedro de Labrador, formerly minister to the court of Florence, and honorary councillor of state, invested him with full powers and suitable instructions, which may be seen in No. 4, ordering him to present them to the minister of foreign affairs, and to demand his

full powers in return, and that the proposals of his Imperial Majesty should be communicated in an authentic manner. Both these demands were rejected by the minister Champagny, under the frivolous pretext, that *they were mere matters of form, being wholly unconnected with the essential object of the negociation.*

Seignor Labrador insisted on the importance of both the one and the other requisites, especially in a matter of such great consequence, adding that without them he could discuss no subject, and that the King his master required them to vary the instructions, if necessary, that had been given him; but always in vain. Notwithstanding this, Seignor Champagny talked of the last propositions of the Emperor, which were somewhat different from those presented by General Savary, but not less irritating and violent; and he concluded with telling Seignor Labrador that the prosperity of Spain and his own were at that moment within his power.

This minister answered that he would communicate to the King his master these new proposals. He made those reflections upon them which his talents, his zeal for the service of his sovereign, and for the good of his country, naturally suggested: and he stated that the welfare of his sovereign, and that of the nation, were inseparably united.—He added, that to these two objects he had directed all his attention in various situations; and, lastly, he said that he readily admitted that his own prosperity depended on the issue, because his fidelity to the King of Spain, and to his native country, as well as the reputation he had acquired by the faithful discharge of his duty, were connected with it. Seignor Labrador, before he terminated the conversation, asked M. Champagny if the King was in a state of liberty? To which the French minister replied that there

could be no doubt of it: On this, Labrador rejoined, 'Then he should be restored to his kingdom.' To this the Frenchman replied, 'that, in respect to his return to Spain, it was necessary that his Majesty should have a right understanding with his Imperial Majesty, either personally or by letter.'

This answer, added to the other circumstances, left no doubt in the mind of the King, that he was actually at Bayonne in a state of arrest; however, to give more ostensibility to this violence extended towards his Majesty, I sent a note (No. 5.) by his royal order, to the minister for foreign affairs, telling him that the King was determined to return to Madrid, to tranquillize the agitation of his beloved subjects, and to provide for the transaction of the important business of his kingdom; assuring Mr. Champagny at the same time, that I would continue to treat with his Imperial Majesty, on affairs reciprocally advantageous. No answer was given to this communication, nor had it any other effect than to increase the caution and vigilance before applied for the detention of his Majesty.

Seignor Labrador was certainly not a fit person for their purposes, for he was immediately got rid of under the pretence of his not holding a rank corresponding to that of Monsieur Champagny, and that his natural disposition was too inflexible.

The tricks of diplomacy could not prevail over the firmness of the King, or the zeal of his representatives, and the individuals of his royal household, who deliberated at a council (his Majesty being present) upon the interests of the King and the nation; so that the Emperor saw himself under the necessity of changing his plan, in order to accomplish his purpose, and he wished that the royal parents should depart for Bayonne, in order to make them the instruments of the oppression

and disgrace of their son. For this purpose he ordered the Grand Duke of Berg to employ all his arts to accelerate their journey to Bayonne.

The royal parents required, that the favourite should precede them, in their journey, and the Grand Duke made various applications to the junta of government to obtain his liberty. The junta had no authority to liberate him, having in this point been laid under positive restraint by his Majesty's orders from Vittoria, as has been already mentioned; but the council, misled by the suggestions of his Imperial Majesty, and intimidated by the threat that the Grand Duke would obtain by irresistible force what would not be conceded as a favour, the junta ordered the release of Don Manuel Godoy, who was immediately conveyed to Bayonne, under an adequate escort. The decree (No. 6.) in the hand-writing of the King, is an authentic proof of the determination of his Majesty as to this particular.

The royal parents undertook their journey, and proceeded in it with too much rapidity for the unhappy state of health of Charles IV. but the inexorable will of the Emperor had determined that it should be so.

What his Imperial Majesty undertook was a most arduous task. It was necessary to his purposes, to deaden the sensibility of the King, to destroy his affection for his first-born, which the most infamous court intrigue ever contrived had not yet wholly extinguished. Further, it was necessary, that these loving parents, affectionate to some of their children, should, with respect to him, substitute for their natural tenderness the most frigid and cruel indifference. To fulfil the purposes intended by Napoleon, in the end, with respect to the royal parents, they must become the instruments of misery, correction, and imprisonment; they were to become the

failors of their children. His power, by triumphing over all the feelings of nature, accomplished his purposes.

I have proved that the abdication of the royal father at Aranjuez was a spontaneous act, and that the motive to it was the partiality of his Majesty towards his disgraced favourite. In Bayonne, he told the King, his son, that he did not wish to return to the throne of Spain; notwithstanding that, he desired his Majesty should renounce the crown, to make a present of it to the Emperor; that is, to present it to a Sovereign, who, in part at least, has been the origin of the difficulties of Spain, the only cause of the loss of our squadrons, the mover of the disturbances at court, and in the nation, and of the intended journey of the royal family to Seville, and from thence to America, prevented by the explosion of the 17th. of March.

I leave to the wisdom of the Sovereigns of Europe to judge whether it be possible that a Monarch, affectionate to his children, highly enlightened, penetrated deeply by the principles of religion, and pious without superstition, could without violence forget for a moment all his duties to his family, and proscribe his whole dynasty, to call another to the throne, for whom he has no esteem, and, on the contrary, detests, as the plunderer of those thrones which have come within the reach of his ambition. If such be the change, it is the most extraordinary revolution that history has presented to the world.

Ferdinand VII. over-awed, a prisoner, and controuled by circumstances, on the 1st. of May made a conditional renunciation of his crown, in favour of his august father. (No. 7.) To this followed the letter of the royal father to his son, (No. 8,) and the very discreet answer of the royal son to the father, (No. 9).

On the 5th. of the same month of May, at four in the afternoon, the

Emperor went to visit the royal parents, and continued in conference until five o'clock, when King Ferdinand was called in by his august father to hear, in the presence of the Queen and the Emperor, expressions so disgusting and humiliating, that I do not dare to record them. All the party were seated except King Ferdinand, whom the father ordered to make an absolute renunciation of the crown, under pain of being treated, with all his household, as an usurper of the throne, and a conspirator against the life of his parents.

His Majesty would have preferred death; but desirous not to involve in his misfortunes the number of persons comprised in the threat of Charles IV. he assented to another renunciation, (No. 10,) which bears on its front all the indications of constraint and violence, and which in no respect answers its purpose, to colour over the intended usurpation of the Emperor.

These are the only instances of renunciation in which I have interfered as minister and secretary of state. That which is spoken of at Bourdeaux, I have not the least knowledge of; but I know the Emperor, in the last conference with King Ferdinand VII. said to his Majesty, "*Prince, il faut oper entre la cession et la mort.*"—*Prince, you have only to choose between cession and death.*"

With respect to the rest, the whole world is apprized that Charles IV. renounced the crown to the Emperor at the time that the prince of Asturias, his brother the infante Don Carlos, and his uncle the infante Don Antonio, were forced to surrender their rights. The Emperor, now believing himself proprietor of the crown of Spain, placed it on the head of his brother Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples.

It has already been explained, that although the King left his court for

a few days, he thought fit to sanction a junta, of which the infante Don Antonio was to be president, with full powers to determine for him and in his royal name, all subjects that would not permit of delay. Every night I sent a courier to this junta, communicating what appeared necessary for its information and direction.

When the King arrived at Bayonne (and on the day of his arrival, the ambitious and violent intentions of the Emperor were communicated to him), I began to fear that the extraordinary couriers would be intercepted, as was found to be the fact. Among the various disputes that I had with the Minister, Champagny, on the different accidents that occasioned the detention of the Cabinet couriers, the answer that he gave me to a remonstrance of mine is sufficiently remarkable. It is to be seen among the documents in justification (No. 11.) In this situation of things, I took the precaution of sending duplicates by different conveyances. By such means, I succeeded so far as to give information to the Junta of government of the arrest and oppression to which the King had been exposed.

It was easy to foresee that the freedom of the Junta would not be respected, since, notwithstanding all the offers and assurances of the Emperor, the liberty of the sovereign was violated at Bayonne; and that the noble designs of some members of the same assembly would be obstructed (although boldly declared), by the irresistible power of the representative of the Emperor. To this, no doubt, is to be attributed their not having consulted upon the awful condition of the kingdom, and the remedy for such a calamity, as well as not having appointed a Junta to assume the regency, in a place where the bayonets of the enemy could not penetrate.

The king was surprised that the

Junta had not written; and the following post, when his Majesty had come to a determination in consequence, without losing a moment, I sent a royal order to the Junta, *that they should execute whatever was expedient for the service of the King and the kingdom, and that for that purpose they should employ all the powers which his Majesty would possess if he were himself resident in the kingdom* (6).

Nothing could be written that could be more intelligible. The security of the means of communication diminished every moment; for I could not expect that the Emperor would regard the sacredness of a correspondence, since he paid no respect to the person of the sovereign to whom it was subse-
quent.

The Junta, notwithstanding, thought it was necessary to consult his Majesty, and to obtain his orders as to various measures which appeared to them necessary for the salvation of the country; and for this purpose they sent to Bayonne a confidential person of known zeal in the royal service, to transmit verbally to the King the following propositions:—

1. Whether his majesty thought fit to authorise the Junta to substitute, in case of need, some person or persons of their own body, or otherwise, to hold a council in a secure situation, where it could freely act; and they entreated his Majesty to signify who should compose the council for that purpose, should he think the measure expedient.

2. Whether it was the wish of his Majesty that hostilities should be commenced against the French ar-

(6) The cabinet courier conveying this royal order was intercepted, in which account I sent a duplicate, which was received by the Junta, the memorandum of which I have not been able to preserve.

my; and in that case, when and how the purpose should be executed.

3. Whether it were likewise the wish of the King that we should endeavour to prevent the entrance of more French troops into Spain, by guarding the passes on the frontiers.

4. Whether his Majesty thought it would be right to convoke the Cortes, for which purpose a decree of his Majesty would be necessary, addressed to the royal council. It being possible that at the arrival of the answer of the King, the Junta would not be at liberty to act, they asked whether any chancery or audience of the kingdom should be empowered, which was not within the reach of the French troops. Further, if the Cortes should be assembled, on what subjects of discussion it should proceed?

The person charged with these propositions, arrived at Bayonne on the 4th of May, at night: he came to me immediately, and having disclosed to me his business, I introduced him to his Majesty without losing a moment.

The King having taking into consideration the four propositions submitted to his attention by the Junta, sent in answer two royal decrees in the morning of the following day, the one written by his Majesty with his own hand directed to the Junta of government; the other signed by his Majesty ("Yo el Rey") addressed in the first instance to the council, and next to any chancery or audience of the kingdom which should not be under restraint.

These original decrees dispatched by me with all care, and under secure conduct, it is well known, arrived in the hands of one of the members of the Junta, who is now absent, and whose name was first mentioned; but the Junta is apprized that he made no use of it, nor did he ever send to the council

the decree which was addressed to it. (7)

The minutes of these two decrees are not in my possession, because the critical situation of the King at Bayonne, and the necessity of avoiding the exposition of his views, obliged me to destroy them. Notwithstanding this, I preserved them in my memory, and they are testified and certified by the three Secretaries of his Majesty, D. Eusebio Bardaxi y Azara, D. Luis de Onis, and D. Evaristo Perez de Castro, who were with me at Bayonne, and saw and read the two original decrees, the substance of which is as follows:—

The King said to the Junta of government that he was not in a state of freedom, and consequently incapable of taking any measures for the preservation of the royal person and the monarchy. On that account the Junta was entrusted with most ample powers to repair to any place that should be deemed most convenient; that in the name of his Majesty, and representing his own person, they might exercise all the functions of sovereignty; that hostilities should commence the moment when his Majesty should proceed to the interior of France, which he would not do, unless obliged by violence. Lastly, that in such a case, the Junta should prevent, in

(7). When these two royal decrees came to the hands of the Junta, the Grand Duke of Berg had been for some days president; and the affair of the 2d of May had taken place. The Emperor, after the departure of the royal parents, precipitately and indecently forced from the capital all the members of the royal family, and sent them to Bayonne. But yet he had to take the important step of taking complete possession of the government, in order to which the bloody scene of the 2d of May was exhibited: a scene of horror and iniquity, similar to what the modern French have executed in other countries with similar designs.

the best manner they could, the introduction of more troops into the peninsula (8).

In the decree directed to the royal council, and next to any chancery or audience, his Majesty said, that, in the situation in which he found himself, deprived of his liberty, it was his royal will that the Cortes should be assembled in such place as should appear most convenient; that at first they should occupy themselves exclusively in attending to the levies and subsidies necessary for the defence of the kingdom, and that their sittings should be permanent to determine what should be done on future events (9).

The disgraceful means, of which the Emperor availed himself to obtain the renunciation of the crown of Spain in his favour, have already been known; but the violence of Bonaparte to accomplish his purposes did not terminate there. Blinded as he was by the extravagance of his ambition, he could yet discern how easily these acts of renunciation would be disposed of; and therefore he endeavoured to confirm them by the means of a council,

(8.) The perfect agreement between the recommendation of the King given to the Junta, in his royal decree of the 5th of May, and the determination of his faithful vassals, is very remarkable. We have seen that all the provinces of the monarchy rose spontaneously to resist the oppressor, without having any knowledge of the will of their sovereign.

(9.) We, the three secretaries of the King, for decrees, certify, that we have seen and read in Bayonne, the two original decrees sent by his Majesty Ferdinand VII. on the 5th of May, in this year, which are mentioned above; and the substance of the contents of them, as far as we can recollect, is the same as is here stated.

EUSEBIO DE BARDAXI Y AZARA.
LUIS DE ONTO.

EVARISTO PÉREZ DE CASTRO.

Madrid, Sept. 1., 1808.

which he called a national assembly, and which was to be convoked at Bayonne (10).

He named about 150 Spaniards, of different classes, conditions, and corporations, to constitute this assembly, but only about 90 were convened. A part of these, representing some cities, tribunals, or public bodies, brought with them instructions in the nature of powers, given them by those whom they represented, but wholly insufficient to answer the purpose intended. The ministers of the council were, without any powers or instructions, whatever, a precaution adopted by this tribunal in conformity to the opinion of its commissioners, in order to avoid all involuntary compromises. Most of the deputies had no other powers than merely an order to take their departure, and many of them did not belong to any public body, or acknowledged class of the community.

The Emperor fully expected, from the acquiescence of these individuals, a mask under which to conceal his usurpation. But he was utterly deceived. Instead of finding weak men convenient to the designs of his mercenary ambition, he was met by ministers incorruptible, Grantees worthy of their rank, and representatives who were faithful defenders of the interest and of the honour of their country. They all, with one accord, informed him that they held powers much restricted, that they were not the legitimate representatives of Spain, and

(10.) It is well known that this Junta was assembled at Bayonne, according to printed notice given on the 19th of May, to treat, as it was said, of the means of securing the happiness of Spain, but in fact, to propose the continuance of all the evils of the former system, and such reforms and alterations as were most likely to destroy the whole country and every province not long to it.

that they could not compromise her rights.

These and other similar reflections were treated with insolence in the tribunal of the usurper, who, far from being discomfited, put into activity all the means of oppression, flattering himself that by victories on the one hand and corruption on the other, he should so colour over injustice that he would not be considered by the world as the subverter of general tranquility.

I do not enter into the particulars that occurred in this congress; but one of the ministers of the council of Castile, who does so much honour to his robe, will satisfy the curiosity of the public as to this particular.

I ought not to speak of what I have suffered for my King and country: the truth is, I have not suffered, for all I have done has been required by my most sacred duties. It was to me the highest satisfaction to see my lodging in Bayonne surrounded by the satellites of government: to these spies succeeded, who abound always where those are in authority who in history usurp the characters of heroes. My steps were reckoned—my visits observed—espionage, under the mask of compassion, approached to examine the secrets of my soul; but nothing disturbed the tranquillity of my mind. What I could not behold with patience, was to see myself condemned to a confinement within the frontier of France, until the Emperor should consider that my narration of the scandalous proceedings could not destroy the lofty fabric of the new Spanish monarchy. In vain, for two months, I applied to the minister for foreign affairs, with the utmost importunity to be permitted to return to my beloved country; the determined resistance I made to the attempt of usurpation made the French government deaf to my entreaties, believing, not without good

reason, that I should endeavour to inflame heroism in my country, denominated insurrection in the Journals of Bayonne.

In such unfavourable circumstances, a mode presented itself to me of avoiding a state of indefinite banishment. Such were the repeated entreaties of Joseph Napoleon that I should continue with him in the situation of minister, to which I acceded with repugnance and from constraint, but without prejudice of my right to abandon it at a convenient opportunity.

This opportunity occurred the moment I set foot in Madrid. From that instant I only thought of availing myself of the most early means of resigning my new character, which I did in the manner shewn in document No. 12.

Joseph Napoleon could not be grieved at the disappearance of a minister who so frequently opposed his wishes (11), and who, in the opinion of some of those who immediately surrounded him, was a quixote in his maxims, *who could not comprehend the sublime intentions of the greatest of heroes in favour of the regeneration of Spain.*

I have shewn in this narrative with clearness and fidelity, the series of the principal events in this important epoch, carefully avoiding to enter into minute particulars foreign to my object, or which should make this exposition too prolix; and I have endeavoured to place before my readers, in its true point of view, all the injustice and violence with which the French government has conducted itself towards our beloved Sovereign, and the whole nation.

(11.) I may particularly instance the affair of the oaths, when Joseph Bonaparte arriving at Madrid, wanted to compel every body to swear allegiance to him; and that of the banishment of the council of Castile to Bayonne, for its noble resistance.

It has already been proved, that the renunciation of Charles IV. in favour of his son Ferdinand VII. is vitiated in no respect. In the slight sketch which we have of the perfidious and deceitful arts with which the Emperor has made the progress we have seen, the series of atrocious insults offered to Spain, and to the unfortunate King Ferdinand VII. remains depicted in indelible colours.

The Emperor alarms Charles IV. in order that he may induce him to take flight for America, with all the royal family, and abandon the peninsula to the former: he lights up the flames of discord between the royal parents and their child, in order to debilitate Spain, dividing it into parties, after having disgraced the royal persons; he draws Ferdinand VII. from his court by false promises; he makes him captive in Bayonne; and when he saw that the virtue of the young king knew how to resist his designs, and that Ferdinand could not be induced to renounce his crown, he occasioned him to be brought to Bayonne, with all the other personages of the royal family, as if to present them bound before the Imperial tribunal, which was both judge and party in the same cause. He endeavours to deprive the parents of the sensibilities of nature, and forces them to become the instruments of the oppression of their child. From the latter he extorts a renunciation, the most irregular and illicit transaction amongst the affairs of men; and by a series of abdications exacted by the same illegal and violent expedients, he believes that he has become the proprietor of the crown of Spain; he transfers it to his brother, without considering the infamy to which he would be exposed in the cabinets in Europe, by the usurpation of the throne of a monarchy, his friend and ally.

Who can doubt, from this clear

evidence, that the renunciation executed by Ferdinand VII. in favour of his august father, and that which succeeded in favour of the Emperor, are absolute nullities? Who will doubt, but that if the last should have emanated from a free exercise of the will, the rights of the dynasty of Bourbon are not prejudiced by it? Who does not know, that in case of the extinction of such a family, and by the very establishment of the Spanish monarchy, the nation alone can invite another dynasty, or can introduce such a form of government as it shall most approve?

In another part of this narrative, I have shewn that Ferdinand VII. was too honourable to suppose that the Emperor could entertain such atrocious designs. The King desired to free Spain from the oppression of the French troops; it was promised him, that this and all other matters should be regulated with the Emperor, and that he should return to his kingdom with the fruit of his exertions for the good of his vassals; and no hour of his life was unseasonable to him to exert himself for their happiness. This I saw, and can testify. During his confinement, nothing afflicted his generous heart so much as the sufferings of his people; and when his liberty began to be doubtful, he adopted the means the most agreeable to his paternal solicitude: such was the order which he gave for the regency, naturally sought, when his freedom was interrupted; and such was the command that the Cortes should be assembled to determine those questions, which in their proper places have been noticed.

Valour and patriotism have successfully armed the whole nation in its own defence, and for the protection of their legitimate sovereign, although the people had no knowledge of the will of their beloved Ferdinand as to this movement. That patriotism, united to wisdom, will

now impel them irresistibly to perform with promptitude the most important work of the central government or regency, which may administer the affairs of the kingdom in the name of his Majesty.

Thus will be completed for the advantage of all, the last expression of the will of the King, which he condescended to use the moment before he was forced to renounce the crown; thus will the nation be preserved from this dreadful tempest; it will have exhibited before Europe an example of loyalty, honour, and generous energy, which will be the subject of admiration in every age, and in every country.

PEDRO CEVALLOS.

Madrid, Sept. 1, 1808.

DOCUMENTS.

NO. I.

Secret Treaty between his Catholic Majesty and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, by which the High Contracting Parties stipulate every thing respecting the future condition of Portugal.

Fontainebleau, October 27, 1807.

We, Napoleon, by the Grace of God and the Constitution, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, having seen and examined the treaty concluded, arranged and signed at Fontainebleau, Oct. 27, 1807, by the general of division Michael Duroc, grand marshal of our palace, grand knight of the legion of honour, &c. &c. in virtue of the full powers conferred by us upon him for this purpose, with Don Eugenio Izquierdo de Ribera y Lezaun, honorary councillor of state and war to his Majesty the King of Spain, who was also furnished with full powers by his sovereign, which treaty is of the following tenor:—

His Majesty, the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, wishing to regulate by common consent the interest of the two states, and to determine the future condition of Portugal, in a way that shall be consistent

with sound policy as to both countries, have named for their ministers plenipotentiary; that is to say, his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, general of division Michael Duroc, grand marshal of the palace, grand knight of the legion of honour; and his Catholic Majesty, King of Spain, Don Eugenio Izquierdo de Ribera y Lezaun, his honorary councillor of state and of war, both which ministers having exchanged their full powers, have agreed as follows:—

ARTICLE I. The province of Entre Mino y Duero, with the city of Oporto, shall be made over, in entire property and sovereignty, to his Majesty the King of Etruria, with the title of King of Northern Lusitania.

II. The province of Alentejo, and the kingdom of the Algarves, shall be made over, in entire property and sovereignty, to the Prince of Peace, to be by him enjoyed under the title of Prince of the Algarves.

III. The provinces of Beiro, Tras los Montes, and Portuguese Estramadura, shall remain undisposed of until there be a general peace, to be then disposed of according to circumstances, and conformable with what may be agreed upon between the two high contracting parties.

IV. The kingdom of Northern Lusitania shall be held by the descendants of his Majesty the King of Etruria hereditarily, and according to the laws of succession which are established in the family on the throne of Spain.

V. The principality of the Algarves shall be held by the descendants of the Prince of Peace hereditarily, and according to the laws of succession which are established in the family on the throne of Spain.

VI. If there should be no descendants or legitimate heirs of the King of Northern Lusitania, or of the Prince of the Algarves, these countries shall be disposed of by investiture by the King of Spain in a manner so that they shall never be united under one head, or annexed to the crown of Spain.

VII. The kingdom of Northern Lusitania and the principality of the Algarves shall acknowledge as protector his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, and in no case the sovereigns of those countries shall make peace or war without his consent.

VIII. In case the provinces of Beira, Tras los Montes and Portuguese Estramadura, held in sequestration, should devolve at a general peace to the house of Braganza, in exchange for Gibraltar, Trinidad, and other colonies, which the English have conquered from Spain and her allies, the new sovereign of these provinces shall have, with respect to his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, the same obligations as the King of Northern Lusitania, and the Prince of Algarves, and shall hold them under the same conditions.

IX. His Majesty the King of Etruria cedes the kingdom of Etruria, in full property and sovereignty, to his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy.

X. As soon as the provinces of Portugal shall be definitively occupied, the different princes who are to possess them shall mutually appoint commissioners to ascertain their natural boundaries.

XI. His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy guarantees to his Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain, the possession of his dominions on the continent of Europe, situated to the south of the Pyrenees.

XII. His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy engages to recognise his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, as Emperor of the *Two Americas*, when every thing is ready for his Majesty's assuming that title, which may be either at the general peace, or at farthest within three years therefrom.

XIII. The two high contracting powers shall mutually agree upon an equal partition of the islands, colonies, and other transmarine possessions of Portugal.

XIV. The present treaty shall be kept secret. It shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged at Madrid, within twenty days, at the latest, from the date of its signature.

Done at Fontainebleau, October 27, 1807.

(Signed) DUROC,
E. IZQUIERDO,

We have approved, and do hereby approve, of the preceding treaty, and all and every of the articles therein contained. We declare it to be accepted, ratified, and confirmed; and promise that it shall be inviolably observed.

In witness whereof, we have executed these presents, signed with our own hands, and sealed with our Imperial

seal, at Fontainebleau, the 29th day of October, 1807.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs,
CHAMPAGNY,

The Secretary of State, MARET.

NO. II.

Secret Convention concluded at Fontainebleau between his Majesty the King of Spain and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, by which the two high contracting parties adjust all that relates to the occupation of Portugal.—At Fontainebleau, 27th October, 1807.

Napoleon, by the grace of God and the Constitution, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, having seen and examined the convention concluded, arranged, and signed, at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of October, 1807, by the general of division Michael Duroc, grand marshal of our palace, grand Cordon of the legion of honour, &c. &c. in virtue of the full powers with which we thereto conferred upon him, on the one side; and on the other side by D. Eugenio Isquierdo de Riberay Lezaun, Honorary Councillor of state and of war to his Majesty the King of Spain, equally furnished with full powers by his Sovereign—the tenor of which convention are as follows.—

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the confederation of the Rhine, and his catholic Majesty the King of Spain, being desirous of entering into an arrangement with respect to the occupation and conquest of Portugal, according to the stipulations of the treaty signed this day, have appointed, viz. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, the General of division Michael Duroc, Grand Marshal of his palace, Grand Cordon of the legion of Honour, and his catholic Majesty the King of Spain, Don Eugenio Isquierdo de Ribera y Lezaun, his Honorary Councillor of state and of war, who, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. A body of French imperial troops, consisting of 25,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, shall enter Spain, and march direct for Lisbon; they shall be joined by a body of 8000 Spanish infantry and 3000 cavalry, with 30 pieces of artillery.

II. At the same time a division of Spanish troops, consisting of 10,000 men, shall take possession of the province of Entre-Minho-Douria, and of the city of Oporto; and another division of 6000 men, also consisting of Spanish troops, shall take possession of Alantejo, and the kingdom of Algarves.

III. The French troops shall be subsisted and maintained by Spain, and their pay shall be provided by France during the time occupied by their march through Spain.

IV. The moment that the combined troops have entered Portugal, the government and administration of the provinces of Beira, Tras los Montes, and Portuguese Estramadura (which are to remain in a state of sequestration) shall be vested in the general commanding the French troops; and the contributions imposed thereon shall accrue to the benefit of France. The provinces that are to form the kingdom of Northern Lusitania, and the principality of the Algarves shall be administered and governed by the generals commanding the Spanish divisions which shall enter the same; and the contributions imposed thereon shall accrue to the benefit of Spain.

V. The central body shall be under the orders of the commander of the French troops, to whom also the Spanish troops attached to that army shall pay obedience. Nevertheless, should the King of Spain or the Prince of Peace think fit to join the said body, the French troops, with the general commanding them, shall be subject to their order.

VI. Another body of 40,000 French troops shall be assembled at Bayonne by the 20th of November next, at the latest, to be ready to enter Spain for the purpose of proceeding to Portugal, in case the English should send reinforcements therein, or menace it with attack. This additional corps, however, shall not enter Spain until the two high contracting parties have come to an agreement on that point.

VII. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at the same time with those of the treaty of this date.

Done at Fontainebleau, October, 27 1807.

(Signed)

DUROC.

E. IZQUIERDO.

We have approved, and hereby approve, the foregoing convention, in all and every of the articles therein contained, declare it to be accepted, ratified and confirmed, and pledge ourselves that it shall be inviolably observed.

In witness whereof, we have executed these presents, signed with our own hand, countersigned, and sealed with our Imperial seal, at Fontainebleau, the 29th of October, 1807.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

The minister of Foreign affairs,

CHAMPAGNY.

The Secretary of State, H. MARET.

[No. III. is a letter from the Emperor to Ferdinand VII. a copy of which, with a few trifling variations, appeared in our REGISTER for May last, p. 308.]

NO. IV.

Instructions furnished to his Excellency Don Pedro Labrador.

Most Excellent Seigneur.—Your Excellency is acquainted with the propositions made on the day of the King's arrival in this city, and of what passed at the conference in which I discussed them with the minister of foreign affairs.

The propositions recently made by the latter, differing in some respect, but no less inadmissible, are of the following tenor:—

1. That the Emperor has irrevocably determined that the Bourbon dynasty shall no longer reign in Spain.

2. That the King shall cede his rights to the crown both in his own name and that of his sons, should he have any.

3. That should this point be agreed upon, the crown of Etruria shall be conferred upon him and his descendants, according to the terms of the *Sulique* law.

4. That the infante Don Carlos shall make a similar renunciation of his rights, and that he shall have a right to the succession to the crown of Etruria, in default of issue of the King.

5: That the kingdom of Spain shall henceforth be possessed by one of the brothers of the Emperor.

6. That the Emperor guarantees its complete integrity, and that of all its colonies, without suffering a single village belonging to it to be separated from it.

7. That in like manner he guarantees the preservation of religion, property, &c. &c.

8. That should his Majesty refuse those propositions, he shall remain without compensation, and his Imperial Majesty will carry them into execution by consent or force.

9. That if his Majesty agree and demand the niece of the Emperor in marriage, this connection shall be immediately secured on the execution of the treaty.

These propositions were discussed in the junta where the King presided. I there stated my opinion, which was adopted by your excellency and the other members, and approved by his Majesty who is desirous that instructions should be prepared for your Excellency accordingly.

Your Excellency knows that promises the most flattering, and assurances the most positive, were made and given to the King by the Grand Duke of Berg, by the ambassador of France, and by General Savary by direction of the Emperor, who said that no obstruction would arise to his acknowledgment as sovereign of Spain; that nothing was desired hostile to the preservation of the integrity of the kingdom; and you are apprised that these representations drew him from Madrid to pay his compliments to his intimate ally, who he supposed would return with him to the capital, from the statements of those three, and where splendid accommodations were provided for the Emperor. The journey of his Imperial Majesty was deferred; but the King, seduced by new promises, made by General Savary, in the name of his Imperial Majesty, continued his progress to this city.

Your Excellency should ask M. Champany if the King be at full liberty, and if he be so he may return to his dominions, and give audience to the plenipotentiary, to whom the Emperor may confide his powers. If not free, your Excellency knows that every act is absolutely nugatory, and consequently whatever may be agreed will have no other effect than to stain the reputation of the Emperor before the whole world, the eyes of which are fixed upon his conduct, and who knows what Spain has already done in favour of France.

I have shewn to your Excellency the treaty of the 27th October last, by which the Emperor has guaranteed the integrity of Spain in the person of the

King, with the title of Emperor of the Two Americas. Nothing has intervened to destroy this treaty; on the contrary, Spain has added new claims to the gratitude of France.

The King has resolved not to yield to the importunity of the Emperor; neither his own honour, nor his duty to his vassals, permit him to do so. Thus he cannot compel to accept the dynasty of Napoleon; much less can he deprive them of the right they have to elect another family to the throne when the reigning family shall be extinct.

It is not less repugnant to the feelings of the King to receive, as a compensation, the crown of Etruria; for, besides that that country is under the authority of its legitimate sovereign, whom he would not prejudice, his Majesty is contented with the crown that Providence had given him, has no wish to separate himself from his subjects, whom he loves with paternal affection, and from whom he has received the most unequivocal proofs of respectful attachment.

If on account of this refusal the Emperor think fit to resort to force, his Majesty hopes that Divine Justice, the Dispenser of Thrones, will protect his just cause, and that of his kingdom.

As your Excellency is deeply penetrated with these principles and has already displayed them with that energy with which justice arms the man of probity, and the zealous friend to his King and country, it is needless for me to detail prolix instructions for your guide, you being a minister, in whose patriotism and affection to the royal interests his Majesty reposes full confidence.

God preserve your Excellency many years.

PEDRO CEVALLOS

[For Don PEDRO GOMEZ LABRADOR.]
Bayonne, April 27, 1808.

NO. V.

Official Dispatch from Don Pedro Cevallos to the Minister of State of the Emperor of the 28th of April, 1808.

Most Excellent Sir.—Although the agitation of mind to which the whole Spanish nation would have been subject, has hitherto been restrained by what has been printed and published by the Grand Duke of Berg, and by all the French generals in that country, indi-

cating the sentiments of peace and good understanding which the Emperor of the French and King of Italy was desirous of maintaining with the King my master; and also on account of the assurances which the ambassador of his Imperial Majesty in Madrid, the Grand Duke of Berg, and General Savary, had given to his Majesty of the approaching arrival of the Emperor in the said city; on which account, the King determined to proceed to Burgos to meet him, to shew this public mark of his affection, and of the high esteem he had for his person: it has now become impossible longer to answer for the tranquillity of such a numerous people, especially as they are apprised that the King has been six days in Bayonne, and they have no assurance of his return to Spain. In such a state of affairs, his Majesty must be anxious for the repose of his beloved subjects, and for this purpose to return to their bosoms to tranquillize their agitation, and to attend to the heavy demands of public business, as his absence would expose his people to incalculable mischiefs, which would fill his heart with the most poignant grief. This speedy return, his Majesty promised in the most solemn manner to his people, grounding his engagement on the assurances of the Emperor, that he should shortly be restored to his country, and acknowledged to be her Sovereign by his Imperial Majesty.

His Majesty has, therefore, ordered me to communicate to you these observations, for the purpose of your submitting them to the consideration of his Imperial Majesty, whose approbation they will doubtless meet; and his Majesty, my master, is ready to treat in his dominions with his Imperial Majesty on all convenient subjects, with such persons as the Emperor should be pleased to authorise for that purpose. (*)

(*) This dispatch was not answered, and produced an effect precisely the contrary of what might have been expected in a regular course of things. The spies within, and the guards without the palace were doubled. The King, for two nights, endured the insult of an Alguizil, who, stationed at the door, ordered his Majesty and the infante Don Carlos to retire to their apartments. The first time the insult was

NO. VI.

Royal Decree addressed to the Supreme Council of Castile, by Ferdinand VII.

Soon after the Prince of Peace was arrested, frequent and earnest entreaties were made by the Grand Duke of Berg, by the ambassador of France, and by General Savary, in the name of the Emperor, my intimate ally, that he should be delivered up to the French troops, that he might be conveyed to France, where his Imperial Majesty would order him to be tried for the offences he had committed. These solicitations were generally accompanied with threats in case of refusal, to carry him off by force. In Vittoria they were repeated with equal importunity; and I wishing to form the most prudent determination, consulted with the Duke of Infantado and the infante Carlos, with Don Juan Escoiquiz, and with Don Pedro Cevallos, my principal secretary of state. This minister on that occasion, said, 'Sire, if I were to yield to my own personal feelings, I should immediately recommend the surrender of the Prince of Peace. But such a sentiment ought to be stifled, and in truth I do stifle it when I contemplate the duty you owe to your own sacred person, and the obligations you are under to administer justice to your subjects injured by Don Manuel Godoy. This obligation is essential to the sovereignty, and your Majesty cannot disregard it without treading under foot whatever is most respectable among men. Under this view, I think you ought to answer the Emperor, informing him, at the same time, that your Majesty has offered to your august parents to save him from the penalty of death, should he be capitally convicted by the council. By your compliance with this proposal, your Majesty will give to the world a proof of your magnanimity, to your beloved parents a proof of your affection, and the Emperor will be gratified in observing with what wisdom you discharge the demands of justice, and offered, the King complained in severe terms, on which the governor employed polite language, and manifested much disapprobation of such conduct; but this did not prevent the repetition, and probably this offensive circumstance would have been repeated, had not the King abstained from going out at night.

conciliate the expectations of his Imperial and Royal Majesty.'

All approved of this salutary advice, and I did not hesitate a moment in adopting it, and proceeded to act upon it.

I communicated it to the council with the fit circumspection, to serve for their information and direction; and also that they may take the most active measures to protect the houses and families of the four denounced persons.

I, THE KING.

Bayonne, April 26, 1808.

To the President of the Council.

NO. VII.

*Letter of the King to his Father,
Charles IV.*

My honoured father and lord—your Majesty has admitted that I had not the smallest participation in the proceedings at Aranjuez, intended, as is notorious, and as your Majesty knows, not to disgust you with your throne and government, but to maintain both, and not to abandon the vast multitude whose maintenance depends upon the throne itself. Your Majesty also told me that your abdication had been spontaneous, and that if any one should attempt to persuade me it was otherwise, I should not believe them, for it was the most pleasing act of your life. Your Majesty now tells me, that though your abdication was most certainly an act of your free will, you nevertheless reserved in your mind a right to resume the reins of government when you should think proper. I have therefore enquired of your Majesty, if you were disposed to resume your sceptre, and your Majesty has replied that you neither would return to the throne or to Spain. Notwithstanding this, your Majesty desires me to renounce in your favour a crown, conferred upon me by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, on your free resignation of it. To a son who has always been distinguished for his love, respect, and obedience to his parents, nothing that can require the exercise of these qualities can be repugnant to his filial piety, especially when the discharge of my duty to your Majesty, as a son, is not in contradiction to the relation I bear, as a King, to my beloved subjects. In order that both these, who demand my highest regard, may not be offended, and that your Majesty may be pleased with my

obedience, in the present circumstances, I am willing to resign my crown in favour of your Majesty, under the following limitations:—

1. That your Majesty will return to Madrid, whither I shall accompany you and serve you as the most dutiful son.

2. That there a Cortes should be assembled; or, if your Majesty should object to so numerous a body, that all the tribunals and deputies of the kingdom should be convoked.

3. That in the presence of this council my renunciation should be executed in due form, and the motives stated which induced me to make it. These are, the love I bear to my subjects, and my wish, to make a return for their affection towards me, by securing their tranquillity, and relieving them from the horrors of a civil war, by means of a renunciation, having for its object your Majesty's resumption of the sceptre, and your return to govern subjects worthy of your love and affection.

4. That your Majesty should not be accompanied by individuals who have justly excited the hatred of the whole nation.

5. That should your Majesty, as I am informed, be neither disposed to reign in person, nor to return to Spain, in such case, that I should govern in your royal name as your lieutenant. There is no one who can have a claim to be preferred before me. I am summoned thereto by the laws, the wishes of my people, and the love of my subjects; and no one can take more zealous and bounded interest in their prosperity. My renunciation, confined within these limits, will appear in the eyes of the Spaniards a new proof of my preferring their preservation to the glory of governing them, and Europe will deem me worthy of governing a people to whose tranquillity I have shewn myself ready to sacrifice whatever is most flattering and alluring in human estimation. That God may preserve the important life of your Majesty for many happy years, is the prayer of your loving and dutiful son, who prostrates himself at your royal feet.

FERDINAND.

Bayonne, May 1, 1808.

[No. VIII. Is a Letter from Charles IV. to his son Ferdinand, a copy of which appeared in the Pol. Reg. for May. p. 308.]

NO. IX.

Letter written by King Ferdinand VII. to his August Father, in answer to the preceding.

My honoured Father and Lord.—I received the letter that your Majesty condescended to write to me, dated yesterday, and I will endeavour to answer all the particulars with that moderation and respect which is due to your Majesty.

Your Majesty speaks, in the first place, with respect to the alteration in your political conduct towards France, after the peace of Bazle; and, in truth, I believe there is no individual in Spain who has complained of it; rather all were unanimous in praising your Majesty for your confidence in, and fidelity to the principles you had adopted. Mine, in particular, were entirely similar to your own; and I have given irrefragable proofs of it from the moment when your Majesty abdicated the throne in my favour.

Had the affair of the Escorial, which your Majesty states originated in the hatred with which my wife inspired me against France, your ministers, my beloved mother, and your royal self, been examined with all the legal forms, it would have evidently proved the contrary. Notwithstanding I had not the least influence, and no liberty beyond the shew of it, guarded, as I was, by domestics whom you put round me, yet the eleven counsellors chosen by your Majesty were unanimously of opinion, that there was no ground for the accusation, and that the supposed criminals were innocent.

Your Majesty talks of the distrust created by the entrance of so many foreign troops into Spain; and that if your Majesty recalled from Portugal your troops, and united those that were in Madrid; at Aranjuez and its neighbourhood, it was not to abandon your subjects, but to support the glory of the throne. Will your Majesty permit me to remind you, that no alarm need have been given by troops entering as friends and allies, but on the contrary, that it ought to inspire additional confidence. Your Majesty will likewise permit me to observe, that the orders given by your Majesty, were for a journey with the royal family to Seville, and the troops were to keep open that road. There was no person who was not persuaded that this was

for the transport of your Majesty and the royal family to America. Your Majesty also published a decree to quiet the minds of your subjects in this particular; but as all preparations were made, and it was manifestly seen, that the coast of Andalusia was to see the royal family assembled, despair took possession of the public mind, and the movement of Aranjuez was the consequence. The part I took in it your Majesty knows, which was no other than by your command, to go to protect from the fury of the people the object of their hatred, because he was believed to be the proposer of the journey.

Let your Majesty ask the Emperor of the French, and his Imperial Majesty will no doubt tell you what he said to me in a letter that he wrote to me at Vittoria, viz. that the motive of his Imperial and Royal Majesty was, to induce your Majesty to make some reforms, and to separate from your person the Prince of Peace, whose influence was the cause of every calamity.

The universal satisfaction that his arrest produced throughout the whole nation, is an evident proof of the truth of what the Emperor declared. As to the rest, your Majesty is the best witness that in the midst of the commotion at Aranjuez, not a word was whispered against your Majesty, nor against the person of any one of the royal family; on the contrary, they applauded your Majesty with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and professions of fidelity to your august person. On this account, the abdication of the throne which you made in my favour, surprized every body, and myself among the rest; for nobody expected it, or would have solicited it. Your Majesty yourself communicated your abdication to all your ministers, enjoining them to acknowledge me as their natural lord and Sovereign. You communicated it verbally to the diplomatic body, professing that your determination proceeded from your spontaneous will, and that you had before determined upon it. You yourself told it to your beloved brother, adding at the same time, that the signature which your Majesty had put to the decree of abdication, was the happiest transaction of your life; and finally, your Majesty told me personally three days afterwards that I should pay no attention to any assertion of the

abdication being involuntary, inasmuch as it was in every respect free and spontaneous.

My supposed hatred to France in no respect appeared by my conduct: the contrary will appear by my actions, of which I will give a rapid narrative.

Your Majesty had scarcely abdicated the crown in my favour, before I addressed various letters from Aranjuez to the Emperor of the French, which are so many proofs that my principles with respect to the relations of friendship and strict alliance happily subsisting between the two states, were the same that your Majesty had inspired me with, and had yourself inviolably observed. My journey to Madrid was one of the strongest proofs that I could give to his Imperial and Royal Majesty of the unlimited confidence I placed in him, since Prince Murat had entered Madrid the day before with a great part of his army, and the city being garrisoned, it was the same as if I had delivered myself into his hands. During two days of my residence in the capital, I was informed of the particular correspondence of your Majesty with the Emperor of the French, and I found that your Majesty had recently solicited a Princess of his family to connect me with it, and to insure more effectually in this way the near union and alliance which was to subsist between the two states. Accommodating myself entirely to these principles, and to the wish of your Majesty, I wrote a letter to your Majesty, requesting the Princess in marriage.

I sent a deputation to Bayonne to compliment, in my name, his Imperial and Royal Majesty. A short time afterwards, I induced my beloved brother, the Infant Don Carlos, to set off, that he might pay his respects to the Emperor on the frontiers. Not content with this, I myself left Madrid, on the faith of the assurances given me by the ambassador of his Imperial Majesty, the Grand Duke of Berg, and General Savary, who had just arrived from Paris, and who entreated an audience to tell me on the part of the Emperor, that his Imperial Majesty only expected of me to follow the system with regard to France which your Majesty adopted; in which case, the Emperor would acknowledge me as King of Spain, and all the rest would be forgotten.

Full of reliance on these promises, and persuaded that I should be met by his Imperial Majesty, I arrived at this city; and on the same day that I arrived, verbal propositions were made to some of my attendants, quite different from those which had been before suggested, which neither my honour, my conscience, nor my duty would permit me to concur in, since the cortes had sworn me to be their Prince and Lord; nor were they consistent with what I had lately sworn, when I accepted the crown that your Majesty abdicated in my favour.

I cannot comprehend how any letters of mine could have come into the possession of the Emperor which prove my hatred against France, since I have given so many proofs of my friendship towards him, and have written nothing to indicate such a disposition.

A copy of the protest had been lately shewn me, which your Majesty made to the Emperor, in the nullity of the abdication; and yet when I arrived in this city, and asked you respecting it, you told me distinctly, that the abdication was voluntary, although not intended to be permanent. I asked you at the same time, why you did not apprise me of this before it was executed, and your Majesty answered, that you did not choose it; from which may be inferred, that there was no violence used, at least not by me: it could not be known that your Majesty intended to resume the reins of government: on the contrary, you told me, that you neither would reign, nor return into Spain.

In the letter that I had the honour to put into the hands of your Majesty on this account, I signified my disposition to renounce the crown in your favour, when the cortes should be convened—and if not convened, when the council and deputies of the kingdom should be assembled; not because I thought this was necessary to give effect to the renunciation, but because I thought it convenient to avoid injurious novelties, which frequently occasion divisions and contentions, and to have every thing attended to which respected your Majesty's dignity, my own honour, and the tranquillity of the realm.

If your Majesty should not chuse to reign in person, I will govern in your royal name, or in my own; for nobody but myself can represent your person,

possessing as I do, in my own favour, the decision of the laws, and the will of the people; nor can any other person have so much interest in their prosperity.

To your Majesty I repeat again, that in such circumstances and under such conditions, I am ready to accompany your Majesty to Spain, there to make my abdication in the form expressed. In respect to what your Majesty has said of not wishing to return to Spain, with tears in my eyes I implore you, by all that is most sacred in heaven and earth, that in case you do not chuse to re-ascend the throne, you will not leave a country so long known to you, in which you may chuse a situation best suited to your injured health, and where you may enjoy greater comforts and tranquillity of mind than in any other.

Finally, I beg your Majesty most affectionately, that you will seriously consider your situation, and that you will reflect on the evil of excluding our dynasty for ever from the throne of Spain, and substituting in its room the imperial family of France. This step we cannot take without the express consent of all the individuals who have, or may have, a right to the crown; much less without an equally expressed consent of the Spanish people assembled in cortes in a place of security; and besides, being now in a foreign country, it would be impossible that we could persuade any one, that we acted freely; and this consideration alone would annul whatever we might do, and might produce the most fatal consequences.

Before I conclude this letter, your Majesty will permit me to say, that the counsellors whom your Majesty calls perfidious, have never advised me to derogate from the love, respect, and honour that I have always professed to your Majesty, whose valuable life I pray God to preserve to a happy and good old age.

I cast myself at your Majesty's royal feet, your most dutiful son,

FERDINAND.

Bayonne, May 4, 1808.

NO. X.

Letter from the King to his Father Charles IV.

Venerable Father and Lord—I deposited in the royal hands of your Majesty on the 1st current, the renuncia-

tion of the crown in your favour. I have believed it to be obligatory upon me to modify the renunciation by such conditions as were agreeable to the respect due to your Majesty, to the tranquillity of my dominions, and to the preservation of my honour and character. It is not without great astonishment, that I have seen indignation produced in the royal mind of your Majesty, by modifications dictated by prudence, and called for by the love that I bear to my subjects.

Without any other ground, your Majesty thought proper to insult me in the presence of my venerable mother, and of the Emperor, by appellations the most humiliating; and not content with this, you require my renunciation without any conditions or restrictions, under pain that I, and those who composed my council, should be treated as conspirators. In such a situation of things, I make the renunciation which your Majesty commands, that you may return to the government of Spain, in the state in which you were on the 19th March, when your Majesty made the spontaneous abdication of your crown in my favour.

May God preserve the valuable life of your Majesty many years, which is the prayer of your loving and dutiful son, prostrate at your royal feet.

FERDINAND.

Bayonne, May 6, 1808.

NO. XI.

Note of the French minister for foreign affairs, M. de Champagny, in reply to one from D. Pedro Cevallos, in which it is complained, that a cabinet courier dispatched by order of Ferdinand the VIIth. with documents for Madrid, had been detained, and in which he applied for passports for another.

The minister for foreign affairs has received the note which Signor de Cevallos did him the honour to address to him, complaining of the obstruction of the courier of his excellency. This measure was occasioned by a notification that his Imperial Majesty had required, that no other King should be acknowledged than Charles the IVth. From this results as a necessary conse-

quence, that the Emperor cannot admit in his territory any act in the nature of a passport given in the name of any other King, and for the same reason that the minister could not countersign the new passport which *Seignor Cevallos* had sent him. But he hastens to apprise you, that all the letters which the courier conveyed, and which have been detained, have been put into the hands of the French postmaster, who will provide that they shall be sent to *Burgos* and *Madrid* with the greatest punctuality, and the same will be done as to all others, that the Spaniards, whether in France or Spain, choose to have conveyed, either by the ordinary post, or by a French courier. All will be transported to their respective destinations with the most scrupulous exactness, and the correspondence between the two states, far from experiencing any interruption, will acquire new activity.

'*M. de Champagny*, in sending this note to *Seignor de Cevallos*, has the honour to assure him of his high consideration.'

'*Bayonne, April 29, 1808.*'

NO. XII.

Resignation by Seignor D. Pedro Cevallos of his office of minister for foreign affairs, into the hands of Joseph Napoleon, on the 28th. of July.

'*SIR*—At the time your Majesty had the goodness to invite me to continue in the employment of minister for foreign affairs, I believed that I ought to submit to your notice some reflections, according to which your Majesty could neither

* While the Emperor intreated the King to renounce the throne in his favour, no difficulty was made in countersigning the passports that I gave in his royal name, but as soon as the French government saw its hopes disappointed, it refused passports to every dispatch.

have the least confidence in me, or I the least security in your Majesty's protection, since I found myself injured, and carefully watched by the Emperor your august brother, whose influence over your Majesty's mind could be in no respect favourable to me.

'Your Majesty persisted in your resolution, telling me that you were anxious to have near you persons possessing the esteem of the nation; but I having no other wish than to return to my native land, which had been denied to me after two months application to his Imperial and Royal Majesty, it was necessary for me to accept the nomination of your Majesty, to put an end to the lamentable separation from my family and fellow-countrymen, reserving always the right which no one can renounce, of adhering to the vote of the majority of the nation, in case it should not be disposed to acknowledge your Majesty for their sovereign.

'To your Majesty I have since shewn, that Spain is almost unanimously opposed to recognize you as King; and if this claim be wanting to you, there is no other by which your Majesty can continue sovereign of these kingdoms. Thus circumstanced, I should be a traitor to my own principles, if I were to continue to exercise a ministerial capacity accepted under such circumstances, and not from a desire to have any influence in the government of your Majesty, which I renounce from this moment, to go into retirement where I will consecrate to my happy country my wishes and tears for its calamities and distress, which I should be glad to remove, for the happiness of a nation noble, generous, loyal, and brave.'

APPENDIX

Respecting the manner in which the Grand Duke of Berg obtained by surprise an Order from the Junta

of Government to deliver over to him the Person of the Prisoner, Don Manuel Godoy.

Ever since the Grand Duke of Berg, Lieutenant-General of the armies of the Emperor, set his foot on the territory of Spain, he endeavoured, by every possible artifice, to impress a general opinion, that he came for our happiness, and to effect certain useful reforms in our government; studiously giving it out that he would protect the cause of the Prince of Asturias, and that he would oppose the Prince of Peace, who was the object of universal hatred with the nation. Neither did he neglect to give forth some hints of the great influence of the Queen in public affairs. It was very well known, that this only was necessary to captivate the affections of the oppressed Spaniards; and since his mission had for its object what we have since seen, it must be acknowledged, that the calculations of the Emperor of the French, his master, were well grounded.

As, however, all things in this world are subject to change, the ever-memorable movements at Aranjuez occurred, and subverted all this plan. Scarcely had the Grand Duke of Berg become acquainted with them, than he altered his scheme, and appeared to take a great interest in the fate of Don Manuel Godoy, with whom he had held correspondence of the nearest intimacy, although he was not personally known to him. It was not concealed from his sagacity that the royal parents took great interest in the protection of their favourite. Then it was that he began to take the most efficacious measures to liberate Godoy from prison; but all this was ineffectual, as long as their beloved King, Ferdinand VII. remained at Madrid. The Grand Duke of Berg was not dismayed by this circumstance; but scarcely had his Majesty arrived at Burgos, when he renewed his appli-

cation to obtain what he had long wished; threatening, in case a negative was given, that he would use the force at his disposal to effect his purpose.

The junta, nevertheless, resisted his first application, and consulted the King as to what they ought to do in such critical circumstances.—His Majesty was pleased to acquaint them with the answer he had given on the same subject to the Emperor of the French, who had himself solicited the release of the prisoner, and which answer is as follows:—

‘The Grand Duke of Berg and the ambassador of your Imperial and Royal Majesty have, on different occasions, made verbal applications that Don Manuel Godoy, prisoner for a crime against the state in the royal palace of Villaviciosa, should be put at the disposal of your Majesty.

‘Nothing would be more agreeable personally to myself than to accede to your wishes; but the consequences would be so serious if I were to do so, that I think it right to submit them to the prudent consideration of your Majesty.

‘Consistently with one of the duties of my situation, which is to administer justice to my people, I have ordered the most dignified of the tribunals of my kingdom to judge Don Manuel Godoy according to the laws. I have promised to my people that I would publish the result of a process on which depends the honour of a great number of my subjects, and the preservation of the rights of my crown. Throughout the whole extent of my dominions, there is not a single district, however small, which has not addressed complaints to the throne against that prisoner. All my subjects have signified their joy in a remarkable manner, from the moment that they were informed of the arrest of Don Manuel Godoy, and all have

their eyes fixed on the proceedings and decision of this cause.

Your Majesty, a wise legislator and a great warrior, can easily determine the weight of these considerations; but if your Majesty feel yourself interested in the life of D. Manuel Godoy, I give you my royal word, that if, after a full examination of his case, he should be condemned to death, I will remit that punishment, in consequence of the interposition of your Imperial Majesty.

'May God preserve the life of your Imperial Majesty many years.'

'FERDINAND.'

'Vittoria, April 13, 1803.'

The royal order of the same date also apprised the junta, that if the Grand Duke of Berg renewed his applications in favour of Godoy, he should be answered, that his business was in treaty between the two sovereigns, and that the result depended exclusively on the decision of the King. His Majesty having been informed that his royal parents (ill informed no doubt) had complained to the Grand Duke of the ill treatment of the Prince of the Peace in his prison, his Majesty commanded me, notwithstanding his conviction of the delicate treatment observed by the Marquis of Castelar, that I should direct him, that the greatest care should be taken of the health of the prisoner, which I did under the same date.

Scarcely had the Emperor received the letter of the King, when with his accustomed haughtiness he abused it, and wrote to the Grand Duke of Berg, telling him that the Prince of Asturias had put the prisoner, Don Manuel Godoy, at his disposal, and commanding him vigorously to claim the surrender of his person. Nothing more was necessary for Murat, whose character is naturally daring and violent, and he sent the following note to the junta:—

'The Emperor and King having informed his Imperial and Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Berg, that his Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias had just written him, telling him that he referred the fate of the Prince of the Peace to his disposal; his Highness in consequence directs me to inform the junta of the intentions of the Emperor, on account of which I repeat the request for the delivery of the Prince, that he may be sent into France.'

'This determination of his Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, perhaps, has not yet reached the junta. In this case it appears that his Royal Highness must wait for the answer of his Majesty the Emperor; but the junta will see, that to answer the Prince of Asturias will be to decide a different question, and it is known, that his Imperial Majesty cannot recognise as King any other than Charles IV.'

'I beg the junta to take this note into their consideration, and to have the goodness to answer me on the subject, in order to give an explanation to his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of their decision.'

'The government and the Spanish nation will see in this resolution of his Imperial Majesty, only a new proof of the interest he takes in Spain; because, in removing to a distance the Prince of the Peace, he wishes to deprive malevolence itself of the possible belief that King Charles will restore to power and to confidence one whom he has resigned for ever; and further, the junta of government certainly will do justice to the exalted sentiments of his Majesty the Emperor, who would not abandon his faithful ally.'

'I have the honour to offer to the junta the assurance of my high consideration.'

'The general in chief of the etat major-general,

'AUGUSTO BELLIARD.'

'Madrid, April 20, 1803.'

He added verbally, to this note such atrocious and unheard of threats, that the junta, no doubt, fearful lest they should be realised, and that the tranquillity of Madrid would be shaken, had the weakness to accede to the proposition, and commanded the Marquis de Castelar, by order of the King, the same night, to deliver up the prisoner, which in fact, was done with great repugnance on his part, and on the part of all the officers who had him in custody.

A proper regard to truth requires that it should be said, that Don Francisco Gil, secretary of state and of marine affairs, and in consequence member of the junta of government, opposed the surrender of the prisoner, because it was not authorised by the King.

It is difficult to conceive how, after such direct acts as those that are stated, the junta of government should proceed to inform the council and the public, by the means of two extraordinary gazettes, that the Prince of the Peace had been delivered up by order of the King. The same difficulty occurs, how this junta could endeavour to excuse its weakness, by distorting expressions of the official correspondence; as for example, a passage in the dispatch addressed to the council, which this tribunal, in its manifest, folio 14 of the quarto, cites in the following terms:—

‘As to what respects the prisoner Don Manuel Godoy, the King commands me to inform the junta, in order that they may make the proper use of this notice, that his Majesty esteems too highly the wish expressed by the Emperor of the French, not to gratify it, extending at the same time generosity in favour of a criminal who had offended the royal person.’

With little reflection it ought to have occurred to them, that this supposed order was not intended to give liberty to the prisoner, but that

the King was disposed to extend generosity towards him out of respect to the Emperor. In order to know what species of generosity this was, it was only necessary to recur to the decree which his Majesty addressed to the council, and which it has inserted, folio 15 of the same edition. Under the same date of the 18th. of April, a royal order was addressed to the Marquis de Castelar, notwithstanding his Majesty’s firm persuasion that his royal parents laboured under a mistake, directing that every care should be taken of the health of the prisoner; and if at the same time the King had commanded that the junta of government should have set him at liberty, such a precaution with regard to his health would have been idle and ridiculous. Besides this, when the junta of government gave an account to the King of the considerations and motives that they had for setting the prisoner at liberty, which are the same that have been stated, his Majesty commanded me to reply in the following terms:—

‘The King is made acquainted with the motives the junta of government had for the delivery of the prisoner *without his order*.’

The two chief officers of the first secretary of state, and of the cabinet his Majesty, and his secretaries of decrees, Don Eusebio de Bardaxi y Azara, and Don Luis de Onis (thru’ whose hands they were passed) certify this statement of the junta, and of the reply of the King.

I have considered it to be my duty to publish these transactions, that the whole nation may be informed of the circumstances which occasioned the surrender of Don Manuel Godoy, which is falsely attributed to his Majesty, who never could think of abandoning the solemn promise he gave to his beloved people, to judge him according to the laws, and that we should on this account be more strongly confirmed in the

ardent affection we cherish for our beloved King Ferdinand VII. whom God restore, as soon as possible, for the completion of our happiness.

'We, Don Eusebio Bradaxi y Azara, and Don Luis de Onis, secretaries of decrees to our Lord the King, and principal officers of the first secretary of state, and of the cabinet, certify the fact of the representation of the junta of government, and the answer returned to it by the King; and that they were conceived in the terms stated by the most excellent seignor Don Pedro Cevallos, in his Expositions; the documents having passed through our hands, and which we authenticate by our signatures.'

EUSEBIO DE BARDAXI y AZARA.

LOUIS DE ONIS.

Madrid, Sept. 3. 1808.

INSTALLATION OF THE SUPREME JUNTA,

AT THE PALACE OF ARANJUEZ.

List of the Members Assembled.

PRESIDENT AD INTERIM.

The Most Excellent Senor the Conde de Florida Blanca.

ARRAGON.

Don Francisco Palafox, Don Lorenzo Caloe.

ASTURIAS.

The Most Excellent Senor Don Melchor de Jovellanos; the Marquis de Campo Sagrado.

(OLD) CASTILE.

Don Lorenzo Bonifaz de Quintan, —Valdas, absent.

CATALONIA.

The Marquis de Villel, the Marquis de Sabazona.

CORDOVA.

The Marquis de la Puebla, Don Juan de Dios Rabe.

ESTREMADURA.

Don Martin de Garoy, Don Felix de Ovalle.

GRANADA.

Don Rodrigo Requelinde, Don Luis Gines de Gines y Salido.

JAEEN.

Don Sebastian de Tocano, Don Francisco Paula Castanedo.

FOR MAJORCA; AND THE ADJACENT ISLANDS.

Don Tomas de Vizi, Don Josef Sanglada de Tajeros.

MURCIA.

The Most Excellent Senor the President, ad interim, the Senor Marquis de Villar.

SEVILLE.

The Senor Archbishop of Laodicea, the Conde de Tilli.

TOLEDO.

Don Pedro de Bibero, Don Josef Garcia de la Torre.

VALENCIA.

The Conde de Contamina, El Principe de Pio.

In consequence of the agreement of yesterday, the 24th inst. made in a preparatory conference, and by which it was resolved, that at half-past nine o'clock this morning, the supreme central junta of government of the kingdom should be installed (to which effect all the most serene deputies, present in this royal residence, amounting to more than two-thirds of the number which should compose the junta of government, who are mentioned alphabetically in the margin, were summoned); the ceremony was observed in the following manner:—

The said most serene deputies assembled in the sacristy of the chapel belonging to the palace of this royal residence, and when formed, seated themselves on the benches placed on both sides for that purpose. They then heard mass, which was celebrated by the most excellent the Archbishop of Laodicea, coadjutor of the Archbishop of Seville, and deputy of that kingdom; after which the following oath, which had been previously taken by that prelate, was administered to him, upon the book of the Holy Evangelists, to all the most serene deputies:—

"You swear by God and his holy evangelists, and by JESUS CHRIST

crucified; whose sacred image you have here present, that in the employment and functions of a member of the central supreme junta of government of the kingdom, *you will defend, and promote the preservation and INCREASE* of our holy, catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion; that you will be loyal to, and defend our august Sovereign Ferdinand VII, and his rights and sovereignty; that you will promote the preservation of our rights and privileges, our laws and usages, and especially those relative to the succession in the reigning family, and those also which are particularly laid down in the same laws; and finally, that you will promote every thing conducive to the general welfare and happiness of this kingdom, and the amelioration of its customs, keeping secret every thing that should be so, protecting the laws from every evil, and persecuting their enemies even at the hazard of your life, safety, and property. — *So I swear.*"

"If you do so, God be your helper; and if not, may he punish you, as one who has taken his holy name in vain." *Amen.*

A solemn *Te Deum* was sung by the community of barefooted monks of St. Pasqual of this place; and this religious act being concluded the junta passed in front of the fine battalion of light troops of Valencia, which was formed in two files from the entrance of the chapel to the staircase of the royal palace, and adjourned to one of the principal halls destined at present for the sitting of the juntas.

In this public proceeding, and among the multitude of people of all classes and conditions who were assembled, the greatest interest and enthusiasm were discovered in favour of Ferdinand VII. His name resounded on all sides, together with that of the junta, who had just sworn, before God and man, at the hazard of their lives, to restore to his throne, a So-

vereign so beloved, to defend our holy religion, and our laws, usages and customs. The opening of the gates of the royal palace, which had been so long shut, the melancholy solitude of the magnificent habitation of our Kings, and the remembrance of the epoch at which, and of the reasons for which they were shut up, drew tears even from the firmest of the spectators, who performed the most affectionate and interesting action, and the most useful in exciting vengeance against the causes of those evils, and a just confidence in the subjects who, after incurring such danger in so just a cause, nevertheless present themselves in as great number as is necessary to bring it to a happy termination. Such, doubtless, is what we ought to hope from the union and fraternal affection with which the united kingdoms are mutually animated. The enthusiasm and interest felt by the people increased, when the most serene deputies proceeded to the great gallery of the principal front of the palace, from which the actual president, *ad interim*, Count Florida Blanca, again proclaimed our beloved King Ferdinand, and the people followed, often increasing their lively acclamations of joy, and the affections with which they were inspired by a body, who were to fulfil such great hopes, which were the more properly conceived, in proportion to the dignified sincerity with which the most august proceeding which the nation has ever witnessed, has been celebrated.

The most serene deputies being placed in their respective stations, and the president having pronounced a short but appropriate discourse, the junta declared itself legitimately constituted, without any prejudice to the absentees, who according to the agreement of yesterday, are to compose the junta of government, in absence of our King and master, Ferdinand VII. and

ordered a literal certification of this act to be drawn up, and directed to the president of the council, for his information, and that of the tribunal. In the mean time communications are made to him of the last orders agreed upon.

MARTIN DE GAROY.

General Secretary ad interim.
Royal Palace of Aranjuez, Sept. 25.

PORTUGAL.

PROCLAMATION

By the British and French Commissioners, for seeing carried into effect the Convention agreed upon between the respective Commanders in Chief.

For the fulfilment of the stipulations made in the convention agreed upon for the evacuation of Portugal by the French army, That property of every kind, confiscated, or seized, from the subjects, or other persons residing in Portugal, whether of the royal palace, royal and public libraries, and museums, and from individuals that are still existing in Portugal should be restored :

We, the commissioners for seeing carried into execution the said treaty, as his excellency the commander of the French army has already notified to his army, think it also right to make public the same for the information of all concerned, and for facilitating the restitution, or the receiving back such property, we have judged it expedient to appoint a committee of three persons, Lieut. Col. Trant, O. Sr Antonio Rodrigues de Oliveira, and Mr. Dubliur, *commissaires des guerres*, to meet at No. 8, Cargo de Loretto, who are appointed to receive, inquire into, and judge of all reclamations on this head, and whose orders for the restitution of property, to whomsoever addressed, are to be obeyed. And it is directed that keepers shall have charge of sequestered or seized property in every house to which it may have been removed, to assure the conservation of objects or moveables transported from royal and public houses, to others, for the use or convenience of such general, administrator, or other subjects of the French army. These keepers will make the description of all *meubles* with the

names of the owners, and be accountable for whatever there is therein, and they will be delivered only on legal proof of ownership, to be the possessors of such articles as above described, who will transmit to this committee a return of what each may have in his possession of the property designated. And all persons may with safety apply to this tribunal.

We think it necessary also to make known to whom it may concern, that any purchase made of articles taken from the public arsenals or stores, since the 30th. of August, or whatever shall, on trial, be proved to have been illegally sold or disposed of at any time, even previous to the 30th. of August, shall be null and void, the articles seized and the persons purchasing subject to what the law may further direct.

The committee assembled to receive reclamations, and facilitate the restitution of property, hold its sittings at the house of Sr. Antonio Rodrigues de Oliveira, No. 8, Cargo de Lorretto, W. C. BERESFORD, Maj.-Gen. PROBY, Lieut.-Colonel, British Commissioners.

Le General KELLERMAN,
Le Commissaire Francais pour l'exécution de la Convention, du SQ Aout, Lisbon, 10th. Sept. 1808.

PROCLAMATION

By his Excellency Lieutenant General Sir Hew Dalrymple, commanding the British Forces in Portugal, to the Portuguese nation.

The success with which it has pleased Almighty God to bless the British arms, has brought about the moment when it becomes my duty to address the faithful and loyal inhabitants of this country. I seize the opportunity with eagerness, in order to tranquilize the minds of the timid, to repress the designs of the disaffected (if any such remain) and to assure the nation at large, that the efforts of the British force under my command have no other object in view than to insure the prosperity of the inhabitants of Portugal, by the restoration of that government which has so long and so gloriously presided over them, and the return of which will be welcomed, no

doubt, by the united voice of a loyal people.

The presence of an hostile army, in possession of the capital, and master of the principal resources of the kingdom, had in a manner deprived the estimable and loyal subjects of Portugal of the means of liberating their country. Patriotic efforts, however, were made in spite of these disadvantages, and the national spirit was manifested in a manner at once most decided and most honourable.

The efforts which were made by several provinces of the kingdom opened the road for the restoration of the monarchy.

Notwithstanding, however, the energy displayed by these provinces in arraying and bringing forward an armed force for the liberation of the capital, the aid of the ancient and faithful ally of Portugal was necessary, to bring the contest to a successful issue. The warm interest which his Britannic Majesty felt for his ally, and the energy which has ever marked the British character, soon brought a powerful force to the shores of Portugal.

That part of the Portuguese army which local circumstances permitted, united itself with the British, whilst the remainder effected a powerful diversion. Measures were taken in concert for the defeat of the common enemy. The steps of that force have been marked by victory, and the expulsion of the enemy has opened the way to the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy, the most gratifying duty which could be imposed by his sovereign on a British commander.

No views of national interest or aggrandisement can be traced in the liberal policy of Britain; but, true to the principles of honour and good faith, that have ever directed her conduct, she sees, in the events now passing in Portugal, only the happy means of re-establishing order, and

restoring to the sovereign and the people their just right.

In the execution of these views as commander of the British forces, I shall best fulfil the intentions of the king my master, and most effectually secure the interests of Portugal, by placing in the exercise of authority, that body to which his royal highness the Prince Regent thought fit to delegate the sovereign power, when he withdrew the royal dignity from the insults of an implacable enemy, and preserved the sovereignty of his dominions beyond the Atlantic.

One respectable nobleman, a member of the body thus left in power by his Royal Highness, has unfortunately been removed from his country, by the authority or arts of its enemy, by which at this critical period it is deprived of his services; whilst some of the members having appeared to unite themselves with the French interest, have rendered their re-establishment in the government at this moment impossible.

Therefore the distinguished persons undermentioned, the remaining members of the regency appointed by his royal highness the Prince Regent, and who have incurred no such disability, are called upon to repair to Lisbon to take upon themselves the functions of the government, until such time as the will of his royal highness the Prince Regent shall be more fully known, viz.—

The Count de Castro Marim, monteiro mor of the kingdom, and member of the councils of his royal highness.

Don Francisco Xavier de Noronha, member of the councils of his royal highness, and Grao Cruz da Ordem de Sant-Iago, president of the board of conscience, and lieutenant-general in the royal armies.

Francisco de Cunha e Meneses, member of the councils of his royal highness, and Lieutenant-General in the royal armies.

João Antonio Salter de Mendonça, Desembargador do Paco, and procurador of the crown.

Don Miguel Pereira Forjaz Coutinho, member of the councils of his royal highness, and brigadeiro in the royal armies.

To this government the inferior jurisdictions and tribunals, the constituted and legal authorities of the kingdom, and all persons of every description are required to pay all deference and submission.

As commander of the British forces, I shall hold it to be my first and most urgent duty to maintain the authority of the government thus established, and to insure the tranquillity and subsistence of the capital, and to encourage the re-establishment of the former prosperity of the kingdom.

When these objects are attained, and the attainment of them can only be delayed by intrigue or disaffection, the interference of a military force will cease to be necessary, but till these ends are accomplished, the most vigorous and decided measures will be taken for maintaining the peace and good order of the country, and all offences against the tranquillity of any part of the kingdom, will be proceeded against with the utmost severity.

Given at the head-quarters of the British army at Prayas, this 18th. day of September, 1808.

(Signed) **HEW DALRYMPLE,**
Lieut.-General and Commander of the British forces in Portugal.

PROCLAMATION:

By Lieutenant-General Hope, commanding the troops of his Britannic Majesty, for the immediate security and tranquillity of Lisbon.

Inhabitants of Lisbon,

Your country is rescued, and you are restored to freedom; your national flag is flying in every quarter of the kingdom, and his excellency the general in chief of the British army

is anxious to establish your civil government upon the same footing in which it was left by your beloved prince, when, assisted by the constant friends of his person and his throne, he escaped from his most insidious enemies. Without losing a moment, we are endeavouring to effect this measure, and to substitute a civil government to the military; to accomplish which, however, some days will be requisite. In order, then, that the evil disposed (if such there be) may not convert true liberty into unbridled licentiousness, and in order to avoid, in the present crisis, the terrible consequences of such disorder, it belongs to the commander in chief, and to those to whom he has immediately delegated the superintendence of the public tranquillity of this city, to watch with all vigilance over its peace and quiet, and to give security to the persons and property of its loyal and worthy inhabitants.—To obtain this desirable end it will be necessary, for a short time, to maintain strong guards, piquets, and patrols, in various directions, in order to seize and take into custody every person who shall attempt to disturb the public peace.

You may rejoice, Inhabitants of Lisbon! You have great cause for gladness; and your English friends, participating in your sentiments, rejoice equally with you. Never let it be permitted, however, that the evil disposed should thereby have an opportunity of promoting insurrection or confusion. But let them beware of such a design! The most vigorous and effective means are prepared for suppressing any attempt of this nature, and all who may be guilty shall be punished according to military law, in the most prompt, rigorous, and exemplary manner; and for the purpose of removing every temptation to interrupt the peace of the city, I prohibit, under

present circumstances, the entering the city with arms, and the wearing them in the streets. All inns and taverns where wine or spirituous liquors are sold in small quantities, are, for the same reason, required to be shut up at six in the evening, and not to open before sun rise, under the pain of imprisonment to the dealers, and forfeiture of their liquors.

Finally, I invite all persons who possess any authority or influence whatever, and whether included or not in the body of the magistracy, and more particularly the holy ministers of religion, to assist the military power in preserving the tranquillity of the capital, until the much wished for object of seeing the constituted civil authorities in the exercise of their functions be obtained. God save the Prince Regent ! Viva ! Viva !

J. HOPE, *Lieut. Gen.*

LETTER FROM THE KING OF SWEDEN TO
THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

Honour and humanity enjoin me to make the most forcible remonstrances to your Imperial Majesty, against the numberless cruelties and the injustice committed by the Russian troops in

Swedish Finland. These proceedings are too well known and confirmed, to require from me any proofs of their reality: for the blood of the ill fated victims still cries aloud for vengeance against the abettors of such enormities. Let not your Imperial Majesty's heart be insensible to the representations which I find myself compelled to make to you in the name of my faithful subjects in Finland. But what is the object of this war, as unjust as it is unnatural? It is not, I suppose, to excite the strongest aversion for the Russian name. Is it criminal in my subjects in Finland not to have suffered themselves to be seduced from their allegiance, by promises as false as the principles on which they are founded? Does it become a sovereign to make loyalty a crime? I conjure your Imperial Majesty to put a stop to the calamities of war, which cannot fail to bring down on your own person and your government, the curses of Divine Providence.—Half my dominions in Finland are already recovered by my brave Finnish troops. Your Majesty's fleet is shut up in Baltic port, without the hope of ever getting out, otherwise than as a conquest. Your flotilla of galleys has recently sustained a very severe defeat; and my troops are this moment landing in Finland to reinforce those who will point out to them the road to honour and glory.—Given at my head-quarters, Sept. 7, 1808.

(Signed) GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Government have received by the Gottenburgh mail, dispatches from Sir James Saumarez, which announce the total failure of our operations against the Russian squadron in Port Baltic.—That the dispatches brought by Captain Martin are duplicates of them. Sir James Saumarez and the Swedish Admiral, it is said, finding that the enemy's position was so strong as to render it impossible to attack them in it, or to use fire-ships with a probability of success, had relinquished the block-

ade, and at the date of the dispatches brought home by Captain Martin, were on their return to the Finnish coast; a few light vessels only being left off Rogerswick Bay. The following are extracts of private letters from Gottenburgh:—

“All prospect of obtaining possession of the Russian fleet in Port Baltic had entirely vanished. The guns of the ships have been taken out and carried on shore, and the ships have been dismantled and hauled in close to the shore. The

island at the entrance of the Port had been so strongly fortified as to bid defiance, not only to the entrance of an hostile squadron, but had been rendered impervious even to the approach of fire-ships, or any other attack.

"Mr. Thornton has returned to Stockholm from Finland. It was understood that his journey thither was for no other purpose than to take leave of his Swedish Majesty preparatory to his return to England.

"The Swedish fleet it was apprehended would be under the immediate necessity of returning into port. The scurvy had made its appearance among the crews, with such virulence, that only a small portion of the men were able to do their duty on board.

"Other private letters state, that an unsuccessful attempt has been made to destroy the Russian fleet in Port Baltic. Several fire-ships are reported to have been sent against them, but the Russians had fixed a chain across the harbour, which prevented their getting in or doing any considerable mischief."

FROM THE FOREIGN PAPERS.

Erfurth, Sept. 28.—Yesterday at nine o'clock in the morning arrived here his Majesty the Emperor of the French. The commandant of the town, the magistrates, and deputies of the livery, the university, and the clergy, met him without the gates; the president of the senate tendered him the keys of the gates of the city, and presented an address, expressing the fidelity and attachment of the inhabitants to his person and government.—The Emperor having perused the address, and testified his satisfaction, entered the town on horseback amidst the firing of guns, ringing of bells, and joyful acclamations of the inhabitants, and alighted at the hotel prepared for his reception. Soon after the Emperor mounted his horse again, to pay a

visit to his Majesty the King of Saxony, who arrived on the preceding day. He afterwards inspected the troops quartered in this town, and then proceeded on horseback on the road to Weimar, to meet his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the two great Monarchs entered the town on horseback, attended by a great number of persons of the first distinction, and escorted by two regiments of foot, and two regiments of horse. At night the whole town was illuminated.

At Weimar 300 men of the Imperial Russian guards are expected.

His Majesty the King of Westphalia, his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Constantine, and the Duke and Hereditary Prince of Weimar, have arrived in this place.

Madrid, Oct. 1.—The supreme government at Aranjuez have ordered Lieutenant-General Urbina, governor of Segovia, to bring before them, from the state prison in the tower of that place, his prisoner Valdes, counsellor of state, and deputy of the province of Leon. They have, at the same time, ordered General Cuesta to leave his army, and come to give an account of his motives for arresting Gen. Valdes.—

They have further declared Valdes the legal representative for Leon, and have rejected the man chosen by Cuesta. In consequence of Cuesta's violent conduct to one of the representatives of the nation, Mr. Stuart has refused to give him any part of the money sent to Asturias and Leon, by the British government.—This proceeding of Mr. Stuart has given great satisfaction to the Spanish government. Cuesta, however, marched a detachment of his army to Robles, a small town near to Leon, and seized 250,000 dollars belonging to the British government. General Castanos is appointed commander in chief of the armies of Andalusia, Castile, Va-

lencia, and Estramadura. These troops compose the central army ; the effective numbers of which are as follows :—

Andalusia	25,000	troops of the line.
Valencia	16,000	} mostly Peasantry.
Castile	12,000	
Estramadura	12,000	
Total	<hr/> 65,000.	

Of the army of Andalusia one division is still at Madrid, and one at Ocaña. Orders were sent this day to the army of Estramadura to begin its march to Burjo del Osma. The Marquis de la Romana is appointed to the command of the Northern army, at present under General Blake. The present strength of this army, exclusive of the Marquis de la Romana's corps, is 30,000 men, of which more than one-half are troops of the line. When the army of the Marquis shall have arrived, there will be 40,000, two-thirds of the line, to which may be added 10,000 Asturians.

The army of Arragon will continue to be commanded by General Palafox ; but as he has been ordered to detach 10,000 men to Catalonia, including the division of the army of Valencia then at Saragossa, his remaining force would be but 15,000 men ; a considerable portion of which would be peasantry. General Vives is to command the army in Catalonia, which will be reinforced immediately by 10,000 men from Granada, under General Reding. A military junta, composed of seven generals, has been established by order of the government. General Castanos is the president, but this will not prevent his taking the field forthwith.

General Blake's army at present occupies Trias.—His appearance in this quarter appears to have alarmed the French as to the practicability of a safe retreat. They must either beat General Blake, or throw back their right as far as San Sebastian, resting their left on Pam-

peluna ; but still their position would be bad, for it would be easy to come on their rear through Sanguera, while the main body may attack their left at Pampeluna, and Blake could menace their extended front in positions chosen at his pleasure. But this plan requires a commander in chief ; and the junta, probably from a respect to the equality of the generals of the different armies, has preferred a council. In Navarre, General Palafox has pushed on a division to Sanguera. In Catalonia, Eamas occupies Boxja and Taragona. Pena has two divisions of the Andalusian army at Loria ; but his light troops, which are most excellent, have advanced as far as Logrono, and driven the French out-posts across the Ebro. Cuesta is on the left of Pena. The French have abandoned Milagro, Peratta, and the other small posts they occupied on the left bank of the Ebro. They have directed their march towards Vittoria, probably with the intention of bringing Blake to an action, but the country favours him much, being extremely mountainous.

The present strength of the French army is, according to the lowest computation, 40,000, but is generally supposed to be 45. The 20,000 men landed at Rochefort from Portugal, may reach the frontier of Biscay in 15 days. Other reinforcements are expected by the enemy. But with the aid of 20 or 30,000 British troops no doubt could remain of the successful issue of the war. It is a gross error that the Spaniards have expressed or felt any reluctance to receive this aid. On the contrary, they are most anxious for its arrival, and every individual, military as well as civil ; the generals and the army, from Castanos downward ; the government and the people, have expressed the greatest eagerness for its arrival, and the most heartfelt gratitude for the offer

of so important and seasonable an assistance. It is particularly to be desired, that a part of the intended succours should be landed in Catalonia, about the Bay of Rosas, as it is thought the French will enter that province in considerable force from Italy.

Bilboa is once more in the occupation of the French. This achievement was performed by a division of about 12,000, detached from the main army, still estimated at only 40,000 men. The Spanish army which withdrew from Bilboa on the approach of the French, retreated to Balmaseda, a strong post in the mountains, where they were joined by another corps that was on its march to Bilboa. The third division of the Gallician army afterwards marched to their support. The French and Spanish armies were so close to each other at the beginning of this month, that a general engagement could not be well avoided. The armies of the Asturias, Castile and Galicia, are now under the command of General Blake, who by this time has been joined by the forces under General Cuesta, to the number of 7000 men, principally cavalry and artillery. The last-named commander has been ordered to Aranjuez, to explain his motives for arresting M. Valdes, who has been liberated by the supreme junta.

The *Gazette* of the 26th. contains the official account of the gallant action between the *Seahorse* frigate, of 38 guns, and a Turkish frigate of 52 guns and a corvette, which terminated in the capture of the former, and the escape by flight of the latter. The loss of men on board the captured ship was very considerable—not less than 165 killed, and 195 wounded; while that of his Majesty's ship amounted only to the comparatively small number of five killed and ten wounded.

AMERICA.—The following is the answer of Mr. Jefferson, to the ad-

dress of the inhabitants of Boston, respecting the Embargo:—
To the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in legal Town Meeting assembled.

Your representation and request were received on the 22d inst. and have been considered with the attention due to every expression of the sentiments and feelings of so respectable a body of my fellow-citizens.

No person has seen with more concern than myself the inconveniences brought on our country in general by the circumstances of the times in which we happen to live; times to which the history of nations presents no parallel. For years we have been looking as spectators on our brethren of Europe afflicted with all those evils which necessarily follow an abandonment of the moral rules which bind men and nations together. Connected with them in friendship and commerce, we have happily so far kept aloof from their calamitous conflicts, by a steady observance of justice towards all, by much forbearance, and multiplied sacrifices. At length, however, all regard to the rights of others having been thrown aside, the belligerent powers have beset the high way of commercial intercourse with edicts, which taken together, expose our commerce and mariners, under almost every destination, a prey to their fleets and armies. Each party indeed would admit our commerce with themselves, with the view of associating us in their war against the other. But we have wished war with neither. Under these circumstances, were passed the laws of which you complain, by those delegated to exercise the power of legislation for you, with every sympathy of a common interest in exercising them faithfully.

In reviewing these measures, therefore, we should advert to the difficulties out of which a choice was of necessity to be made. To have submitted our rightful commerce to

prohibitions and tributary exactions from others, would have been to surrender our independence. To resist them by arms was war, without consulting the state of things, or the choice of the nation. The alternative preferred by the legislature, of suspending a commerce placed under such unexampled difficulties, besides saving to our citizens their property, and our mariners to their country, has the peculiar advantage of giving time to the belligerent nations to revise a conduct as contrary to their interests, as it is to our rights.

In the event of such peace or suspension of hostilities between the belligerent powers of Europe, or of such change in their measures affecting neutral commerce, as may render that of the United States sufficiently safe, in the judgment of the President, he is authorised to suspend the embargo. But no peace or suspension of hostilities, no change affecting neutral commerce is known to have taken place. The orders of England, and the decrees of France and Spain, existing at the date of those laws, are still unrepealed, as far as we know. In Spain, indeed, a contest for the government appears to have arisen; but of its course, or prospects, we have no information on which prudence would undertake a hasty change in our policy, even were the authority of the executive competent to such a decision.

You desire, that in this defect of power, congress may be specially convened. It is unnecessary to examine the evidence, or the character of the facts which are supposed to dictate such a call; because you will be sensible, on an attention to dates, that the legal period of their meeting is as early as, in this extensive country, they could be fully convened by a special call.

I should with great willingness have executed the wishes of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, had

peace, or a repeal of the obnoxious edicts, or other changes, produced the case in which alone the laws have given me that authority; and so many motives of justice and interest lead to such changes, that we ought continually to expect them. But while these edicts remain, the legislature alone can prescribe the course to be pursued.

THOS. JEFFERSON.

August 26, 1808.

*Answer to the address of the
Legislature of New
Hampshire.*

In the review, fellow citizens, which, in your address of the 14th of June, you have taken of the measures pursued since I have been charged with their direction, I read with great satisfaction and thankfulness the approbation you have bestowed on them; and feel it an ample reward for any services I may have been able to render.

The present moment is certainly eventful, and one which particularly requires that the bond of confederation, connecting us as a nation, should receive all the strength which unanimity, between the national councils and the states legislatures can give it. The depredations committed on our vessels and property on the high seas, the violence to the persons of our citizens employed on that element, had long been the subject of remonstrance and complaint, when, instead of reparation, new declarations of wrong are issued, subjecting our navigation to general plunder. In this state of things our first duty was to withdraw our seafaring citizens and property from abroad, and to keep at home resources so valuable at all times, and so essential, if resort must ultimately be had to force. It gave us time too to make a last appeal to the reason and reputation of nations.

In the mean while, I see with satisfaction that this measure of self denial is approved and supported by

the great body of our REAL citizens; that they meet with cheerfulness the temporary privations it occasions, and are preparing with spirit to provide for themselves those comforts and conveniences of life, for which it would be unwise ever more to recur to distant countries. How long this course may be preferable to a more serious appeal, must depend for decision on the wisdom of the legislature, unless a return to established principles should remove the existing obstacles to a peaceable intercourse with foreign nations. In every event, fellow-citizens, my confidence is entire that your resolution to maintain our national independence and sovereignty will be as firm as it is has been forbearing; and looking back on our history, I am assured by the past, that its future pages will present nothing unworthy of the former.

I am happy you approve the motives of my retirement. I shall carry into it ardent prayers for the welfare of my country, and the sincerest wish for that of yourselves personally.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

August 2, 1808.

At 8 o'clock on the morning, of the 21st. during a violent gale of wind, a French fishing-boat, with a flag of truce, came to an anchor in the Downs, and was immediately boarded from one of our cruizers, who took out a French and a Russian officer, and a French messenger. They were landed and conducted to the house of the port-

admiral, and at eleven o'clock the Russian officer and French messenger, accompanied by a naval officer, proceeded in a chaise and four for London. The French officer, in consequence of orders, it is said, from Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh, who were at Walmer Castle, was sent on board the flag-ship in the Downs, there to wait till further instructions were received from town. The boat which brought them over sailed from Boulogne at ten o'clock on Thursday night, with orders to land at Deal or Dover, which ever they could first make. She over shot the latter port, and consequently made for the Downs. After the messengers were taken out of her, she was put under charge of the *Clyde* frigate, and no communication permitted between her and the shore. The Russian officer and the French messenger, accompanied by Lieut. Cramer, belonging to Admiral Campbell's ship, reached town at a late hour on Friday night, and after delivering their dispatches at the foreign office, were conveyed to the house of Mr. Shaw, the messenger, where they slept that night. About half-past eight, on Saturday morning, passports were delivered to them, and they immediately set out in a post-chaise and four, on their return to Deal, which place they reached on the same evening. Shortly after their departure, an order was telegraphically sent to Deal, not to permit the flag of truce to sail till the arrival of a King's messenger; and about one o'clock in the afternoon, ministers having for some time deliberated upon the subject, Mr. Shaw was dispatched by Mr. Secretary Canning, with an answer. Mr. Shaw reached Deal at a late hour on Saturday night, and the flag of truce returned to Boulogne on Sunday.

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON THE CONVENTION IN PORTUGAL.

A special court of common council of the city of London was held in their council room at Guildhall, on the 4th. instant, to consider of the propriety of a petition and address to his Majesty on the subject of the late disgraceful convention in Portugal.

Mr. Waithman delivered a very ener-

getic speech, in which he declared that his object was not to blame the present ministers, nor the men whom they had appointed, but to institute an inquiry into the matter, that blame might attach where it was due. This he thought no one would object to; for it now turned out that, at a great and enormous expense to the country, a numerous and well-appointed army had been sent to the assistance of our allies; and that

after two severe battles, in the very moment of triumph, the victory had been snatched from their grasp, by a convention, compared with which, this country had never concluded any thing so disgraceful! He asked, however, after having voted such an address to his Majesty on the confidence of the assistance to be afforded to our allies in the glorious struggle in which they were engaged, with what face those same persons could now object to an inquiry into the causes by which their expectations were blasted, after they seemed to have been already realized? If, after the ardour displayed by the country in behalf of the Spaniards—if, after the indignation felt and expressed by every individual in these kingdoms, on the news of the convention in Portugal—no inquiry into the causes which led to that convention is to take place, and the soldier is to see that he is only carried to the field for the useless waste of blood, the country must be aware that its ruin is at hand! It will be impossible for a commander to make an army enter the field of battle with zeal, if, by such a convention following such glorious victories, their laurels are to be blasted, and no inquiry is to be made into the causes which rendered their labours abortive.

He concluded by moving, "That an humble address and petition 'be presented to his Majesty, expressing our grief and astonishment at the extraordinary and disgraceful convention lately entered into by the commanders of his Majesty's forces in Portugal, and the commander of the French army in Lisbon, praying his Majesty to institute such an inquiry into this dishonourable and unprecedented transaction, as will lead to the discovery and punishment of those by whose misconduct and incapacity the cause of the country and its allies have been so shamefully sacrificed."

Mr. *Quin*, in an animated speech, seconded the motion.

Mr. Alderman *C. Smith* said, the motion had his entire approbation. He was satisfied it was the general feeling of the country, and as such it had his support.

Mr. *S. Dixon* observed, that, however dark and disgraceful this convention, concluded by Sir Hew Dalrymple, might, in the present imperfect state of information, appear, still, when the

whole transaction was before the public, it might probably be evident that it was founded in wisdom. He, however, pledged himself, if an attempt were made by any persons in the state to screen those to whom the delinquency could be imputed, to co-operate in bringing all such to exposure and to punishment.

Mr. Alderman *Birch* said this was a subject which must have filled every member of that court, as it had filled all the country, with grief and anxiety. *He should be ashamed of himself, holding as he did his Majesty's commission in a volunteer corps, if he did not give his assent to every word of the motion.* He read it over paragraph by paragraph, and declared that it was impossible to dissent from a single word of it. If on inquiry there was found to be no blame then, as a matter of course, there would be no punishment. But, if the inquiry shewed that blame attached, wherever that blame lay there let the punishment go also.

Sir *C. Price* declared his marked concurrence, both in the motion and in the language of the worthy commoners who proposed it. He hailed the present union of the corporation as holding out the most solid hopes of permanent benefit to the empire.

Mr. Alderman *Combe* in the present stage of this question, imputed no guilt to particular persons, either to the ministers who planned the expedition, or any of the officers who were engaged in it; but he sought strict inquiry into the conduct of all. If, then, guilt were evident, this insulted nation had not a right to seek punishment only, but vengeance. Could every man in the empire be polled on that point, he was sure that such would be found the unanimous opinion.

Mr. Alderman *Curtis* agreed in the necessity of inquiry. He was sure it was the opinion of every man in the country, from the King to his meanest subject; still he considered it improper in the good city of London to anticipate that gratification which the father of his people must feel on this subject, and which he was, perhaps, the most anxious to commence. Government, he believed, were fully as anxious; and therefore, although he should not interrupt the unanimity, he would, though alone, not give any vote on the motion.

Mr. *Slade* contended, that it was a

national offence, and that his Majesty would feel gratified in assenting to the wishes of his people. In his opinion, the best compliment that court could pay to the Monarch was, in their capacity as jury of the empire, to appeal to his Majesty for justice.

Mr. *Waithman* declared his disinclination to avail himself of the privilege of reply.

The motion was then unanimously carried, amidst the loudest shouts of public approval, both from the members of the court, and the auditors assembled.

A committee was then appointed to withdraw, and prepare the draft of an address, which they did; and the same being read, was agreed to, and the sheriffs, attended by the remembrancer, directed to wait on his Majesty, to know when the court should attend him to present the same.

Mr. Alderman *Curtis* and Mr. *S. Dixon* were the only persons who did not vote.

Mr. Alderman *Shaw* was the only city representative absent.

On the following Wednesday at two o'clock his Majesty was waited upon by a deputation from the corporation of the city of London, consisting of the lord mayor, the mace and sword of state, the recorder, aldermen *Smith* and *Wood*, the sheriffs, the common serjeant, town clerk, the city counsel, and other city officers, Messrs. *Waithman* and *Quin*, the mover and seconder of the address and petition to his Majesty, and several of the common council.

The following is a copy of the address and answer:

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT
MAJESTY,

The humble and dutiful Address and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London in common council assembled, most humbly approach your Majesty with renewed assurances of attachment to your Majesty's most sacred person and government, and veneration for the free principles of the British constitution.

To express to your Majesty our grief and astonishment at the extraordinary and disgraceful convention, lately enter-

ed into by the commanders of your Majesty's forces in Portugal, and the commander of the French army in Lisbon.

The circumstances attending this afflicting event, cannot be contemplated in British minds, without the most painful emotions; and all ranks of your Majesty's subjects seem to have felt that the utmost concern and indignation at a treaty so humiliating and degrading to this country and its allies. After a signal victory, gained by the valour and discipline of British troops, by which the enemy appears to have been cut off from all means of succour and escape, we have the sad mortification of seeing the laurels, so nobly acquired, torn from the brows of our brave soldiers, and terms granted to the enemy disgraceful to the British name, and injurious to the best interests of the British nation.

Besides the restitution of the Russian fleet upon a definitive treaty of peace with that power, and the sending back to their country, without exchange, so large a number of Russian sailors; by this ignominious convention, British fleets are to convey to France; the French army and its plunder, where they will be at liberty immediately to re-commence their active operations against us, or our allies. The guarantee and safe conveyance of their plunder, cannot but prove highly irritating to the pillaged inhabitants, over whom they have tyrannized, and for whose deliverance and protection the British army was sent, and the full recognition of the title and dignity of Emperor of France, while all mention of the government of Portugal is omitted, must be considered as highly disrespectful to the legitimate authority of that country.

We therefore, humbly pray your Majesty, in justice to the outraged feelings of a brave, injured, and indignant people, whose blood and treasure have been thus expended, as well as to retrieve the wounded honour of the country, and to remove from its character so foul a stain in the eyes of Europe, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased, immediately to institute such an inquiry into this dishonourable and unprecedented transaction, as will lead to the discovery and punishment of those, by whose misconduct and incapacity, the cause of the country and its allies has been so shamefully sacrificed.

We beg to assure your Majesty of

our unalterable fidelity, and earnest desire to co-operate in every measure conducive to the peace, honour, and security of your Majesty's dominions.

Signed by order of the Court.

HENRY WOODTHORPE.

To which address and petition Lord Hawkesbury read for his Majesty the following most gracious answer!

I am fully sensible of your loyalty and attachment to my person and government.

I give credit to the motives which have dictated your petition and address, but I must remind you, that it is inconsistent with the principles of British justice, to pronounce judgment without previous investigation.

I should have hoped, that recent occurrences would have convinced you that I am at all times ready to institute inquiries on occasions in which the character of the country, or the honour of my arms is concerned; and that the interposition of the city of London could not be necessary for inducing me, to direct due inquiry to be made into a transaction which has disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation.

The lord mayor and sheriffs (only) kissed hands.

A meeting for the same purpose was held in Westminster Hall, on the 20th. The address was unanimously carried. Excellent speeches were made by Messrs. Wishart, Sheridan, Finerty, &c. But our limits prevent us from giving any thing more than an extract from that of the latter, remarkable for its wit and humour.

"Ministers well know the corporation of London. This corporation have been for years so obtrusive of its servility, that ministers felt themselves safe in treating it with disdain. *The animals that are in the habit of crawling may be looked down upon with scorn, but the men who walk upright we may depend upon, for they must command attention.* From what I have observed of the corporation of London, it will be seen that it is not the object of much consideration with me; but still I do not think it was excusable in ministers to decline their councils. It may be justifiable in men of superior wisdom to reject, as obtrusive or officious the unsolicited advice of inferior minds; but independantly of all consideration of the constitutional question in this case, I do not think it became the mi-

nisters to disregard the opinion of the corporation of London. For I have little fear of contradiction from any thinking man, capable of appreciating talent and making just comparison, when I assert, that there is as much, if not more talent in the corporation than there is in the cabinet! Let us see:—My friend *Quin* can, I am sure, multiply words with as much facility, nay speak even better than *Canning*. There can be no doubt that *Waithman* is as much superior in sound sense as in public principle, to *Hawkesbury*. As to that cold, plodding calculator, that accurate accountant—who weighs so carefully the course *prudent* to pursue—who has supported every political principle and public man known in either England or Ireland since his first start into public life—who no doubt, in consequence of the many arguments *pro* and *con* in every political proposition, thought the fairer way was, to take each side of the question alternately; as to that pliant, accommodating politician *Castlereagh*, I'll match him with *Alderman Shaw*.—Have they got in the corporation any prattling, petulant, pettyfogging attorney, I'll pit him against *Perceval*.—As to the place occupied by the Duke of *Portland*, I think it would be quite as well filled by "big *Kenble*." There is, however, in the cabinet one man for whom I can find no parallel; for in no assembly of rational beings that I have known have I ever heard of a man who could talk so much, and think so little, as Lord *Mulgrave*. Upon recollection, I think I may couple him with *Spectacle Dixon*. I should suppose that neither ministers nor the gentlemen of the city can be angry with me for this comparison. The ministers, who would rather have any set of men in power than their predecessors, would, of course, if dismissed, prefer an administration in which, upon the principles of reciprocity and congenial sentiment, they would have a right to look for favour, and the gentlemen of the corporation, naturally anxious for the opportunity of rather pleasing his Majesty in person than by proxy, must be happy to live about the court. By the way, I should think that that active purveyor of administrations (the Duke of Cumberland) must feel gratified in the suggestion, that should the present ministers, in any instance, prove refractory, he can find a cabinet ready cut and dried in the city."

THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST PRICE OF STOCKS FROM SEPTEMBER 26, to OCTOBER 24, 1808: inclusive.

By JOHN HEMMING, Broker, No. 3. Cupel Court, Bartholomew Lane, London.

Days	Bank Stock. Shut	India Stock.	3 pr. Ct. Reduced. Shut	3 per Ct. Consols.	4 pr Ct Shut	5 per Ct.	Long Ann.	Omn.	India Bonds.	Excise. Bills.	Stocks open.
Sep. 26											Bank, Oct. 20.
27				65 $\frac{1}{2}$		97 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	1. 2d.	2d. par	Red. — 21.
28				65 $\frac{1}{2}$		97 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	1. 3d.	1. 2d.	4 p.cts. — 22.
30				65 $\frac{1}{2}$		97 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	1. 3d.	1. 3p.	L. Ay. — 24.
Oct. 1				65 $\frac{1}{2}$		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	1. 3d.	2. 3p.	
3				66		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	1d. par	2. 4p.	
4				66		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	1d. par	2p.	
5				65 $\frac{1}{2}$		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	1d. par	1d. 1p.	
6				65 $\frac{1}{2}$		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	2d. par	1d. 2p.	
7				65 $\frac{1}{2}$		97 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	1d. par	1d. 1p.	
8		177 $\frac{1}{2}$		65 $\frac{1}{2}$		97 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	2d. par	1d. 1p.	
10				66		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	1. 3p.	1. 3p.	
11		178		66		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	1. 4p.	2. 4p.	
12		178 $\frac{1}{2}$		66		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	3. 5p.	4. 6p.	
18				65 $\frac{1}{2}$		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	2. 4p.	5. 6p.	
14				65 $\frac{1}{2}$		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	3. 4p.	5. 6p.	
15				66		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	4. 5p.	6. 7p.	
17		180		66		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	4. 5p.	6. 7p.	
18		179 $\frac{1}{2}$		66		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	3. 4p.	5. 6p.	
19	232	234		66		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	3. 4p.	5. 6p.	
20	232 $\frac{1}{2}$	233 $\frac{1}{2}$		66 $\frac{1}{2}$		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	3. 4p.	5. 6p.	
21	236 $\frac{1}{2}$	234		66 $\frac{1}{2}$		98 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	3. 4p.	5. 6p.	
22	236			66 $\frac{1}{2}$		99 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	3. 4p.	5. 6p.	
24		180 $\frac{1}{2}$		66 $\frac{1}{2}$		99 $\frac{1}{2}$		3d.	3. 4p.	5. 6p.	

N. R. The days omitted are Sundays, or Holidays.—The blank spaces denote that nothing was done in that fund.—
P. stands for Premium, and D. for Discount.

THE MONTHLY REGISTER,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1808.

STATE PAPERS.

SPAIN.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CENTRAL JUNTA.

[From the *Madrid Gazette*.]

On the 25th of September last, the day on which the supreme and central junta of government was installed, a communication was made by it of that event to the president of the royal council, by sending him a certified copy of the act of installation; the receipt of which was acknowledged by the above-mentioned president, in the following terms:—

MOST EXCELLENT SEIGNOR.—I have with the greatest pleasure communicated to the council the official note of your excellency, in which you inform me of the celebration of the first meeting of the supreme junta, by the deputies from the provincial juntas, assembled in this royal residence, of which this tribunal acknowledges itself to be duly apprised. The council looks with anxious expectation for the speedy arrival of that day so greatly desired, which may terminate all the evils that afflict this country, by the captivity of its beloved sovereign Ferdinand VII. and the want of a supreme government, which may legally represent him, during his absence, throughout the whole extent of his dominions. God preserve your excellency many years.

The DUKE del INFANTADO.

Madrid, Sept. 26.

Addressed to his excellency Count Florida Blanca, president (*ad interim*) of the supreme central junta of the kingdom.

Copy of a letter, addressed from the supreme junta to the presidents of the respective councils.

MOST EXCELLENT SEIGNORS.—With the same uniformity of opinion with which the solemn installation of the

central junta of government, for the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies, was yesterday celebrated, it has been this day determined by it to communicate to the council the resolution and charge, that the several members should, in the first place, take the same oath which those of the junta have taken, of which I sent you a certified copy in my former letter; and in the next place, that the said tribunal should dispatch its schedules, provisions, and orders, to all the subordinate juntas in the provinces, justices, magistrates, viceroys, and governors, of whatever rank, in order that all matters relative to the government of these kingdoms, and the administration of justice, they may obey exactly, and with promptitude, the resolutions of this supreme governing junta, as the depository of the sovereign authority of our beloved King, Ferdinand VII, until we shall have succeeded in seeing him re-established in all the power and splendour of his august dignity, under pain of the disobedient being treated and punished as traitors.

The council will, nevertheless, continue in the exercise of its ordinary functions, as regulated by law, referring conformably hereto, to this supreme junta, whatever may exceed its powers, and all those matters, upon which according to its constitution, it ought to consult the sovereign.

Your excellency will communicate this resolution to the council and chamber, and will have the goodness to give me advice of its accomplishment, for the information of the junta.

COUNT FLORIDA BLANCA, Prov. Pres.

MARTIN DE GARAI, Prov. Sec. Pres.

Aranjuez, Sept. 26.

The council of state met to deliberate on the above circular on the 28th, and returned their answer on the following day. From this document it appears, that the members present were, the Marquis de Baja-

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mar, Marquis de Astorga, Count de Colomera, Duke de la Roca, Marquis de las Hormazas, Count de Montarco, Don Pedro Cevallos, and F. Francisco Gil. The answer proceeds to state the manner of administering the oath in the following terms:—"The members, after discussing the matters contained in the resolution, and act of installation of the supreme junta, unanimously agreed to observe and execute in all points the said royal order; and to confer greater solemnity on the act of taking the oath, and to render it more conformable to the proceeding adopted in that respect by the supreme junta, it was resolved that it should be taken in the royal chapel, and administered by his excellency the patriarch. The council accordingly attended on the 29th at the royal chapel, where, occupying the seats prepared for them, and in order to implore the divine assistance, they heard a solemn mass; the patriarch personally officiating, assisted by the chaplains of honour, his Majesty's pages, and the usual attendants of the royal chapel. The members and the secretary of the council then placing their hands on the holy evangelists and a crucifix, repeated after his excellency the patriarch, the oath. [Inserted in our last Register.]

The council of war, and that of royal ordinances, in their answers to the supreme junta, congratulate themselves on the firmness which they manifested in refusing to take the oaths to the usurper. Those of the other councils and tribunals, with the exception of the council of Castile, contain nothing remarkable. All of them instantly took the prescribed oath, and forwarded the necessary orders to the different departments under their superintendence. On the 1st. October, Count Florida Blanca acknowledged the receipt of their answers in the following circular:—"I have submitted to the su-

preme and central junta of government, the answer which the council has been pleased to address to me, relative to the communication which I made to it, by their authority, on the subject of their installation, and the other points therein contained. The junta have witnessed, with the greatest satisfaction, the promptitude and zeal with which the council has executed all that it was enjoined to perform, and the good dispositions with which it is animated to contribute, on its part, to the preservation of our religion, and the best service of our King and country; and they have directed me to communicate the same to you, as I hereby do, for the information and satisfaction of the council.—May God, &c."

—

Letter from the President of the Council of Castile, to the President of the Supreme Central Junta.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,—The council of Castile, which in cases most arduous and important never deviated from the rules dictated by prudence, has thought it right to proceed with equal maturity of deliberation with regard to the contents of your excellency's letter of the 26th of this month, announcing the installation of the supreme junta of government, and judged it expedient to take the advice of its solicitors on the subject. Having received their advice, and taken the matter into the most serious consideration, the council has resolved to proceed, without the least delay, to take the oath prescribed, and dispatch the necessary orders and circular letters, that the central junta of government be respected and obeyed in whatever is ordered by them in the service of our lord the King, and for the benefit of the public cause. The council will, however, in execution of the unalterable duty imposed by its original institution, communicate hereafter to the central junta the result of their meditations, fixed on the preservation and observance of our laws, the communication whereof the council has postponed, in order not to retard the executive functions of the junta on account of their urgency.

I have thought it right to convey to your excellency the above information, without the least delay, in order that you, as well as the junta, may be convinced of the spirit of harmony and union which animates us for the public good. God preserve your excellency many years.

THE DUKE DE INFANTADO.
Madrid, Sept. 30, 1808.

—
Answer from the Junta.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR.—The supreme junta being informed by me of the contents of your excellency's letter of the 30th of last September, and the resolution of the council, has directed me to express to your excellency the anxious desire it entertained to learn the determination of the first tribunal of the kingdom, having several days before received the necessary reports from all the other councils, including those of the state, war, inquisition, and the Indies, not only for their readiness to obey and execute the order of the junta, but also of the universal joy with which they received it. The desires and wishes of the junta are now perfectly satisfied; finding in your excellency's letter the firm assurance of the spirit of harmony and union which animate the council of the public good.

The junta, ready to take into consideration the result of the meditations mentioned in your excellency's letter, fixed on the preservation and observance of our laws, desires, however, the council to recollect, that neither in the annals of the tribunal, nor in our history, a cause stands recorded, similar to our present situation, where the nation dispersed and unguided by the council, or other board or person, without a regency or vacancy of the throne, and without the assistance of those who could govern it, profusely shed its blood, and expend the property of its individuals, in order to rescue itself from the tyranny of the usurper of the rights of our sovereign and his august family, to avenge the injuries committed against God and our holy religion, and to inflict punishment for the acts of violence and outrage it has suffered; all the provinces rising and uniting, as it were, by the immediate interposition of Divine Providence, and thus triumphing over our cruel enemies. It is just, that the council should not lose sight of this diversity of circumstances, so widely dif-

ferent from those under which our ancient and modern laws were made, and acknowledge the supreme authority due to the government of a nation, which in the name of its King, and for his sake, has done all it has achieved singlehanded, and without any one's assistance.—God preserve your excellency many years.

COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA.
Aranjuez, Oct. 1st, 1808.

—
Memorial from the Count de Montijo to the Supreme Junta of the Government.

Most Serene Sir,

When I behold so many writings which purpose to point out what ought to be the object and functions of this junta, which the general will has brought together, the authors of which have doubtless the good of their country at heart, it does not appear to me unbecoming to present this respectable assembly with my opinion on the public necessities, which are urgent; for, having from the beginning had so close and immediate an influence on the events which have prepared our salvation, I am perhaps able to indicate the measures necessary to perfect it.

I deem this certain, that at this moment every man who reflects on our actual situation will agree that it is not prudent, but may be prejudicial, to address the public on the greater or less legality of this junta, and its powers, and whatever may tend to diminish the respect due to them, and prejudice the public opinion of them before their actions are seen. On these points I speak to its individual members, not to the public.

When the Spanish nation, being abandoned by its government, was reduced to the necessity of undertaking its own defence, or becoming the slaves of an usurper, it was obliged to have recourse to extraordinary means; and it formed, as it were tumultuously, juntas to manage its defence. With a modera-

tion most extraordinary, not a single public authority was overthrown, nor in any province the form of government changed. In some, violence was used against those whom it was thought not even threats could induce to concur in the common defence.

The moment that the enemy retired, all the provinces required a concentration of the powers of the juntas, in order to complete the great work of our liberty. At the same time, complaints were heard, the justice of which it is not my province to examine, against some of those juntas, for having unjustly exercised their powers. This only I know, that it is these same juntas which have driven away the French.

It is my opinion, that the only task imposed on the provincial juntas by the people, was that of their defence; and that, consequently, this is the only function belonging to the supreme junta, which cannot enjoy more power than was possessed by its constituents, nor they more than was given them by the people; and I am of opinion, also, that it would be useless or prejudicial if the central junta had any other concern than to attend to the common defence. To be busied in forming a new constitution, while the enemy occupies even a part of our territory, would be to add to the past agitation, which is not yet appeased, which would necessarily be excited by the difference of opinions and of parties which would be formed. This would occasion dissension in the provinces, and distract our attention from the principal object which should occupy our minds—our common defence.

Necessity has always taught men their rights. The principal one which we possess now is, that all should obey one sole junta, the depositary of the national power, in order that generals may proceed with promptitude, and in concert, to the dis-

tricts where the enemy may be, or where the necessities are to be procured for the subsistence of the army. These are the objects of the central junta, which ought to be realized with the greater celerity.

Assembled by the general will (this is indubitable,) it is authorised to point out the number of armies which ought to be maintained, the Generals who ought to command each of them in chief, and the number of troops of which they ought to consist. Wherever our soldiers are, they require subsistence; there is, therefore, no inconvenience in the junta's ordering, in its first session, that the army of Catalonia should be reinforced from points where troops are in greater abundance: that the armies in the Castiles should meet at Soria, and, constituting one body with the army of Galicia, act under one General in Chief; and that at Saragossa and other similar points, an army of reserve should be formed. These measures, and the nomination of a minister of war, and another of finance, who with zeal and honour may apply the public revenue in the furnishing of provisions, ammunition, and other necessities for the army, should be the business of only two sessions. Another concern is, the transmission to the armies of the provisions, &c. collected for them. Cannon-balls, tents, and muskets, are scarce in the armies on the Ebro. Drugs, such as bark and opium, are likewise wanting.

After having thus attended to the most urgent matters, the junta may then occupy themselves in the details of the organization of the armies: these must not be neglected a moment; for if we had waited to attack the enemy till every thing had been completely arranged, he would now be in possession of our capital and provinces. If this be the result of the first sittings of the junta—if the people see that the public force is thus efficaciously applied,

there is no doubt that the machinations of the enemy will be frustrated, and that the factious partizans who may have had bad intentions, will be reduced to impotence, since the good opinion of the army and nation will be in favour of the government; but if, on the contrary, there be delay, which, however just its cause may be, the people who see only effects, and the malevolent who seize all opportunities, will find the inactivity of the junta, and in the clamours of the suffering towns, the means of bringing into discredit, a body, the general respect of which interests us so much.

Let not the necessity of combining plans be a pretext for delaying these determinations. — Whatever may be said, nothing can be combined at so great a distance from the enemy. Within sight of him, or at least near him, the Generals must arrange the means of attack. In the capital the government can fix only on what points are defensive, and on what offensive war is to be waged, and the part which is in general assigned to each army; but all the rest is the work of the moment, to be settled on the spot. The outlines of operations may sometimes be usefully marked on a map by a government, in order to shew how the divisions may assist each other; but the execution generally shews the impossibility or inutility of carrying them into effect.

While the junta is determining matters of acknowledged urgency, it may be planning a system of national representation, in order to convoke it as soon as expedient. It will thus fulfil its most sacred functions, and answer the confidence it has merited from the public.

Finally, it is the love of my country alone which has impelled me to present these ideas, and my sense of the necessity of promptitude in our measures, arising from the public exigencies.—Should higher consid-

rations prevent their being carried into effect, I must assure your Highness, that my ambition and pretensions are only to save my country, in posts of the greatest difficulty and danger. Loving danger from regard to my country, which, under such circumstances, demands such sacrifices, I beg of your Highness only to grant me as soon as possible, the command of the vanguard of the army which is to act in Navarre, and the Rioja, and that you will at the same time command, that it be composed of the suitable number of cavalry and infantry, and instruct the Generals to act in concert, and support it with the activity which military operations require. I hope, therefore, for the means of continuing my services to my country, which has always been the desire of him who prays to God for the prosperity and success of your Highness.

THE COUNT DE MONTIJO.

Aranjuez, Sept. 25, 1808.

By order of the supreme council we insert the following document, which on the 27th of last September was addressed by the most illustrious Senor Deacon Don T. M. T. Navarro, auditor:—

Madrid Sept. 27 1808.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SENOR—
At Folio 33 of the proceedings of the council, it is said, "That an auditor of the council of Navarre presented himself, disguised, who had gained admittance into the residence of Fernando VII. and brought verbal instructions from his Majesty, limited to strict injunctions, and wishes that it should follow a system of friendship and harmony with the French. The obligations I owe to that supreme tribunal, for having suppressed my name and the most important part of my commission, solely with a view to the safety of my person, subject at the time of its publication to French controul, demand my gratitude and acknow-

Jedgement ; and I therefore intreat your highness to signify the same ; but now, although at the expence of difficulties and uncertainties, I find myself in this town, free from all fear, I think it necessary that the public should know my mission in its fullest extent.

I was at Bayonne, with other ministers of the tribunal of Navarre, when the King arrived in that city. The Emperor of the French did not delay many hours until he threw aside the veil which hid his mischievous conduct. He signified openly to his Majesty the scandalous and unexpected project of tearing forcibly from his brow the crown of Spain, and, no doubt, persuaded, that in order to its ready accomplishment, it was necessary to embarrass the King by every means. One of the first that he put in execution was the interruption of couriers ; daily were they dispatched, but the laws of nations was not a guarantee sufficiently sacred to insure them against the insults of a government, accustomed not to hesitate in the choice of means for the accomplishment of its depraved ends.

Thus circumstanced, his Majesty thought himself obliged to devise new secret channels of communication with the supreme junta, presided by the infante Don Antonio, and honoured me with the trust of passing to this capital, and informing the chief inhabitants verbally of the events which occurred on those first three unfortunate days. I accordingly left Bayonne about six in the evening of the 23d, and arrived in this city by circuitous roads, not without serious dangers and difficulties, at twilight on the 29th of April. I immediately proceeded to the junta, and acquainted it with the royal order. I said that the Emperor of the French wished to exact imperiously from the King our Lord Don Ferdinand the VIIth,

that he should, for himself, and in the name of all the family of the Bourbons, renounce the throne of Spain and all his dominions, in favour of the said Emperor and his dynasty ; promising, in recompence, the kingdom of Etruria ; and that the couriers in his Majesty suite, which accompanied his Majesty, should make a similar renunciation in a representation of the Spanish people : that his Imperial Royal Majesty fearing the King neither could, nor ought to accede to such a renunciation, and disregarding all the bitter complaints which they made to him, for having conducted his Majesty to Bayonne, by a deceit and perfidly unexampled ; and the more unaccountable, as they were veiled under the sacred title of friendship and reciprocal benefit, and persisted in without any farther reason than two pretexts, unworthy of being pronounced by a sovereign who had not lost all respect for the morality of cabinets and that good faith which constitutes the bond of nations : the first, that his policy did not allow of any thing else, since his person was not safe while any of the Bourbons, enemies of his house, should reign over a powerful nation ; and the second, that he was not so stupid as to neglect an opportunity so favourable as that which presented itself—having a formidable army in the heart of Spain ; its fortresses and principal points occupied ; nothing to fear on the part of the North, and the persons of the King and the Infanta Don Carlos in his power:—Advantages too great to expect that they should offer themselves at a future time. That with a view of gaining delays and drawing from them the greatest possible advantages, a note had been sent, requesting that some person might be authorized to explain his pretensions in writing ; but, that if the Emperor should persist in not receding, his Majesty was,

resolved to lose his life rather than yield to so iniquitous a renunciation; that with this positive pledge the junta should continue its proceedings.

Having voluntarily asked D. Pedro Cevallos, when I took leave of his Excellency, if I should communicate any thing to the junta on the conduct which it was to observe to the French, he answered, that although the commission did not include this point, I might say that it was agreed in a general manner, that at that time no alteration should take place, because it might be apprehended that in this case serious consequences would result to the King, the Infanta, and as many Spaniards as accompanied his Majesty, and the kingdom would be endangered by manifesting hostile dispositions, before it was ready to throw off the yoke of oppression.

Your Excellency knows that with these, or similar expressions, I expatiated, not only the whole night of the 29th of April, but also on the morning of the 30th, in which his Highness the Infanta Don Antonio desired that I should assist in the sitting held on it, consisting of most of the members of the supreme junta, of all the presidents of the tribunals, and of two ministers from each; with the twofold object of informing all of my commission, and myself with such business as might be discussed, in order that I might inform his Majesty on my return to Bayonne, which I reached on the evening of the 6th of May, after continual dangers and apprehensions, which augmented my speed. It is very proper, in my opinion, that this heroic trait in the firm character of my sovereign should not be concealed, and more so, as it is confirmed in a manner the most authentic by the exact fulfilment of the discharge of my mission in all its parts. I therefore intreat your excellency and the council, if not

improper, to order this paper to be inserted in the gazette and diary of this city

May God preserve your Excellency many years.

Signed L. M. J. NAVARRO.

To his Excellency Senor Don Anclamon y Alvarde.

Aranjuez, Oct. 8.—The supreme central junta, from the very first day of their happy installation, considered it to be the first object of their attention to direct the march of the Spanish armies in such a manner, that the enemy might as soon as possible be driven from the Spanish territory, which he occupied and laid waste in a manner so extremely infamous. The result has been, that all the troops who were in Andalusia, Granada, and Estramadura, and those who have been lately organized here and in other provinces, are already in motion; that the the division of Spanish troops who were so vilely disarmed by the French, have embarked in Lisbon for their place of destination; and that all the English troops, the conquerors of Junot, are on their march from Portugal to join our armies.

The supreme central junta has also requested the King of GREAT BRITAIN, of whose generosity and firm adhesion to our just cause the Spanish nation has received so many convincing proofs, all the assistance with linen, woollens, arms, ammunition, money, and other articles required to resist a powerful enemy, whose obstinacy will induce him to make the utmost exertions for the purpose of promoting the success of his foolhardy enterprise.

The perfect harmony which subsists among the members of the supreme central junta, and the patriotism which animates the whole nation, are the surest pledges of its ultimate success, and of the defeat of an enemy, who could only by de-

ceit and perfidy introduce himself into a country, inhabited by Spaniards, wrest from us our beloved King Ferdinand VII. and commit the utmost atrocities where he found no resistance.

Aranjuez, Oct. 13.—Among the important and urgent objects which claim the attention of the supreme central junta of the kingdom, it will not lose sight of the encouragement which should be given to agriculture, the arts, commerce, and navigation, the main spring of national wealth. They will, with this view, avail themselves of all the means which existing circumstances may afford, attending to the invariable principles of justice and equity. They will not disregard the obligations contracted by the crown, and which form the patrimony of a considerable number of families. They will take care that the allowances to widows, pensions, annuities, the interest of the *rales*, and other demands of a similar nature, shall be paid with due punctuality, notwithstanding the immense funds necessary for subsisting, arming, and clothing the troops. They will take an exact account of the public debt, and the produce of the annual revenues; carefully attend to the distribution of them; establish complete economy in all the branches of financial administration; radically remove all the abuses introduced therein by the old government; and successively suppress the innumerable useless or unnecessary offices; simplifying, as far as possible, the revenue system, and placing it under the direction of men distinguished for zeal, activity, and patriotism.

The retrenchments effected in the enormous expences of the royal household, and those to which the nation was put by the ambitious favourite, the cause of all the evils we are now suffering, will consider-

ably diminish the imposts of the towns and villages, and the toil of their worthy inhabitants. They will be appropriated to the maintenance of our heroic defenders, instead of supporting the pride and corruption of Godoy and his satellites. The sale of the property of all those who have leagued themselves with the common enemy, and those whose prior conduct has justly incurred the same confiscation, will considerably augment the revenues of the state; and the supreme junta, as a proof of the purity of its sentiments, will annually publish a printed statement, containing the sum total of the funds accruing from the revenues, donatives and contributions of Spain and the Indies, with the repartition thereof, providing for the equal and impartial collection of the imposts.

The junta solemnly recognizes the national debt, and notifies, that as to all credits and accounts with the royal hacienda, yet unliquidated, or though liquidated, still susceptible of further correction, it will proceed to examine and correct them previous to their being allowed of and passed; and for the information and direction of the public, the junta has ordered these presents to be communicated to the council, and circulated in every part of the nation.

Aranjuez, 13th Oct. 1808.

The Gallician government applied to the central junta for instructions how to act on the arrival of the British army; and the following is stated to have been the official reply to the inquiries of the junta of Galicia:

The proofs which England has given of her attachment to our interests, and above all, the consideration that our cause is at the same time her's united to the reciprocal securities which have been given, have inspired entire confidence, unity, and fraternity. Consequently, having maturely deliberated on the question proposed, which

any inconveniences would ensue from the disembarkation of the English troops, which have arrived at your port; we find that there are none other than what must necessarily arise from the furnishing lodgings when in quarters, and from the providing them with the means of subsistence when stationed in, or passing through towns, which were first impoverished by the former maintenance of so great a number of French troops as friends and allies, and have been since plundered and destroyed by them as enemies.

At the same time, it being our duty to act so, that our gratitude and confidence in the generous English nation may still be compatible with those measures of prudent precaution and consideration which are customary, it has appeared to this supreme junta that the English troops should be disembarked in divisions, of one and two thousand men, who, after the needful repose, should, in order to diminish the burthen to the towns through which they pass, take their journey through distinct routes: viz. some by the high road to Lugo, and others by that to Orense, all meeting at last in one point. In the mean while, as it is the first of all considerations to manifest to so noble a nation our sentiments of gratitude, the supreme junta hope, that the junta of Galicia, being animated by the same spirit, will omit no means of displaying those sentiments. God preserve your Excellency many years.

MARTIN DE GARAY, Secretary.
Aranjuez, Oct. 13, 1808.

Madrid, Oct. 19.—Yesterday, at two in the afternoon, five French soldiers in disguise, who were reported to be Mamelukes, met in a tavern near the quarters of the Walloon guards. One of the Walloon guards appeared to know them, and they perceiving this, three of them fled, and concealed themselves, while the other two who remained fell into the hands of the people, who immediately put them to death in the most shocking manner imaginable.—They dragged their bodies through the principal streets from the Walloon quarters, as far as the royal palace, from whence they carried them in the same manner, the one without the gate of St. Barbara, and the other

without the gate of Alcala, where they burned them, of which horrible scene I was a witness! The populace then proceeded to the house of the Russian ambassador, because it was said that the other three soldiers had taken refuge there, and demanded them, threatening to burn the house if their demand was not complied with. The Duke del Infantado, president of the council, learning that the populous were tumultuous and infuriated, sallied forth to appease them, accompanied by the governor of the city, and colonel Doyle, who prevailed on certain of the mutineers, accompanied by the Duke, to search the house, and not having found anyone in it, they retired. The regiment of Ireland marched out under arms, to prevent the burning of the house; but on their arrival they found there was no necessity for their interference.—In the street Hortaleza there were assembled more than 8000 people, through whom the Duke del Infantado and his companions passed, and nothing was heard but cries of “Viva Fernando VII.!” “Viva Inglaterra!” “Viva los Ingleses!” and thousands of handkerchiefs, hats, &c. were waved in the air.

PROCLAMATION.

Oct. 19.—The council has taken into consideration the melancholy occurrences which the people of Madrid, as loyal as humane and generous, have seen with the greatest displeasure and pain, that not only were two unknown individuals assassinated by a small number of persons, in one of the most public places in this city, and on the very birth-day of our most beloved sovereign, Ferdinand VII.; but that also a house was attacked in the street of Monteria, and, what is more, the house of the minister of the Emperor of Russia, and the minister himself, thus violating the most sacred laws and rights of nations, in the observance of which the Spanish nation has distinguished itself among all others, by its honour and good faith. The circumstances of horror and cruelty which followed these acts of violence, are very opposite to the maxims of our holy religion, and to the wise laws of the kingdom, which prohibit severely tumults and popular commotions. They throw discredit on the character so justly acquired by the Spaniards, who

are not less brave in the presence of their enemies, than pacific and friendly, compromising, at the same time, the character of the government among foreign nations, whose representatives will look upon themselves as without that inviolable security which is due to their elevated character.

The council, which has made so many sacrifices for the preservation of this capital of our sovereigns, and which will never cease to make them for the benefit of their country, can find no excuse for the distrust which these tumultuous and atrocious acts manifest in the rectitude and integrity in which all the inhabitants ought to live, in tranquillity, without usurping an authority which does not belong to them, and which they must exercise without knowledge, without justice or reason, hurried on by a false zeal, or rather an insensate fury, especially since the judges are ready to listen to any intimation which may be made to them by a known individual, of such as may be suspicious persons, or pernicious to the public cause. The supreme tribunal well know that these attempts have proceeded only from a few, and it has also observed the youth of many of the rioters, while the rest of the community lament these excesses, and call for a remedy, anxious for the restoration of that good order so necessary for our felicity; and who knows that the common enemy, continuing his perfidies and machinations, may not avail himself of these disturbances, in order to blacken our nation, disquiet it, divide it, and embarrass it with its friends and allies? But though the council trust that these excesses, and others of a similar kind, will not be repeated, yet in order to restrain the malevolent, who respect neither the ties of religion nor of the laws, they strictly forbid that any insult, offence, or injury, either by word or deed, be offered to any foreign minister or representative of any foreign power, or their dependants; and that not the slightest disrespect or violence be offered either to their persons or houses, under the pains and penalties which such delinquents may respectively deserve. At the same time they renew those laws which strictly prohibit associations, tumults, and popular movements, and order and command, that whosoever shall excite, promote, assist, or concur in them, shall be punished

with the severest penalties of the laws, even to the highest punishment. They also declare all parents, masters, and householders, responsible for their sons, apprentices, and servants, against whom they are determined to proceed with that vigilance and severity which are called for by every good citizen.

(Signed) DON BARTOLOMA MUNOZ.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

The Alcaaldas de Barrio in this capital, having now notified the requisition of the horses ordered by the council, in order to complete the cavalry regiment of the volunteers of Madrid, the war junta has determined that all the horses marked out for this purpose be brought to the quarters of the royal guards, for the purpose of examination and selection, from eight in the morning till twelve, on ten following days.—(Here the days are mentioned, and the different quarters of the city from which they are to come on their respective days.)

The Alcaaldas de Barrio of each quarter shall attend on the day appointed at the place and hour fixed, bringing each of them duplicates of the account of all the horses which the requisition may have produced in his district, and shall deliver one account to the member of the said war junta, who shall be charged with the selection and receipt of the horses useful for the service of the war, as well for the abovementioned regiment of volunteers of Madrid, as for the artillery, in order that in this account there may be marked as well those that are approved of, as those that are unfit for service, a certificate being given with regard to these last, that their owners may apply them for any purpose they think proper. For the examination of the horses, and to declare whether they are useful for service or not, there shall attend two veterinary officers, two others appointed by the government, and the veterinary officer of the said regiment of volunteers, with the owner or his agent.

All the horses approved of shall remain at the quarters of the royal guards, appropriated to the abovementioned regiment, or the artillery, according as they may suit; and shall then proceed immediately to the barracks of each, where the veterinary officers and the owner, or his servant, shall attend, for the purpose of declaring, upon their

knowledge and conscience, the true value of each, which shall either be delivered in ready money, or in bills, according to the abilities or necessities of the owners, it being understood that those shall be preferred, whose pursuits and employment require horses with most urgency. Every person, of whatever class or profession, who shall not have given an account of all the horses belonging to him, within or without this city, either through the Alcaldes de Barrio, or through the master farriers, if in the neighbourhood of Madrid, or through the magistrates, if he belong to any village of the district, shall lose the horse or horses which he shall have concealed, informations being admitted against him, and a proper reward being given to the informer, his name being concealed.

The junta hopes that the owners of horses, well persuaded of the impossibility of this regiment being able to take the field for the want of them, and, the urgency of their uniting as soon as possible with the other corps of cavalry already in the field; thus augmenting a force so terrible to the enemy, by the great advantages which the Spanish horses possess in the celerity and rapidity of their movements, will all of them be ready to afford their country this aid, which will contribute so much to the defence of religion, and of the august person of our beloved King Ferdinand VII.

JUAN DE SEVILLA, Sect. of the Junta.
Madrid, Oct. 13.

AMERICA.

THE PRESIDENT JEFFERSON'S ANSWER TO THE DISSENT OF THE REPUBLICANS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, RELATIVE TO THE EMBARGO.

I have duly received the address of that portion of the citizens of Boston who have declared their approbation of the present suspension of our commerce, and their dissent from the representation of those of the same place who wished its removal. A division of sentiment was not unexpected; on no question can a perfect unanimity be hoped, or certainly it would have been on that between *war* and *embargo*, the

only alternatives presented to our choice; for the general capture of our vessels would have been war upon one side, which reason and interest would repel by war and reprisal on our part.

Of the several interests comprising those of the United States, that of manufactures would of course prefer to war a state of non-intercourse, so favourable to their rapid growth and prosperity.

Agriculture, although sensibly feeling the loss of market for its produce, would find many aggravations in a state of war.

Commerce and navigation, or that portion which is foreign, in the inactivity to which they are reduced by the present state of things, certainly experience their full share in the general inconvenience; but whether war would be to them a preferable alternative, is a question, their patriotism would never hastily propose. It is to be regretted, however, that overlooking the real sources of sufferings, the British and French Edicts, which constitute the actual blockade of our foreign commerce and navigation, they have with too little reflection imputed them to laws which have preserved them from greater, and have saved for our own use, our vessels property, and seamen, instead of adding them to the strength of those with whom we might eventually have to contend.

The embargo, giving time to the belligerent powers to revise their unjust proceedings, and to listen to the dictates of justice, or interest and reputation, which equally urge the correction of their wrongs, has availed our country of this only honourable expedient of avoiding war; and should a repeal of these edicts supersede the cause for it, our commercial brethren will become sensible, that it has consulted their interest, however against their own will. It will be unfortunate for their country, if in the mean time

these their expressions of impatience should have the effect of prolonging the very sufferings which have produced them, by exciting a fallacious hope that we may, under any pressure, relinquish our equal rights of navigating the ocean, go to such ports as others may prescribe, and there pay the tributary exactions they may impose; an abandonment of national independence and essential rights revolting to every manly sentiment. *While these edicts are in force, no American can ever consent to a return of peaceable intercourse with those who maintain them.*

I am happy in the approach of the period when the feelings and the wisdom of the nation will be collected in their representatives assembled together. *To them are committed our rights, to them our wrongs are known, and they will pronounce the remedy they call for; and I hear with pleasure from all, as well those who approve as who disapprove of the present measures, assurances of an implicit acquiescence in the annunciation of the general will.* I beg leave, through you, to communicate this answer to the address, on which your signatures had the first place, and to add assurances of my respect.

T. JEFFERSON,

To Colonel Edward Procter.

To T. Jefferson, Esq. President of the United States of America.

THE PETITION.

Of the Subscribers, Officers of Merchant ships belonging to the port of Philadelphia.

RESPECTFULLY SUEWETH,

That in consequence of the present embargo laws, the situation of your petitioners is grievous and afflicting; that they have been engaged in the mercantile service since their infancy, with few exceptions, and accustomed only to conduct ships or vessels across the ocean; that from the operation of the present restrictive laws, they find themselves

cut off from their usual employment, and of course the means of subsistence are gone.

Your petitioners are well acquainted with the duties of conducting ships from port to port—well versed in naval tactics, but unable to handle the harrow or plough.

Your petitioners have for a long time borne with patience the privations incident to those restrictive laws, without murmur or complaint; but, when imperious necessity compels them to disclose the cause of their grievances, they humbly suppose they have a right so to do in a decent and respectful manner.

Your petitioners therefore pray that your excellency will take their case into consideration, and adopt such measures as will relieve the wants of your petitioners; or, if there are vacancies in the navy, to give your petitioners, or some of them, an opportunity of serving therein, as they think themselves capable of performing services of that nature. They, however, submit their whole cause to your consideration, hoping your Excellency will adopt such measures as wisdom and justice may point out, and as in duty bound will pray, &c.

Philadelphia, Aug. 10, 1808.

PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

SIR—In answer to the petition which you delivered me from the officers of merchant vessels belonging to Philadelphia, I must premise my sincere regret at the sacrifices which our fellow citizens in general, and the petitioners in particular, have been obliged to meet, by the circumstances of the times. We live in an age of affliction, to which the history of nations presents no parallel: we have for years been looking on Europe covered with blood and violence, and seen rapine spreading itself over the ocean. On this element it has reached us, and at length in so serious a degree, that the legislature of the nation has

thought it necessary to withdraw our citizens and property from it, either to avoid or prepare for engaging in the general contest. *But for this timely precaution, the petitioners and their property might now have been in the hands of spoilers, who HAVE LAID ASIDE ALL REGARD TO MORAL RIGHT!* Withdrawing from the greater evil, a lesser one has been necessarily encountered; and certainly, could the legislature have made provision against this also, I should have had great pleasure as the instrument of its execution: but it was impracticable by any general and just rules to prescribe, in every case, the best resource against the inconveniences of this new situation. The difficulties of the crisis will certainly fall with greater pressure on some description of citizens than others, and on none perhaps with greater than on our seafaring brethren. Should any means of alleviation occur within the range of my duties, I shall with certainty advert to the situation of the petitioners, and in availing the nation of their services, aid them with a substitute for their former occupation. I salute them and yourself with sentiments of sincere regard.

T. JEFFERSON.

Mr. Canning and the United States of America.

The following is an extract, and of official authenticity, from the *American National Intelligencer*, a paper under the sanction of government. It exhibits a detail of facts, and of dates, which it behoves Mr. Canning to disprove, or it will appear that *parliament was deceived*, and the American minister and his government abused!

[From the *National Intelligencer*.]

MR. CANNING'S SPEECH.—We inserted in our paper of Friday, Mr. Canning's remarks on the present state of the relations between this country and Great Britain. They embrace several topics—the affair of the Chesapeake, the orders in council, and generally the alledged amicable

disposition of the British administration to the United States; all of which are treated in such a way as to excite the astonishment of any one in the least acquainted with the situation of the two countries. Whatever may have been the intention of the minister, the use made of his allegations on this side of the Atlantic is such as might well have been foreseen. They are every where republished, with copious commentaries, by the enemies of the administration, on the eve of several important elections, to shew its culpable supineness or partiality, and to palliate, if not justify, the temper of the British cabinet. We may shortly take occasion to notice somewhat in detail the several topics adverted to by Mr. Canning; at present we propose to confine our remarks to that part of his observations which applies most pointedly to the conduct of our government relative to the orders in council. These are as follow:—

“Sir—Since the return of Mr. Rose, no communication has been made by the American government, in the form of complaint, or remonstrance, or irritation of any description whatever. I mention this particularly, because it is notorious that there have been several arrivals from America, supposed to be of great importance, and that several special messengers have reached this country from thence, after having touched at France. But, Sir, if the honourable gentleman, in the execution of his public duty, had thought fit to move for any communications that had been made by the American government, since the departure of Mr. Rose, my answer must have been, not that his Majesty's government was disinclined to make them, but that absolutely there were none to make. If it be asked, ‘why?’ I am unable satisfactorily to reply; I can conjecture, that America has entered into negotiations with France, which are expected to lead to some result, and that the communications of America to this country are to be contingent on that result. This, Sir, is conjecture alone, but it is founded on the extraordinary circumstance of so many arrivals without any communication.”

This part of Mr. Canning's remarks requires the more strict notice, as it is made the foundation of a charge against our government, of evincing a criminal

indifference to the restoration of harmony with England by withholding all remonstrance to her government on the orders of council; while it is more than insinuated that repeated remonstrances have been made to the French government: we pronounce this charge a gross and palpable falsehood; and aver that the measure either of remonstrance or of action, has been equally and impartially dealt out to both governments. The fact is, that no important aggression on neutral rights has been perpetrated by either France or England without immediate and strenuous remonstrance on the part of our government. The fact is, that with respect to every such aggression, an uniform sentiment has been felt, and an invariable course pursued. When injured, no matter by which nation, redress has been demanded for the wrong, and security against its repetition. The documents published prove this to have been the case down to a late period, and those, which, in all probability, will be submitted to congress at their next session, will equally prove it down to the present moment.

To substantiate our allegations beyond the reach of controversy, we shall proceed to specify some of the grounds on which they are made. If they bear hard upon the honour, the veracity, or the delicacy of Mr. Canning, it will not be our fault; but that either of himself or his reporter. We shall be perfectly satisfied with understanding that the facts asserted by him, or the impression which the artful structure of the terms in which they are couched is fitted to make, are surreptitious. We shall, in the mean time, demonstrate either the falsehood of the facts, or of the impression evidently intended to be produced.

The celebrated British orders bear date the 11th. but were not promulgated until the 17th. of November last. For some days, however, previous to their publication in the Gazette, a general rumour prevailed that some such measure was on the eve of adoption, and the American merchants, consequently, took the alarm. So strong was this rumour that Mr. Pinkney, our minister at London, deemed it his duty to wait on Mr. Canning, and he accordingly did wait on him on the 11th. of November, the very day on which these orders were signed, to inquire with regard to the

correctness of the rumour, and to remonstrate, in such case, against the contemplated measure. Mr. Pinkney did not succeed in seeing Mr. Canning, but he saw the under secretary Mr. Hammond, to whom he communicated the leading considerations that offered themselves to his mind against the orders. Mr. Hammond neither admitted or denied that a measure was either taken or contemplated, thereby studiously concealing from Mr. Pinkney the fact, as if with the express and deliberate purpose of preventing remonstrance against it, until remonstrance should be too late. But the die was already cast, and he found to his surprise, a few days after, that the fatal act had been passed, on the very day of his interview, without the least notice or opportunity for explanation or remonstrance.

"On the 17th of November, the orders appeared in the Gazette in form. Such a marked indignity had been offered to his country by this gigantic outrage on her rights without the least notice or explanation, that Mr. Pinkney might justly have shrowded himself in a proud silence. He might have disdained remonstrance to a government that thus levelled a deadly blow at the prosperity of a nation she called her friend, without apology or notice. But feeling profoundly the deep responsibility of his station as the representative of a pacific nation, he determined to controul his feelings, and by making a manly appeal to the justice and magnanimity of the British government, attempt to awaken them to a sense of their interests and a respect of our rights. This appeal, this *remonstrance*, was made without delay to Mr. Canning on the 21st. of November, in an interview with him. While Mr. Pinkney was preparing his remonstrance, Mr. Canning asked an interview, when Mr. Canning said, he had requested to see him, *not with the intention of discussing the general propriety of the orders, for they being now adopted, discussion could answer no valuable purpose, but with the view of explaining such of their provisions as might be supposed to be liable to misconstruction.*

Thus was the door forcibly closed by Mr. Canning upon all explanation, or remonstrance, by the unqualified declaration that *discussion could answer no valuable purpose,*

But Mr. Pinkney, confident of his power to expose the injustice of the orders, and entertaining, it would appear, some hope of the good effects of sound argument, insensibly led to a conversation upon the whole subject, in which he exposed the injustice of the orders, their unseasonableness and impolicy, and their destructive operation as well upon belligerent as neutral nations, as well upon Great Britain herself as upon the United States.

But his remonstrance was unavailing. It was received with a silence, that proved that the administration had unequivocally decided on their new system, which had, no doubt, been long meditated in secret. All that could be got from Mr. Canning, on the inquiry of Mr. Pinkney, whether Mr. Rose was authorised to advise the American government of the orders, was, that his mission had a special object, and that it was not meant that his sanction should interfere with those of Mr. Erskine, to whom a communication of the orders would be made, as soon as they should be freed from ambiguities and defects by the judgment of practical men being exercised upon them.

So far it appears that every avenue to remonstrance in England was closed by the British government, and that its future theatre, if to be found any where, was located in this country. Accordingly on the 23d of February, the orders, three months and a half after their date, were formally communicated by Mr. Erskine to the secretary of state, accompanied by a letter communicated to congress at their last session, specifying the grounds on which they were issued. To this letter the secretary of state replied in a strong and comprehensive remonstrance. A copy of this reply was sent to Mr. Pinkney by the April packet, the receipt of which Mr. Pinkney acknowledges on the 30th of May, by which conveyance Mr. Erskine indisputably likewise sent a copy of it, which must have been received by his government at the same time, and at least *twenty four days previous to the delivery of the speech ascribed to Mr. Canning.*

However, then, Mr. Canning may equivocally say "since the return of Mr. Rose (who reached England about the end of April) or since his departure from this country (about the first of April) no communication has been made by the American government in the

form of complaint or remonstrance," the fact is, that *such a communication*, made at a period anterior to both those events, *has been RECEIVED*, and to this day remains unanswered. The fact is, that the American government, through its minister at London, strenuously endeavoured to prevent the orders altogether by remonstrating against them anterior, as he supposed, to their existence; that he afterwards, as soon as he was apprised of their existence, more fully and pointedly remonstrated against them to Mr. Canning, who informed him, that remonstrance could answer no valuable purpose; that Mr. Canning closed the door against all further remonstrance in England by making Mr. Erskine the organ of communicating and explaining the orders to our government here; that Mr. Erskine accordingly communicated and justified them in his letter to the secretary of state of the 23d of February last; and that, finally, the secretary of state returned a full reply or remonstrance, which remains unanswered. If there be an American, who, after this explanation, would have his government humiliate itself by further remonstrance, which could only serve to court still higher indignity, while too the outrage on the Chesapeake remains unatoned, he is unworthy of the name.

It is only necessary, to prevent all cavil, further to say, that the letter of Mr. Pinkney, to which we have alluded was among the documents presented to congress at their last session, and was read in the senate with open doors, and that for the dates of the other papers we applied to the proper sources of authority.

[The following is copied from the *Monitor*, published at Washington City, by Mr. Madison.]

Washington City, July 12.

AMERICAN GROUND.—The dispatches by the Osage, although they have inspired us with no hope of amelioration of the policy of foreign powers towards the United States, enable us, nevertheless, to understand more clearly the true nature of our own situation, as well as the probable views of France and Great Britain with regard to this country.

France and her allies at this moment have little or no external com-

merce; nor, in truth, is trade of that kind so essential to them as it is to Great Britain. Agriculture and internal traffic, constitute the basis of their financial system.—Hence foreign trade, with them, is not a primary consideration in their fiscal arrangements. It is at all times the effect of a war between Great Britain and France, that the exterior commerce of the latter is cut up and destroyed during the war. And not only can it be annihilated with respect to French bottoms; but whenever Great Britain chooses to violate the laws of nations, by infringing upon neutral rights, her immense naval force enables her to prevent all intercourse between France and nations who take no part in the war. It must be recollected that Great Britain is not vulnerable to the French power by any direct medium except that of a navy; and this France has not got. The business of France, therefore, was to find out some indirect mode of reaching and injuring her antagonist. In all their European wars, down to the year 1807, the British had been enabled by coalitions, subsidies, and otherwise, to keep open a channel on the continent of Europe, through which they could pour in their manufactures and produce, and were thus enabled to support the war by the profits of a trade carried on during the war in their own or in neutral vessels even with their enemies; for, the goods once introduced on the continent, would readily find their way into every quarter. Bonaparte saw and felt the evil to himself; but, at the same time, was aware of his incapacity effectually to obstruct, unless he could, by a well laid stratagem, induce the British government unconsciously to co-operate with him. The Berlin decree, for which English orders had previously furnished ample pretext, was an experiment that has certainly fulfilled more than the French Empe-

ror's most ardent expectations.—That decree was never carried into effect against neutrals (as has been proved by British merchants strictly examined at the bar of the house of Commons) before the English orders in council were issued in November last; and, indeed, Napoleon could not have executed that decree against the Americans, who were the principal neutral, without risking a war with us, which it was far from being his desire then to provoke. Misconstruing Bonaparte's intention, and excited by the unceasing clamours of the West India planters, the English ministry, under the influence of the right hon. Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer, induced his Majesty to pass those fatal decrees, which completely threw the commercial world upon a new axis. "I think I can prove, Sir, (says Mr. Brougham, speaking to this point) that we ourselves were blinded and alarmed by the empty menaces of the enemy, which we had often before experienced to be ineffectual, terrified by vain fear which we could not describe, and arguing from the very uncertainty of the darkness in which we were, that some evil was impending, we knew not what, countersigned all the decrees of the enemy; backed their futile threats with our solid orders; carried them triumphantly into execution by our all powerful navy, and reduced the commerce of the country to that state of degradation, to which he, our inveterate enemy, had wished, but in vain wished, by those decrees to reduce it; and to which, by no other earthly power than our own, could he have succeeded in bringing it." The peace of Tilsit, and the seizure of the Danish fleet, in fact, shut British bottoms out from the continent, and there was no other means of intercourse, generally speaking, than by American vessels. The obnoxious orders of council restricted the latter from proceeding to the ports of

France or those of powers dependant on and in alliance with her; this brought the Berlin decree into full play, which was rendered more severe by that of Milan; and the Emperor of the French triumphed in the complete success of his scheme.— Without an efficient navy, and without incurring the necessary and enormous expence of one, he has placed the commerce of England in a situation the most humiliating, and by a singular dullness of apprehension on the part of the British ministry, has actually succeeded in making the British navy fight the maritime battles of France.

From such a situation we look in vain for Napoleon to dislodge himself. He sees very plainly that he has every advantage on his side. To relax his decrees with regard to the United States, whilst the orders of Great Britain are in existence could be of no possible service to France, whilst it would be of immense benefit to her enemy. Nor would it suit the views of Napoleon just now to declare war against us; for in a war with the Americans he has nothing to gain, but it his interest to embroil us with Great Britain; for then he would have in us an active friend, and still enjoy all the advantages over the British he does at present. This view of the case designates at once the cause of that mongrel kind of conduct which Bonaparte observes towards us. The information by the Osage induces a belief that he is disposed still further to aggravate the United States, not to a war with himself if he can help it; but it is very certain, that at this time he would choose hostilities with America in preference to annulling his decrees, because his great interests consist in adhering to them as long as he can induce the English to persist in the rigid execution of their orders of council.

Great Britain, on the other hand, relies upon commerce for the main-

tenance of her government and all its expensive appendages. The facility of raising loans depends upon that source; and, in truth, her whole system of revenue, directly or indirectly, is bottomed upon it. She cannot exist with splendour for any long period of time without an extensive and flourishing trade. Deceived by fallacious views of things, and believing that the continent of Europe either could not or would not do without large supplies of colonial produce and British manufactures, even if it had to accept them by vessels direct from England; she rashly promulgated and acted upon her orders of council, and thereby rendered our flag obnoxious in all the ports of Europe, whose sovereigns are hostile to great Britain; and by doing so, effectually stagnated her own trade, which had before been briskly carried on, notwithstanding the war, in a circuitous and lawful manner, by our bottoms.

Thus situated, the British ministers would gladly remove all difficulties to a proper pacific understanding, which exist between the United States and Great Britain, were it not for certain expectations entertained upon their part. They have been persuaded from the writings and conduct of particular persons among us, that the people of this country would not submit to the embargo; that they would revolt; that there was a probability that the government might be subverted, or that a division of the Union might be effected, if the cabinet of St. James's would only adhere pertinaciously to its measures; and that, at all events, the perseverance of Great Britain in her unfriendly conduct to America could not fail of producing the most salutary effect for England in the approaching presidential election. This opinion of the British ministry is grounded upon the publications in our opposition prints, and upon

Mr. Pickering's letter in particular. There is also good reason to believe that letters have been sent to the ministerial party in England by persons in this country, advising them to yield nothing to the present American administration, and flattering them with the hope that a radical change of politics must be the consequence on this side of the water.

In these circumstances, the course of conduct to be pursued by the people of the United States is as lucid as a ray of light. On either hand we are presented with an enemy, if we choose so to consider it. France cares very little for our friendship, as it regards herself; but values our enmity as it relates to Great Britain; whilst the latter estimates our amity as essential to her vital interests, but in the expectation of a revolution among our citizens in her favour, rejects the olive branch we have so often presented to her. The aggravations of France are wounding to our national honour; those of the British insulting and degrading to every noble passion of our nature, because it presumes upon our want of fortitude and virtuous principles. We are a peaceable nation; we must therefore preserve a pacific posture as long as it is tenable, consistent with our interests and rights. We are also a gallant nation; we must therefore make war when peace is no longer reasonable or to be tolerated. In any event, the embargo is a wise measure. If we refrain from war, it acts as a girth which binds our most valuable resources to the country. It will also act **POSITIVELY** upon the enemy, by which, in due time, he must undoubtedly feel the want of our friendly offices. If we make war, the embargo is one of those middle measures which breaks the dreadful shock in rushing from a state of peace to a state of desperate hostilities.

The French Emperor may learn

hereafter, that it is of some importance to be on good terms with us; and as for Great Britain she will understand (I hope it may not be too late for her) that she has woefully misused a figure; and that her ministry have been the dupes of a few men in this country who are themselves deluded by a monstrous *deceptio visus* in politics. Europe may rely upon the fact, that six months have familiarised mens' minds to the embargo; and that it is becoming more popular every day. I am not in the habit of praising my countrymen; but I will venture to say this much of them: that all attempts to induce them to rebel, all endeavours to subvert the government, to divide the union, or to force upon them a president against their own inclinations, will be by them resisted with unbounded indignation, and at the peril of their lives.

FRANCE.

Paris, Oct. 26.—Yesterday his Majesty the Emperor and King went in great state to the palace of the legislative body, in order to open the sitting. His Majesty addressed the assembly as follows:—

MESSIEURS, the deputies of the departments to the legislative body.

The code of laws, laying down the principles of property and of civil freedom, which forms the subject of your labours, will be adopted as the sentiment of Europe. My people already experience the most salutary effects from them.

The latest laws have laid the foundation of our system of finances. That is a monument of the might and greatness of France. We shall henceforward be able to meet the expenditure which might be rendered necessary, even by a general coalition of Europe, from our yearly income alone. Never shall we be reduced to have recourse to the fatal

expedients of *paper money*, of *loans*, or of *anticipations of revenue*.

I have, in the present year, laid out more than a thousand miles of road. The system of works which I have established for the improvement of our territory, will be carried forward with zeal.

The prospect of the great French family, lately torn to pieces by opinions and intestine rancour, but now prosperous, tranquil, and united, has affected my soul in a remarkable manner. *I have felt that, in order to be happy, I should in the first place be assured that France was happy.*

The peace of Presburg, that of Tilsit, the assault of Copenhagen, the plans of England against all nations on the ocean, the different revolutions at Constantinople, the affairs of Spain and Portugal have, in various ways, exercised an influence on the affairs of the world.

Russia and Denmark have united with me against England.

The United States of America have rather chosen to abandon commerce and the sea, than to acknowledge their slavery.

A part of my army has marched against that which England has formed in Spain, or has disembarked. It is a distinguished favour of that Providence, which has constantly protected our arms, that passion has so far blinded the English counsels, that they abandon the defence of the seas, and *at last produce their army on the continent.*

I depart in a few days to put myself in person at the head of my army, and, with God's help, to crown the King of Spain in Madrid, and to plant my eagles on the forts of Spain.

I have only to praise the sentiments of the Princes of the confederation of the Rhine.

Switzerland experiences more and more the benefits of the act of mediation.

The people of Italy give me grounds

for nothing but expressions of satisfaction.

The Emperor of Russia and myself have had an interview at Erfurth. Our first thought was a thought of peace. We have even resolved to make some sacrifices, in order to enable the hundred millions of men whom we represent, if possible, the sooner to enjoy the benefits of the seas. *We are agreed, and unchangeably united, as well for peace as for war.*

MESSIEURS DEPUTIES,

I have ordered my ministers of finance, and of the general treasury, to lay before you an account of the receipt and expenditure of the year. You will therein see, with satisfaction, that I have not felt it necessary to increase the tariff with any impost. My people shall experience no new burden.

The speakers of my council of state will submit to you many plans of laws, and among others all those which have relation to the criminal code.

I rely constantly on your co-operation."

His Majesty's speech excited the most lively emotion, and the sitting was closed under repeated acclamations of *Long live the Emperor!* The same rejoicings were manifested in the streets through which the Emperor passed.

Oct. 28. Yesterday, at noon, the Emperor being seated on his throne, surrounded by the princes, grand officers, and officers of his household, the ministers, members of the senate, and council of state, received at the palace of the Thuilleries a deputation of the legislative body.

The deputation being admitted to the foot of the throne, his Excellency the count de Fontanes, the president, pronounced the following address :

SIRE—The legislative body lays at your Majesty's feet, the address

of thanks voted by all the French people as well as by them,

The paternal sentiments contained in the speech you have delivered from the throne, have diffused throughout love and gratitude.

The first of captains sees something more heroic and elevated than victory—Yes, Sire, we have it from your own mouth: there is an authority more powerful and permanent than that of arms—it is the authority which is founded upon good laws and national institutions. The codes which your wisdom dictated will extend further than your conquests, and reign without effort over twenty different nations, whose benefactor you are.

The legislative body ought, above all, to celebrate those peaceful triumphs, which are never followed, but by the blessings of the human race.

Legislation and the finances.—It is to that that our own duties are confined, and it is from you we have received that double benefit.

To you was it given to re-discover social order under the wreck of a vast empire, and to re-establish the fortune of the state in the midst of the ravages of war.

You have created, as you have every thing besides, the true elements of the system of finance. That system, the most proper for great monarchies, is simple and fixed as the principle that governs them. It is not sustained by those artificial means which have all the inconstancy of opinions and of events.—It is imperishable as the riches of our soil.

If sometimes difficult circumstances render new taxes necessary, those taxes, always proportioned to that necessity, do not exceed the duration of it. The future is not devoured before-hand. We shall see no more, after years of glory, the state sunk under the weight of the public debt, and bankruptcy, fol-

lowed by revolutions, open an abyss in which thrones and society itself are entirely lost.

These miseries are far from us.—The receipts equal the expenditure.—The present burdens will not be augmented; and you give us this assurance at the moment when other states are exhausting all their resources. When you immolate your own happiness, the happiness of the people occupies your whole soul.—It was affected with the aspect of the grand family (for thus you call France,) and though sure of its utmost devotedness, you offer peace at the head of a million of invincible warriors.

It is with this generous design that you saw the Emperor of Russia. Hitherto, when sovereigns so powerful approached each other, from the extremities of Europe, all the neighbouring states were in alarm. Sinister and menacing messages accompanied their grand interviews. The two first monarchs of the world unite their standards, not to invade, but to pacify the world.

Sire, your Majesty has pronounced the word *SACRIFICES*, and we dare say to your Majesty, that word completes all your triumphs. Certainly the nation wishes no more than yourself for those sacrifices that would injure their glory and yours; but there was but one means of increasing your grandeur, it was to moderate the use of it. You have shewn us the spectacle of force which subdues every thing, and you reserve for us a more extraordinary spectacle—that of force subduing itself.

An hostile people, it is true, pretend to retard this last glory. They have descended upon the continent at the voice of discord and of factions.—Already you have taken up your arms to march and meet them—already you abandon France, which for so many years has seen you but for a few days: and I know

not what fear, inspired by love and tempered by hope, has disturbed all our hearts. Yet we know full well, that wherever you are, you carry with you fortune and victory. The country accompanies you with its regret and its wishes; it recommends you to her brave children, who form your faithful legions.—Her wishes will be accomplished—all your soldiers swear upon their swords to watch round a head so dear and so glorious, where so many destinies repose. Sire, the hand that has led you, by miracle, to the summit of human grandeur, will abandon neither France nor Europe, which yet, for so long a time, stands in need of you.

His Majesty replied—

Gentlemen President and Deputies of the legislative body. My duty and my inclinations lead me to share the dangers of my soldiers. We are mutually necessary.—My return to my capital shall be speedy.—I think little of fatigues, when they can contribute to insure the glory of France. I recognise, in the solicitude you express, the love you bear me.—I thank you for it.

FRENCH ACCOUNT OF SPANISH AFFAIRS.

In the official gazette printed in Vitoria, is published a relation of the operations of the army from the 12th of August to the 12th of October. It is as follows:—

After the events that had passed in Andalusia, in the month of July last, the King repaired to Burgos, where the two corps of Marshal Bessieres and Moncey are united. This changing of position was not determined by the movements of the enemy, who have never dared to face our troops, nor to present themselves in the plain, but from political motives, which every man of sense knows how to appreciate. We have completely succeeded by these means in rendering of no avail efforts which the English made to disturb the tranquillity of the provinces of the Ebro and Burgos. The flames of rebellion have not propagated themselves hither.

We maintain free communications

with France.—The army reposes, in order to completely organize itself; it has beaten the enemy whenever he has dared to shew himself. It has received reinforcements from France; it has destroyed, by its good conduct and continual success, the calumnious reports spread by the enemy, in the provinces which they occupy, and the inhabitants of which have always been imposed upon by the insinuations of the English.

On the 12th of August the general of division Merlin received orders to seize upon Bilboa, with the 43d and 51st regiments of the line, and the 26th of chasseurs.—The English had disembarked there some men and warlike stores, and many incendiary writers.

The town was occupied by the insurgents, the major part of whom came from the mountains of St. Andero, and the others from the neighbouring country. The rebels were entirely destroyed; 1200 of them perished in the place. The wreck of this army is dispersed, after abandoning all its artillery and baggage. The English officers were the first who fled, nevertheless some of them could not reach the vessels which waited to convey them to Portugal. We surprised in the crowd, eleven monks attached to cannon, which like mules they were dragging. Not one of them escaped. General Merlin entered into the town, and established tranquillity in it. Admiral Massereda, marine minister, was sent to Bilboa; he assembled the juntas and the province, and was satisfied with the good spirit of the deputies, and the resolutions which they adopted. At the moment of the attempt of the insurgents directed against the right of our army, the enemy seized upon Tudela, fifty leagues on our left. General Lefebvre des Nonelles, marched with 300 Polish troops and two pieces of cannon to meet him. He met his advanced guard composed of from 6000 to 7000 men, immediately fell upon it, made some hundreds of prisoners, and took two cannons. The King gave orders to General Moncey to attack the enemy and occupy Tudela. His Majesty marched with his reserve towards that point, commanded by Capt. Saligny, captain of his guards; Marshal Jourdan, major general, and General Ballard, chief of the staff, accompanied his Majesty. The enemy had at Tudela, 20,000 men, but this did not retarda

General Moncey, who entered the town on the 31st Aug. after having dispersed the rear guard of the enemy, the most intrepid part of whom had not dared to advance more than three days journey from Burgos. He nevertheless made a new movement in the Mountains of St. Ander, near the sea, upon the right of our army. General Blake united his army, and attacked Bilboa on the 20th of September.

Marshal Ney fell upon him with four regiments; 10,000 insurgents were overthrown, and fled into inaccessible mountains, after having been pursued two days. Since this affair General Martin has remained at Bilboa, with a corps of his troops, and Marshal Ney has taken his former position.

The enemy not daring to approach the front of our army by the roads of communication, and persisting in his design to turn it, by manœuvring upon its flanks, fell upon the left of the army at Sangnensa, where he was repulsed. Col. Ghopin took two pieces of cannon.

General Blake having united in the mountains from 25 to 30,000 men, again disposed himself anew to march against Bilboa. He was already within two leagues of the town, when the King informed of this movement, ordered Marshal Bessieres to attack Orduna with the divisions of Mouton and Mule. The troops were animated with the best spirit; they hoped, at least, to meet the enemy. If the insurgents had persisted in their project, a battle would have followed, the issue of which could not be doubtful; but informed of the approach of the French they retired precipitately into the mountains. Every thing now leads us to hope, that the insurgents will at last abandon their project of turning our positions. Three times they have made the attempt; what success can they hope from it, especially at a time when the troops coming from France will protect the flanks of our army. They must decide to give regular battle, and measure their forces with the French in the plain, or rather, which will be most conformable to the true interests of the Spanish nation, return to obedience, acknowledge their error, and turn their arms against the only enemy of Spain. Already the most enlightened part of the nation appreciates the benefits of the new constitution, and are only pre-

vented by fear from making these sentiments known.

The 36th regiment of the line, a regiment of grenadiers, a regiment of light cavalry, three battalions of Voltigeurs of the King's guards, and three German regiments, have entered Spain. The division of Gen. Sebastiani, composed of 15,000 men, has already entered Bayonne, in which place, between the 20th and 30th of this month, 100,000 will arrive.

The present moment is decisive for the Spanish nation. If, in awaking from their lethargy, they know their true interests—if they unite around their prince and their constitution, they will see in Frenchmen nothing but allies and friends. Then every thing might change: a moment only will be sufficient to render worthy of pity the grantees, who, after having solicited employments from the King, in virtue of which they took the oath of fidelity, did not attach themselves to his Majesty. Those monks who might have tranquilly passed their lives in their convents, agreeably to the promise which the King made him at Madrid. All those privileged persons who deceive the people, and excite rebellion, under pretext of supporting their interests, who are far from being injured by the new order of things, and who deceive themselves in thinking that they defend their particular interests, which are not menaced. It is and always will be possible to do general good without injuring the interests of any class of citizens; but shall this be possible, when the war shall have carried its ravages into all parts of the country? *Will not the first authors of this sedition be the first victims; and will the King after having been obliged to fight and conquer Spain, consent to preserve untouched the colossal riches of the great and of the clergy, who must be declared enemies of his people and of his throne. To day, the regeneration of Spain may be effected without diminishing the prerogatives of the privileged classes. To morrow, Spain being conquered, its regeneration must be IMMEDIATE and TOTAL.*

PORTUGAL.

Oporto, Oct. 13.—We have had, since Monday last, a kind of second

revolution, which was occasioned by the arrival of the French troops from Almeida, under an escort of 240 men of the 6th. British regiment.—They arrived at Cais Novo, below Massarallos, on Sunday morning; but the sick, about 250 in number, came down from Pezo da Regoa, in four boats, under a guard of British soldiers, and arrived on Saturday morning. This, as you may suppose, attracted a great crowd on the bridge, and that day the people began to be dissatisfied. These were carried down to the castle of St. John's, and things remained pretty quiet until the Monday morning. On Monday morning early, they were all embarked on board four transports, that had arrived the day before from Lisbon, and were lying at Massarallos with their baggage, arms, and ammunition. This only tended to inflame the minds of the Portuguese mob, and they kept murmuring all day long. It was not until the evening, about seven o'clock, when the bells in the city, and round it, gave the alarm, that people of every description, and from all parts, came down to Massarallos, lined the shores on both sides the river, some armed with guns, some with swords, and others with sticks, &c. Sir Robert Wilson, with the Quarter-Master-General, who came down with the French from Almeida, and several other officers, went down to the castle to have the baggage examined by them and the Governor Barmundo. Accordingly every thing was going on well, when they opened a box, which they found contained several rich vestments of the Portuguese priests.—This was enough to increase the dissatisfaction of the governor, and he instantly gave orders that no vessel should be allowed to pass the castle; or if they attempted to go out to sink them. Every gun in the castle was loaded with shot, and remains so to this moment. The

people of St. John's soon heightened the story, and said that diamonds, sacraments, and church plate had been found, with many other things. This soon reached Oporto, and the mob, without listening to any thing that could be said to them, went down, and insisted upon killing the French in the castle. Some of the English soldiers who were on guard at St. John's, were attacked by the mob, but nothing of consequence happened.—The Portuguese troops were all out, and the bishop was obliged to go down to St. John's, where he succeeded in quieting the Povo; and about eight o'clock in the evening he returned to Oporto, accompanied by Sir Robert and several other officers, English and Portuguese, amidst the cries of "Viva o Bispo—Destruction to the Regency of Lisbon—the Bishop must be Viceroy." They however remained all night on both sides the river, and continued with patience until yesterday morning, when, by seven o'clock, there were more than 4000 persons of all descriptions assembled, who appeared determined to attack the French that were on board the transports. Every preparation was made; several pieces of artillery were drawn up on both sides, and they had mounted 20 guns on board of each of three Brazil ships that were lying opposite the transports. Every moment increased the storm; and the French, who were preparing to meet the attack, were all provided with 60 rounds each man, and determined to defend themselves. The wish of the Povo it was impossible to know; but it generally appeared that they wanted to destroy them all. About nine o'clock, the bishop came down in a barge, with Sir Robert Wilson, who was indefatigable on the occasion. Much praise is due to him for his exertions, to which we are indebted for things not taking a most serious turn. The mob would not hear any thing.

They wanted the Frenchmen's arms and baggage, and reproached the English with not assisting them. A negotiation was established on the part of the people, by the bishop and Sir Robert Wilson, and propositions were made to the French general, who was on board. This was a delicate point for Sir Robert. Being the highest in rank here, he was obliged to see that the articles of capitulation were strictly executed; and this was particularly observed by the French general. Sir Robert was employed in negotiating from nine o'clock in the morning until four o'clock in the afternoon.

The French agreed to suffer their baggage to be searched, and to give up any thing that should be found belonging to the Portuguese; but as to giving up their arms, they would not consent, and said they would rather die than submit to it. This was communicated to the juiz do pova, and then commenced the alarming scene. Persons from both sides of the river jumped into boats, and were proceeding to attack the transports; but by the exertions and perseverance of Sir Robert, tranquillity was again restored, and the French offered to give up their arms outside of the bar. This, however, was not acceded to, but at last it was agreed that they should be disembarked, their baggage examined on shore, and that they should leave their arms. Barges from all parts went off to the transports, but they took care to begin with the three that were not armed; for one has six 6-pounders, which the French have kept loaded since the beginning of this affair. They took every thing out of the transports, even the provisions and wearing apparel of the ships' owners; every thing was brought ashore, and in a short time every thing had disappeared. The Frenchmen were landed, and are now at a warehouse next to those of the wine company at Massarallos.

By this time it was almost dark, and the armed transport remained unmolested. There are on board of this about 300 French, who have since remained on board; the others are guarded by our troops, and some Portuguese cavalry, to prevent the mob from destroying them. We do not know what has passed between the bishop and Sir Robert, but the Portuguese seem to be ashamed of their conduct, and it is evident that their object was no other than plunder.

Oct. 15.—Perfect tranquillity is again restored, and we hope things will go on well. Gen. Beresford is expected to-morrow with 5000 men from Lisbon, on their way to the north of Spain.

ARMISTICE
CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE
SWEDES AND RUSSIANS IN THE
NORTH OF FINLAND.

There shall be an armistice concluded for an unlimited time between the Russian troops posted as well upon the river of Gamla Carlby as in the environs of Knopio, and the Swedish army under Count Klingspor, from the moment of the signature of this armistice, till eight days after either party give notice of its cessation. Neither of the contracting parties, whilst this armistice lasts, shall send any part of their troops to act in other parts. The Russians, which are in the government of Wasa, will keep their positions at Gamla Carlby, and the Swedish troops theirs at Hemango, and not advance their advanced posts beyond Kannus, and from the church of Ilykannus to the lake of Leski, and from thence in a right line to the church of Idansalmi. And in order that there may remain a neutral space between the two armies, the Russians shall place their advanced posts in such a manner as not to

pass the river which empties itself into the Juntela. On the side of Knopio the Swedish troops shall place themselves in such a manner that the church of Idensalmi may remain neuter. The Russian troops shall occupy the defile which is in the south-east of it; and the Swedes that on the north-west. Should the imperial Russian troops have passed the church of Idensalmi on the other side before these orders arrive, they shall retire to the position agreed upon.

There shall be an exchange of

prisoners, man for man, rank against rank.

SUCKKELIN,

Field Marshal, General in Chief,

LE COMPTE DE KAMINSKY,

Lieutenant General.

Head-quarters, Lucco, 17-23d

Sept. 1808.

Gottenburgh, Oct. 17.—The King is displeased with the guards, and has broke them and disgraced all the officers. This will create great discontent among the first families here.

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON THE CONVENTION IN PORTUGAL

The Common Council of London assembled on the 17th ult. to receive the answer to their address, on the subject of the convention which terminated the campaign in Portugal. The Recorder having read the answer—

Mr. *Waithman* rose and addressed the court—He could not, he said, allow this answer to pass without some observations, stating it at the same time to be his intention to propose such a resolution founded upon it, as the nature of the case appeared to him to demand. He confessed that this was a subject of some delicacy, and it was probable he would hear several objections to the course he was pursuing from the gentleman opposite (Mr. S. Dixon), and others, who seemed much more anxious to avoid whatever might be disagreeable to the crown, than to guard the rights and privileges either of the democratical or aristocratical branches of our constitution. But the answer was constitutionally to be considered as that of his Majesty's advisers, and as such he felt himself perfectly at liberty to comment upon it. He therefore thought it unnecessary to say any thing further on that point.

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With regard to the answer itself, he certainly thought it a most extraordinary one. He conceived that the corporation of London had a right to approach the throne with petitions and remonstrances, even although his Majesty might have expressed an intention of adopting such proceedings as they might recommend. It was proper that the King should be acquainted with the state of public opinion on all occasions, whether for or against the measures of his ministers; and it was the duty, as well as the privilege of the subject to give that information to the crown. It was the mode established by the constitution, for conveying the truth to the ear of the sovereign, in spite of the machinations of those around him who might wish to keep him in darkness. This was not a right conceded by the crown as a favour; but one required and demanded at the revolution as essential to our civil liberties, and to be exercised without obstruction or censure. It appeared from the records of the court, that they had often gone up with petitions and remonstrances to the throne, drawn up in a style and spirit much less humble than their

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late address, and yet the answers had not been of so repulsive a description. But the degrading reply which they had just heard read, they had drawn upon themselves; and if it had been merely a severe lecture upon their past conduct he owned he would not have been sorry. During the last twenty years, a period distinguished for the most momentous occurrences that ever called for the interposition of any body of men, the court of common council had scarcely ever exercised its right of petitioning or remonstrating, except some years ago on the occasion of the high price of provisions, when they petitioned for convening the parliament. But during all that time they not only did not omit, but eagerly sought for occasions of congratulation. They were ever forward to shew their zeal for prerogative and the rights of the crown; but no anxiety appeared to guard the privileges of the other branches of the constitution. "The glorious independence of the crown was the constant cry;" but when had their voices been raised for the glorious independence of the houses of lords and commons? Occasion was then taken in the answer, to remind the corporation, "that it was inconsistent with the principles of British justice, to pronounce judgment without previous investigation." How it was possible to construe the address, so as to imagine that it had pronounced judgment previous to investigation, he did not know. It called for inquiry certainly—it called for punishment on the guilty, without pretending to point out where the guilt rested. That was the matter to be investigated; and if no guilt was found, then of course there could be no punishment. *He himself had moved a petition for an inquiry into the business at the Helder; and this was opposed on the ground that the minister of the crown would certainly institute one without*

any call from the court. A worthy colleague of his said, that the motion was unfortunately full of truths, but then it was unnecessary. Another member however moved a resolution, that the motion was a disgrace to the court, and an insult to the crown, and incredible as it might appear, the court was so constituted at that time that he carried it. From the words and gestures of the gentleman opposite (S. Dixon), he supposed he would have done the same thing with respect to the last address, if he durst have done it. When we were told that the church and holy religion were in danger, the court went up with an address, although the danger, supposing there had been any, was known to be over, for his Majesty had by that time dismissed his then minister, and chosen the present "No-Nepery" Administration. That gentleman had then no objection to set up with what, according to his principles, might be called an unnecessary address, and yet he treated this subject with levity. How, in the present circumstances of the country, a matter of this importance could be so treated by a person in his senses, he was at a loss to conceive. When our arms by land were attended with such constant disasters, and these sometimes following victories, it was time to exercise our constitutional privilege of petitioning for inquiries with vigour and perseverance. But it was said, "that recent circumstances might have convinced us that his Majesty was at all times ready to institute inquiries, on occasions in which the character of the country or the honour of his arms were concerned; and that the interposition of the city of London was unnecessary." He supposed the allusion must be to General Whitelocke and Sir H. Popham. But yet it was perfectly well known, that though the greatest attention and inquiry

had been shewn in squeezing money out of the pockets of the people, it was found almost impossible to prevent the embezzling of their property, or to get the offenders brought to justice. The strongest attempts had been made to prevent the bringing of Lord Melville to trial—and the business of Alex. Davidson had not as yet been publicly investigated. He had been told that ministers would institute an inquiry into the business at the Helder, but no investigation had taken place—and would they be more earnest to institute an inquiry into the causes of the convention which they had announced as a victory, than into the business of the Helder, which had been allowed to be a great calamity. The situation of the army in Holland had been, according to the account of officers who were there, the most horrid that could be well imagined—men perishing in the snow, amidst plains where they could have no shelter, with other circumstances almost too shocking to describe. Yet no investigation had taken place into the causes of the evacuation of Holland. What need he mention the case of Quiberon, where arms for 28,000 had been delivered by us, and afterwards turned against ourselves? What need he mention the affair at Ferrol, where the inhabitants were seen coming out humbly with the keys by 18,000 men who had landed, as if to take a survey, but where the keys being taken for guns, the whole army was hastily embarked! No inquiry had been instituted into these disastrous events. Expensive expeditions were every now and then proposed, trusting to chance for an object—and were the people who bore the expence to be obstructed and reproved for calling for investigation as to the mismanagement of these expeditions? Many other cases might be mentioned, if it were necessary. As to General

Whitelocke, it was not to this day known who had procured his appointment. All that was known was, that he had been appointed under one administration, and brought to trial by another. Sir H. Popham had been appointed by one, brought to trial by another, and after being reprimanded by a court-martial, was again taken into favour by a third. Lord Melville, to be sure, had been acquitted—very properly, no doubt—he could not now contest that—but, notwithstanding the very considerable minority against him, and the resolution on the journals of the house of commons, he was taken into favour at court, and had a considerable share in advising the measures of the present administration. If the same system were pursued in our army as in our navy, the same consequences would follow. The men were the same; the difference was only in the way of managing them. Sensible of the importance of promoting inquiries by every possible means, he could not but think the answer to the petition of the city of London very ill judged, to say the least of it. He would move, therefore, that it be entered on the journals, with a resolution expressive of the opinion entertained of it by the representatives of the city of London in the common council.

Mr. S. Dixon insisted, that the answer ought to be entered separately, and asked the Recorder, whether this was not the usual practice? The Recorder replied, that it was the practice to propose the motion for entering the answer separately first; and if any thing was intended to be added, to move it as an amendment.—Mr. Waithman observed, that he would contend against all the lawyers in Westminster Hall, that the court might do as it pleased, as there was no standing order on the point. This was at any rate an extraordinary occa-

sion, and required an extraordinary proceeding.

Mr. Quin said, that he offered himself to the notice of the court, divested of all prejudice either for or against ministers. Of many of their great foreign measures he approved; he was sorry he could not say so much for their domestic proceedings. He appeared simply as a representative of the citizens of London, to guard their honour and protect their privileges as far as lay in his power. The answer to the address was undoubtedly to be regarded as that of the ministers, since, constitutionally speaking, the King could do no wrong. The sources of the prerogative were so pure; that it was given only for the good of the people. It was then the answer of the ministers, and he believed it might be considered as the answer of the noble lord by whom it was delivered. That was a melancholy day for the court in one sense, but it was a glorious one in another. They had left their own place of meeting to tell the truth; they had left the advisers of the answer, not with sorrow, but disdain and contempt. The cause for which they had petitioned was great and noble. They had done their duty in presenting their address. The shame of the answer rested with others. There were three points in that answer, which appeared to him to call particularly for animadversion. In the first place, he should have thought it unnecessary to tell the corporation of London, "that it was inconsistent with the principles of the British constitution to pronounce judgment without previous investigation." This was a truism with which every one was acquainted; and if the answer should appear without the address, posterity would be apt to think the common council of this day destitute of common sense. But perhaps it was thought that the opinion of the corporation

on the transactions in Portugal had been too strongly expressed; but could this be the case with respect to an affair, which was stated in the concluding part of the answer itself, "to have disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation?" The second point was the observation, that "recent occurrences might have convinced the city, that his Majesty was at all times ready to institute enquiries." An investigation had indeed taken place in the case of Sir R. Calder, whose old age had been rendered miserable by a sentence severe in any view of the matter; but most severe when contrasted with the easy escape of many others. Did the noble lord who delivered the answer, recollect the transactions of the last 15 years? Did he recollect the retreat at Dunkirk, and his own projected march to Paris? In looking at these events and their consequences, did it not appear necessary to call for inquiry? The Royal Duke at Dunkirk commanded forty thousand men. It was discovered at length that heavy artillery was wanted; and when this was sent, it was found that the balls did not suit the calibres. Why was there no inquiry into all this? *When Holland was evacuated, the army had in December performed a march of ten weeks to Bremen—a thing in them equal to the retreat of the ten thousand; and all this while the Royal Duke was at head-quarters at a considerable distance. On another occasion, when an expedition was sent into Holland, it was found that the army wanted a commander, the Royal Duke being in London!* The command was taken by one who had since gloriously fallen in his country's cause (Abercrombie) and success attended his course. *The Royal Duke at length arrived: he had 50,000 men under his command; the conclusion was a capitulation, with a stipulation to deliver up 8000 French captives, and these their best seamen!* Why

was there no inquiry into this? Why was there no inquiry into the causes of the failure of Ferrol? Our soldiers were of the same character with our seamen, but the effects of their exertions were constantly liable to be tarnished by the mischievous system of secret courts of inquiry instead of open courts-martial. The third point was, "that the interposition of the city of London was unnecessary." What strange crime did the noble lord suppose the city to have committed by this interposition? Other places, however, in spite of his intended check, had chosen to partake in the guilt.—Winchester had interposed—so had Westminster, Berkshire, &c. In 1621 the parliament remonstrated with James the First, who had come from Scotland replete with despotic notions, about the system of policy which he pursued. The reply was, "that the parliament ought not to *interpose* in any prerogative matter, except the King was pleased to desire it." This prerogative extended to all points of the King's public duty. Such was the notion of the right of interposition under the Stuarts; and the noble lord who delivered the answer appeared to have taken his ideas on the subject from this source. The city of London, therefore, ought not to interpose unless his Majesty was pleased to desire it! But it ought to be recollected, that these despotic principles drove the Stuarts from the throne. Had Magna Charta—had the Bill of Rights, and the other great documents securing our liberties, been forgotten? Had the noble lord looked at the first of William, where the right to petition was recognized? In Russia a regulation had once been made, that no petition was to be presented in the first instance, except to a minister. It was then to be presented to a second; and lastly, it might be presented to the sovereign himself, but it was at the peril

of the life of the petitioner. Were we to be driven to this pass? In the reigns of Henry and Elizabeth, even while the constitution was floating between life and death, the answers were less insulting than that now read. Even Charles the first had treated the remonstrance of the city of London with more respect. To keep the truth from the ear of the sovereign was the surest way to bring a government into contempt. This had lately been exemplified in the case of Spain. We ought to learn wisdom from experience.—The ministers received flattery with smiles, but turned up their noses at the truth. It became the court, however, to have a due sense of its own dignity, and to act as became the representatives of the city of London; not with a view of pleasing any ministers, but with a single eye to the common weal. This he hoped it would do on the present occasion. The whole of the motion of his worthy friend had his hearty concurrence.

Mr. Dixon said, if the worthy mover and seconder of the present resolution should not carry their motion, they would at least have effected one object, which, he was satisfied they had much at heart—they would have a great deal of their speeches in the public newspapers. No person, he declared could be more anxious than he was to support the dignity of that court, but, at the same time, he was anxious not to detract from the dignity of the crown, and the respect it was entitled to receive from every denomination of the subjects of these realms. The gentleman opposite (Mr. Warriman) had, as usual, been lavish of his abuse of him (Mr. Dixon). He forgave him for it on that day, on every day past, and on every day to come; all he begged of that gentleman was, that he would never praise him. It was not his intention, at present to enter into the merits of

the resolution moved by the honourable gentleman opposite; without signifying either assent or disapprobation of the terms of that resolution, he should content himself with now moving, agreeably to the practice of the court, that the whole of the resolution after the word "That" be omitted for the purpose of inserting the words "That his Majesty's most gracious answer be entered on the journals of the court." After this resolution should have been agreed to, it would still be in the power of the hon. gentleman to follow it up with his present resolution, or any other which he might think proper to propose.

The Recorder here again read the original and amended resolutions, in doing so, he by a *lapsus* described his Majesty's answer as "most *grievous*," instead of "most *gracious*," and thereby occasioned considerable laughter in the court.

Mr. Alderman Birch appealed to the solid sense and good understanding of the court, and hoped they would not allow themselves, in the heat of the moment, to pass a resolution which they might afterwards look at with a considerable degree of regret. The resolution bore that it was the privilege of that court, and of the subjects of these kingdoms in general, to approach the throne without obstruction and without reproach. He should not deny that we were at all times entitled to petition his Majesty, and to state our grievances; but would any man contend, that his Majesty had not an equal right to make what answer he thought proper to such address or petition? He threw out of his consideration the idea which some gentlemen seemed to entertain, that in going up to the throne they were going up to the ministers. His view of the subject was very different. He conceived that the court had no right to know any thing farther of the answer, than that it was the answer of

the sovereign, and in no other light were they entitled to regard it.—It was on that understanding he supported the address to its full extent; but he could never go the length of daring to dispute his Majesty's right to answer it as he thought proper, however much he might lament the terms of such answer.

Mr. Alderman Combe expressed his astonishment at the doctrine he had just heard, so false, and so justly reprobated as it had always been held in the best times of the constitutional history of these kingdoms. The answer of his Majesty to an address was well known, and universally admitted, to be the answer of his ministers. His Majesty's speech was uniformly received and discussed in parliament as the speech of his ministers; and it was admitted, to be competent for every man, public and private, to discuss it as he pleased. He did not question the right of his Majesty to return what answer he chose to such addresses as that court, or any other body, or number of individuals, might present to him. All he contended for was, the right of that court to state the sensation which they felt on receiving an answer such as the present to any address which they might have presented to his Majesty. The address to which the answer in question had been returned, was not to be treated as if it had been the address of a faction, or of a short majority. It was the unanimous address of that court, breathing a sentiment unanimously adopted through the country. The affront thrown on the court, therefore, in the answer which had been made to it, was uncalled for and unnecessary. The motion now made by his honourable friend (Mr. Waithman) did not bar or impeach the right of the crown to return any answer it thought proper. He hoped his honourable friend would follow it up with another address, which should

be again carried up to the throne, which he should most cordially join in presenting.

Mr. Alderman *Birch*, referring to the words of the resolution, declaring that it was the right of the court to approach the throne "without obstruction or reproof," stated, that these were the words to which, particularly, he objected.

Mr. *Clarke* and another member submitted, that the use of the term "gracious answer" when coupled with the resolution immediately following, would convey a contradiction in terms.

Mr. Deputy *Goodbehere* argued, that if ever there was a time when the rights and privileges of the city of London ought not to be compromised, this was the period. As the court asserted their own privileges and independence, so would they be appreciated by the country at large. The answer of his Majesty to the city address, he regarded as being highly injudicious, improper and dangerous. When one and all ought to be united with one heart and one hand, as an independent nation, the city of London had been loaded with insult and degradation. This, he submitted, was a crime of the greatest magnitude, as being calculated in an eminent degree to produce anarchy and confusion. As well might gentlemen say that the corporation should at once surrender, or allow all their privileges to be snatched from them, as recommend it to them to pass over the present answer in silence. An extraordinary case required an extraordinary measure to meet it.—Never had one occurred which could serve as a parallel to the case now before them; and that being so, he trusted the court would see the necessity of adhering to their rights and privileges. This they would do, if they did not wish to degrade themselves, and to abandon the cause of the country.

Mr. *Griffiths* contrasted the con-

duct pursued by ministers on the present occasion, and on the address before last, which had been passed in that court. *Then it was signified to them that a full attendance would be expected, as it was his Majesty's wish to see them all. Here however, they could not be received in state.—Ministers had advised his Majesty otherwise. A worthy alderman, who had always been extremely forward in going up with addresses (Birch) had, too, been backward on this last occasion, and the court had to wait half an hour before two aldermen could be found to go up with the address! The answer, he conceived, to be most ungracious.*

Mr. *Waithman*, in reply, declared, that of all the extraordinary doctrines which he had been accustomed to hear in that court from the gentleman opposite (*Dixon*), and a worthy alderman (*Birch*), nothing had ever surprised him so much as what he had heard this day. He had been informed by the worthy alderman that the answer was to be held the answer of the King, not of his ministers—of course, that no responsibility attached to ministers from any answer which the King might make to an address. The worthy commoner had denied all argument to his honourable friend (*Mr. Quin*). It might, therefore, have been expected that he himself would have used something like argument. But no—he, as usual, had the good sense not to get out of his depth, and had, of course, confined himself to abuse, and despicable quibble. It would be necessary for him to bring to mind who was the person by whom in the year 1800 a similar motion to that now proposed by him, was made. A petition was then presented to his Majesty, requesting him to call parliament together, in consequence of a scarcity which then threatened the country. The answer was cold, and alderman *Hibbert*, than whom a more worthy man never sat in that

court, thinking that he might have expressed some regret for the distresses of the people, along with the motion for entering the answer on the journals of the court, moved words expressive of this feeling. This he thought was sufficient in answer to what had fallen from the worthy gentleman (Mr. Dixon); as to any idea of abusing that worthy gentleman, he never carried his abuse beyond the public conduct of the person to whom he alluded; and if a man could not defend his public conduct, he must not expect to escape if he would obtrude himself on public notice. Praise the worthy gentleman for his political conduct, he could not do with any regard to truth. As to the worthy alderman, for twelve years that he had observed him in this court, he had never till this day observed him attempt any thing like a reply. He had now appeared in a new character; he had been unhappy in the exhibition, and he hoped he would never try it again. He seemed to be a pupil of Sir R. Filmer, and like many pupils he had gone beyond his master, and had laid it down that a King might be and actually was his own master. The great object of petitioning was, to take care that truth should reach the royal ear. The common council of London had, on this principle, gone up to his Majesty and stated their wishes, and were they now, after having been reproved for doing so, to stand still and not to tell his Majesty that he had been badly counselled? The worthy alderman might continue to boast of our glorious constitution, and of our lords and commons; he might talk as he pleased of the dangers of popery, and of the blessings of our true religion; but if we did not possess that privilege which the worthy alderman seemed inclined to deny us, we should soon cease to have any privilege whatever. Having contended, however, against this principle; the wor-

thy alderman would, perhaps, have the goodness to tell what he thought the people of this country ought to do. *Would he recommend to them to stand still, as the Spaniards had done, till things had come to such a crisis that they could only advise their King to run away?* Were they the friends to the constitution, to the country, or to his Majesty, who would give such an advice? Was it not this advice which had betrayed the Stuart family? Which had continued to deceive the King, till he was obliged to abdicate his throne, and which latterly produced the glorious revolution, of which the right now contended for by him (Mr. Waithman), but objected to by the worthy alderman, was the corner stone and pillar? He was sorry to observe levity prevail in the discussion of a question of such momentous import. The fate of the country required this court to interfere, and apprise his Majesty of the public wish. This was the very time to call on him to resort to better councils. The great Sir W. Temple said, that great occasions wanted great men, and great men wanted great occasions. Never was this country in such a crisis as the present, or in one in which there was a greater want of great men. The question for the court, and for the country to consider, was, if they wished to become the mark for the slow moving finger of scorn to point at. It was impossible to feel on this subject like Englishmen, and not to feel degraded.—Ministers were often obliged, by traps and tricks, to attempt to awaken the exertions of the state. In the present situation of things, however, there were not two opinions. The public was situated as by one feeling. They had even thrust ministers forward in the contest. They had given liberally, they had given all that was demanded of them; and was it to be endured, after ministers had taken all

that they could get, that we should have the mortification of seeing all ruined either by their imbecility, or that of those appointed by them, and be denied even the consolation of expressing our grievances, and demanding inquiry into the causes by which our calamities have been occasioned. He hoped not only that the resolution now proposed would be carried, but that it would be carried unanimously. It did not seem possible that any man could oppose it, who was not a place man or a place-hunter.

Mr. *Dixon* said, the worthy gentleman took pleasure in representing the country as ruined. He, on the other hand, declared it to be the admiration and wonder of the world. If the honourable gentleman's ideas of our Kings were correct too, what would they be but puppets, ready to receive instructions. Though Kings could do no wrong, he could not help recollecting, that their acts were sometimes visited on them. One had lost his throne, and another his life, for what the honourable gentleman would call the work of their ministers.

The question on Mr. *Dixon's* amendment, namely, omitting all the resolution, except the word "That" his Majesty's most gracious answer be entered on the journals, was now put and negatived, by a great majority. The original resolution, moved by Mr. *Waithman*, was then put and carried, Alderman *Birch* and two or three commoners alone holding up their hands against it.

Mr. *Waithman* said, the business would be incomplete if it were to rest here. He therefore moved, that an humble address and petition be presented to his Majesty, in conformity to the said resolution, expressing the desire of that court, that a strict and rigid inquiry should be made into the causes which led to the convention in Portugal, as well as into the present system of

our military preferments; and that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to order his parliament to be forthwith assembled, for the purpose of considering of the most effectual means for carrying those desirable objects into execution,

Mr. *Jacks*, Mr. *Clarke*, and Mr. Deputy *Box* were of opinion, that the proposed address should not be carried through but at a special meeting called for the purpose. It might otherwise seem that the court had been taken by surprise.

Mr. *Dixon* disapproved of an address at all. His Majesty had already assured the court, that an inquiry should be instituted. It would imply a doubt of the truth of this assurance, to repeat the application; and the request to convene parliament would go the length of inferring, that the court would not be satisfied even with a second declaration of his Majesty's sincerity.

Mr. Alderman *Combe* objected to that part of the motion which extended to our military system. He doubted if the common council could be supposed sufficiently qualified to judge on that subject.

Mr. *Waithman* had no objection to omit that part of his motion.

Mr. Alderman *Birch* objected to the address, particularly if it were to be conformable to the resolution. He again alluded to the words obstruction and reproof, and remarked that, though the court had indeed been reproofed, they could not complain of obstruction, they having been admitted to present their address.

Mr. *Waithman* insisted on the propriety of seeing that his Majesty was not allowed to remain in ignorance of the opinion of that court; that his Majesty had been badly advised. He had no objection, however, as several gentlemen seemed to wish it, to withdraw his motion for the present.

It was then ordered, that the resolution of the court, passed that

day, be inserted in the usual morning and evening papers.

The following are the resolutions as moved by Mr. Waithman, and carried without a division.

RESOLVED,

That his Majesty's answer be entered upon the journals. That at the same time this court cannot forbear declaring it as their opinion that the address and petition presented to his Majesty by this court on Wednesday, the 12th instant, was conceived in the most dutiful and respectful terms; that it is the undoubted right of the subject to petition, and that this right, ought at all times to be freely exercised in all matters of public grievance without obstruction or reproach.

That they are, therefore, at a loss to know by what construction of their said petition, however strained or perverted, his Majesty's advisers could attribute to them any intention or desire "TO PRONOUNCE JUDGMENT WITHOUT PREVIOUS INVESTIGATION."

That they are equally at a loss to know why his Majesty's advisers should have deemed it necessary to remind them. "That it was inconsistent with the principles of British justice," unless to throw an unmerited odium on this corporation, and raise a barrier between them and the crown, on all occasions where their object is free and constitutional inquiry.

That had this court refrained from expressing to his Majesty their feelings at the humiliating termination of the campaign in Portugal, they must have ceased to feel—to think—to act as Britons, and have shewn themselves unsusceptible of that patriotism so essentially necessary for the preservation of their liberties—the maintenance of their national honour—and the independence and security of his Majesty's crown and dominions.

They cannot, therefore, sufficiently express their concern, that they should, by any suggestions, have met with obstruction and reprehension in the exercise of this undoubted and invaluable right.

That they particularly regret that his Majesty should have been advised to express a hope, "That recent occurrences would have convinced them, that his Majesty is at all times ready to institute inquiries on occasions in which

THE CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY, OR THE HONOUR OF HIS ARMS IS CONCERNED; AND THAT THE INTERPOSITION OF THE CITY OF LONDON COULD NOT BE NECESSARY FOR INDUCING HIS MAJESTY TO DIRECT DUE INQUIRY INTO A TRANSACTION WHICH HAD DISAPPOINTED THE HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS OF THE NATION."

Because it appears, that during the eventful period of the last 15 years, various enterprises and expeditions have been undertaken, "IN WHICH THE CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE HONOUR OF HIS MAJESTY'S ARMS WERE CONCERNED," which have grievously failed, and "DISAPPOINTED THE HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS OF THE NATION," AND INTO WHICH "DUE INQUIRY," HAS NOT BEEN MADE. That in one of the recent occurrences to which his Majesty's answer refers, it is not known even at the present moment by whose advice the COMMANDER IN CHIEF WAS APPOINTED, OR ON WHAT ACCOUNT SUCH A COMMANDER WAS SELECTED.

That during all these calamitous events, and wasteful profusion of blood and treasure, the public burthens have been patiently borne, and his Majesty has not been called upon by "the interposition of the city of London," (if their humble supplication must be so termed) to institute inquiries into these failures, although it appears to them that such "interposition" might have been highly necessary and beneficial to the country, and by promoting "due inquiry" precluded the necessity of their late application.

That during these unhappy reverses, and while his Majesty's subjects submitted to so many privations, the most shameful and scandalous abuses and speculations have prevailed; into which "due inquiry" has not been made so as to bring to justice such great public delinquents.

That whoever advised his Majesty to put so unfavourable and unwarrantable a construction on their late petition, has abused the confidence of his Sovereign, and is equally an enemy to his Majesty and the just rights of his people.

That they do not attribute guilt to any one, much less do they pronounce judgment without previous investigation. They ask for investigation, prompt and rigid investigation, and the punishment of guilt wherever it may be found.

MIDDLESEX MEETING.

THE CONVENTION.

Mr. Sheriff *Smith* stated, that the meeting had been called in consequence of a requisition signed by several freeholders.

The requisition being read,

Mr. *Clifford* rose, and observed that the freeholders who had signed the requisition, had employed him to move the address which was intended to be submitted to the meeting for its approbation. In that address, it had been their study to steer perfectly clear of party, and of any appearance of prejudging the question. The hopes and expectations of the nation had been disappointed. The object was, to know the causes of that disappointment, and to prevent, as far as it depended upon them, the occurrence of an event of a similar nature. The design was, to present an address on this subject to the King, couched in the most respectful and loyal language, but without losing sight of the undoubted rights of the people. This being a plain, full, and concise statement of the object in view, he did not feel it necessary to enter into any further observations at that stage of the business. He would therefore read to them the proposed address, and when they had heard it, they would have an opportunity of making any remarks upon it which in their judgment it might appear to demand.—From the nature of that address, he thought it scarcely possible, that under all the circumstances, any serious objection could be made to it. But in case, contrary to his expectation, any objection should be made, he trusted he would have an opportunity of making such animadversions as the state of the case should require. He therefore, without any further remark, proposed that the following address should be the address of the meeting to his Majesty.

Mr. Clifford then read the address, which was as follows:—

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT
MAJESTY.

We, your Majesty's loyal subjects, the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, feeling in common with the rest of our countrymen, deep regret and indignation at the late events in Portugal, which have disappointed our most sanguine hopes and our best founded expectations, pray your Majesty to take into your consideration this our most loyal statement and petition.

We prejudice the case of no man; but we feel under such circumstances of national disappointment, that to demand a strict, a rigorous, and an impartial inquiry into all its causes is not only an immutable principle of justice, but has been the invariable practice of our ancestors.

Without such an inquiry, the guilty cannot be fairly brought to punishment, nor can the characters of the innocent, who may be suspected, be effectually vindicated and restored.

When we reflect that our armies and our fleets are composed of men of the same description, and drawn from the same sources; that our engagements at sea always shed new lustre on the navy, and always add to the nation a security, while our victories on land are generally unavailing, and often lead to disgrace, we cannot persuade ourselves that the whole blame in the late transactions is attributable to our commanders.

We suspect that it may be owing either to some radical defect in our military system, or to the incapacity or misconduct of those by whose counsels the efforts of your Majesty's land forces are directed, and to whose judgment and discretion the management of the army is entrusted: such defect, incapacity or misconduct cannot be remedied by a court martial, or by any military court of inquiry.

We therefore pray your Majesty not only to order courts martial to be held on the conduct of all the officers who advised, or signed either the armistice or convention in Portugal, but to recommend to the parliament to institute such a public and effectual investigation into all the causes and circumstances of these transactions, as may lead to the adoption of such measures as may be necessary to prevent the recurrence of such transactions.

ment of the guilty, however high their station, and prevent the recurrence of similar calamities.

And we assure your Majesty, that whoever advised you to rebuke the Lord Mayor and corporation of the city of London, for their late loyal petition, acted in defiance of the principles which seated your Majesty's family on the throne, and in contempt and violation of the undoubted rights and liberties of your people, asserted at all times by our ancestors, and finally secured to us at the revolution by the bill of rights.

Mr. Joseph Holden seconded the address.

Mr. Redhead Yorke observed, that before entering into the merits of the case, he wished that the object for which the meeting had been called, should be distinctly kept in view. For that reason, he requested that the requisition published in the newspapers, should be read. (The requisition being read, Mr. Yorke continued). It seemed then, that the meeting had been called for two purposes—first, to propose a petition for an inquiry into the causes of the late convention in Portugal; second, to petition that parliament might be convened, in order to have a full investigation of the subject. But the address then proposed, instead of keeping to the point, gave the King a lecture on the constitution of the army, and calling for the overthrow of our whole military system. He had no doubt, if the meeting would hear him, that they would be found to differ only on a point of form. He declared, that he detested the convention as much as any man. But he could well draw the distinction between an officer commanding the troops in battle, and one, who as commander in chief, acted merely as a negociator. It had been said, that the object was to steer clear of all party. He hoped it was so, for to attempt to divide the people in the present state of public affairs, would amount to little less than the crime of constructive treason! But consistent with the letter of the ad-

dress, he thought it impossible they could pass it without making themselves partizans.—[Mr. Yorke was here asked, whether he was a freeholder of Middlesex? to which question he replied in the affirmative.] The answer to the city of London, he said, might be considered as a matter of record, and therefore he might observe upon it. If the corporation of London had, upon the first announcement of the terms of the convention in the gazette, gone up with their address, he would have given them credit for acting without party views—but when they had suffered two months to elapse, and at last had gone up with an address soliciting an inquiry which they knew to have been fixed upon, without their interference, he must consider both their's and the present petition, as the work of a party.—The answer to the city of London, he contended, was a proper one, as it expressed the most determined resolution to do justice, by stating it as impossible that any thing should occur which disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation, without a disposition on the part of his Majesty to institute an inquiry. Petitions from various parts of the country had been adopted on the plan of that of the city of London, after it was known that an inquiry was to take place. For himself, he was of no party. He would be of their party if they pleased, at that time. He had said, that this was the work of party. In order to prove this, he had only to touch upon the proceedings at the Westminster meeting. The address there had been proposed by a Mr. Wishart, but instead of confining themselves to the question, they had gone into points totally irrelevant—parliament reform—the abolition of sinecure places, and other matters.

Mr. Sheriff Smith desired Mr. Yorke to confine himself to the question, and begged of the assembly

to afford a patient hearing to every one.

Mr. *Yorke* then said, that he would confine himself closely to the business in hand. He opposed the address then, because he considered it entirely a work of supererogation. The inquiry which was solicited, had been already ordered. The court of inquiry had an evident advantage over a court martial, as it was not confined to the forms of legal evidence, but might go into the whole of the subject, and ascertain whether all the officers, or what individuals among them, had done their duty; and if the decision of the court of inquiry should be unsatisfactory, another meeting of the freeholders might be called to give their opinion upon its proceedings. The King having then instituted an inquiry, he thought the present address altogether unnecessary, and therefore would propose an amendment. He had not got the amendment written, but would state the substance, and desire the sense of the meeting. He would propose that a loyal address should be presented to his Majesty, "Thanking him for his declaration that an inquiry should be instituted into the causes of the convention of Cintra, and for his mild and just rebuke which he had given to the city of London."

Mr. Sheriff *Hunter*.—If you are *really serious*, Mr. *Yorke*, I beg you will put your amendment in writing.

Mr. *Yorke* then gave his amendment in writing, which was, "That this county, happy under his Majesty's councils, and the equal administration of justice, begged leave to thank his Majesty for the disposition he had manifested to institute an inquiry into the causes that led to the convention of Cintra, which had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation." (The *mild and just rebuke* did not appear in the written amendment.)

Mr. Sheriff *Smith* asked, who seconded the motion?—For some time nobody would rise to second it. At last, a Mr. *Wells* wished that it might be read again, that he might judge whether he could second it or not. The Sheriff desired him to read it himself—which having done, he said that he really seconded it most heartily.

Mr. Sheriff *Hunter* asked where the amendment was to be introduced.

Mr. *Yorke* answered, that it was to be substituted for the whole address.

Mr. *Waithman* then offered himself to the attention of the meeting. He would have been happy, he said, not to have felt it necessary to make any observations at this time, for more reasons than one. In the first place he laboured under an indisposition; and in the next, he had delivered himself so fully on the subject already, that he thought it might have been unnecessary to trespass upon their time by repeating his sentiments. It was owing to the extraordinary manner in which the amendment was introduced that he was induced to say any thing. The gentleman who had proposed the amendment, had said, that he approved of the address so far as it was not the work of party; and yet afterwards, he observed, that it was altogether the work of a party, and to prove his allegation, was proceeding to state what took place at the Westminster meeting. How he could shew that this was the work of a party by a reference to the Westminster meeting, he could not conceive. But if he could do it, he was sorry that he had not been allowed to proceed. The gentleman opposed the address on two grounds—first, because it was unnecessary, as an inquiry was already ordered; and next, because his Majesty had promised that an inquiry should be instituted. He was surprised that he should have treated

that as an act of his Majesty, which the constitution had pronounced to be an act of the minister. As to the answer to the city of London, he had been correct neither in point of fact, nor in point of argument. He had stated, that the corporation of London had gone up, as it were, in an impertinent manner, as it was known long before that an inquiry would be instituted. The fact was however, that the first court-day after the transaction was known, he had delivered in a requisition for a meeting on the subject, and a court did assemble for the express purpose in about a week after. The imputation on the city of London was therefore extremely unjust, unless the gentleman could make good his assertion. The corporation had gone up with their address before it was known that an inquiry was to be instituted. The gentleman said, that the answer which his Majesty had been advised to give, was a mild and just one. He would be glad to know from him, whether he ever knew a precedent for such an answer?

Mr. *Wells* wished to know, whether it was not as irrelevant to go into the proceedings of the corporation of London, as into those of the Westminster meeting?

Mr. *Sheriff Smith* said, that in his opinion, Mr. W. was perfectly in order, as the address contained a reference to the proceedings of the corporation of London.

Mr. *Walthman*, in continuation, observed, that he was astonished that he who opposed the address, on the ground of the answer given to the city of London, should say that it was irrelevant to observe upon that answer. He was proving that the city had acted properly in going up with their address, and he asked whether the gentleman could produce a precedent of such an answer?—*Yorke*, Yes, in my Lord Clarendon's history.—Mr. *Walth-*

man. Well, if there was a precedent, he was sure it must have been in the times of the Charles's. Certainly there had been nothing like it since the revolution. The city had gone up with *remonstrances* at various times, and ungracious answers had been given, but none like the last. It was for them to consider, whether the answer to the city was of such a nature as to render it unnecessary for counties, and other places to address his Majesty. The answer, with respect to the failure at Rochefort, was of a very different kind; and if the ministers meant on the present occasion to act properly, he was sure that the answer would have been in another strain. After the rebuke to the city of London, he immediately suspected, that the officers commanding the expedition were not so much in fault as others; and we were to wait to see, whether those who might very probably be themselves the guilty persons would institute a due inquiry. At the time the corporation was at court with the address, the officer who had signed the armistice was graciously received, and particularly noticed by ministers.—Many were present who knew this, and could any one say, that they who had acted thus would cause a *due* inquiry to be instituted? Had not the corporation of London been always loyal, and most confiding? Often had motions for petitions been rejected there, on the ground that ministers and parliament would institute the proper inquiries, and though the nation anxiously looked for them they never took place. He might be told, perhaps, of *Whitelocke*, and two or three other instances; but the great expeditions, such as that to the *Hellder*, had never been gone into. But even if the answer had been most gracious, yet it would become the county to present an address, for if, under so great a failure, they were to submit in silence, they would be

unworthy of their ancestors, and of the name of Englishmen.—He would not enlarge upon this subject, as he did not mean to have spoken at all, had it not been for the animadversion on the city of London. But he could not help observing, that something more was required than a court of inquiry or a court martial on the officers. Our sailors and soldiers were, if he might use a vulgar expression, composed of the same stuff. How was it then that the result of their exertions were so different? There must be some defect in our military system, and the manner of appointing the officers—and if any one wanted to be satisfied of this, he need only look into *Major Hogan's pamphlet*. It was necessary then to go up and call for a meeting of parliament. But he might be told that there was no occasion to assemble parliament till ministers wanted money. They had been told this by the ministerial prints; so that it appeared that parliament was considered as of no other use than to put its hand into the pockets of the people!—Parliament was not to be assembled till money was wanted, and if no money was ever wanted, we should, perhaps, never see a parliament again. There seemed, therefore, to be something in what an individual had said, that parliament only met to impose additional burthens on the people.

Major Cartwright observed, that the meeting had been told that an address on this occasion was a work of supererogation, as a court of inquiry had been appointed. So far was an address from being unnecessary, on account of the answer given to the city of London, that it was even more necessary than before. For when a minister advised his Majesty to rebuke the people in the exercise of a right, the country ought to go up, if it was only to reprobate the conduct of such a minister. He would not, however, at

present, propose any particular resolution of censure as to the conduct of the minister, though if any one else proposed it, he was ready to join him. A court of inquiry was not known in the law of England. It had only of late been called a court. It had been at first only called a board; and it was so called in the case of Sir John Mordaunt, who said that he came before it involuntarily, the board having no right to call him. This court had been compared by those who favoured it to a grand jury. It was no more like a grand jury, than that house was like the moon. A grand jury was sworn, which this court was not, though this was said to be an improvement. The witnesses were sworn before a grand jury, while this court had no power to examine on oath. This too would perhaps be called an improvement! A grand jury was a constitutional body, before which the accused must come before he was brought to his trial. That was not the case with this court. Some statements had appeared against Sir Hugh Paliser in the newspapers, and he desired Admiral Keppel, his senior officer, to contradict them in writing. Admiral Keppel told him to do it himself; and upon this Sir Hugh conjured up an accusation against him. Was a court of inquiry appointed there?—No such thing. The admiral was directly brought to trial. When Sir Robert Calder, a most able and judicious officer, who took two ships of the line, which were not dressed out with colours flying, to be restored to the enemy, but brought into British ports as prizes, and their crews lodged in a British prison—when he was tried, there was no word of a court of inquiry to protect them. He had no great connections, not twelve votes in the house of commons. It appeared to him very probable that this court had been appointed by ministers, in order to protect their

colleague. Was this a due inquiry? Such a court formed no part of the law. Justice Blackstone, after giving an account of all the courts, at last came to a court-martial. This was allowed under the mutiny act; but neither in the mutiny act, nor in the articles of war, was there any intimation of this court of inquiry. He would be told that such a court was no new thing. He knew that. It originated with the good sense of commanding officers of regiments, who adopted it in order to prevent the necessity of making the slight private bickerings of their corps the subject of so serious an investigation as that which took place in a court-martial. This mode of proceeding had gradually extended itself till it came to its present height. But still such a court was contrary to law, and at all events though it had gone on so long, it did not follow that it ought to continue. General warrants had once been in use, but these had very properly been done away as illegal. Judges had once been in the habit, while sitting on the bench, of brow-beating juries, to prevent their giving their opinion on the fact and the law. [The Major was here called to order, as wandering from the question—The sheriff decided that he was in order]. Parliament, he continued, had pronounced this practice to be illegal, notwithstanding a jesuitical paper, signed by the chancellor and the twelve judges, with a view to defend it. Another illegal practice was the sending of persons who had disobliged the ministers, out of England, into the jails of Jersey and Guernsey. A judge had attempted to send a man to a distant jail, but had failed; although a similar attempt had been actually of late carried into execution—two Englishmen having been sent, the one to the gaol of Dorchester, the other to that of Gloucester. The case, however, was to be brought by a writ of error

into the house of Lords, and he trusted that we should hear no more of such practices. But while these practices were afloat, it became the people to watch with peculiar anxiety over their rights and privileges. As to the grand jury, that was a constitutional protection for innocence. This court of inquiry was nothing else but a ministerial innovation, for the protection of guilt.

Mr. Clifford said, he hoped to be indulged in a few words in remarking on the curious and ridiculous amendment which had been proposed; the more curious and the more ridiculous he must regard it, when he took into his consideration the person by whom it was proposed, and the leading feature in the resolution, namely, The equal administration of justice in these kingdoms. He should have thought the amendment curious and ridiculous coming from any man; but he must regard it as still more absurd and ridiculous, coming, as it did, from a man who had in his own person exhibited a proof of the unequal administration of justice in the country. This gentleman had been illegally carried for confinement to a distant jail—the jail of Dorchester—he having been convicted of sedition in the county of York. Having been thus illegally imprisoned, however, it appeared, that on his coming out of prison, government had received this same gentleman into their pay—that having been himself illegally punished for libelling government, he has, since been corruptly paid for libelling the people! (*Here there was a call to order.*) Mr. Clifford declared that he had no intention to go out of order, but simply to elucidate the speech of the mover of the amendment. He should not, however, proceed on this point. In answer to a challenge from an hon. gentleman (Mr. Waltham) the same gentleman, however, had been pleased to state, that instances of answers sim-

lar to the one lately returned to the city of London's address, were to be found in Lord Clarendon's History. He (Mr. Clifford) agreed, that at the period alluded to, a case in point would be found. He meant in the year 1676, in the reign of Charles the 2d. when Jeffereys was recorder of the city of London; and a rebuke similar to that now alluded to was given to the city. But what was the consequence? On the 22d. of October following, in consequence of this rebuke, the house of commons came to an unanimous resolution, "That it is, and always has been, the right of the people of this country, to state their grievances to his Majesty by way of petition;"—and lest this resolution should have been lost on the public, from want of the necessary publicity, it was immediately afterwards, for the first time, ordered, that the votes of the house of commons be printed. Not satisfied, however, even with the publicity thus given to the right and privilege of the subject to petition, this was a subject which had been introduced into, and formed a part of the Bill of Rights. Was it then, he asked, to be countenanced, that this county—the metropolitan county of the kingdom, should be restrained from expressing to his Majesty their opinion on a question in which the honour and welfare of the country was so deeply involved? Such an inquiry might be resisted by those who were enemies to the sovereign authority, and to the liberties of the people, but could never be opposed by those who wished to represent themselves as friendly to either.

Mr. *Redhead Yorke* begged to be allowed to reply to the honourable and learned gentleman, so far at least as he had been personal to him (Mr. R. Yorke.) He had represented him as furnishing an instance of the unequal administration of justice,—

Mr. *Sheriff Hunter* reminded the

Speaker that Mr. Clifford had been called to order when proceeding to animadvert on this fact.

Mr. *R. Yorke* said all he wished was to state that he had not been taken into the pay of government. Another gentleman, (Mr. Waithman) had called on him to point out instances in the History of England of any thing similar to the late answer to the city's address, and he had referred that gentleman to Lord Clarendon's history for his answer. The learned gentleman (Mr. Clifford) had, in consequence alluded to the instance of Mr. Justice Jeffereys while recorder of the city of London. This, however, was not any of the instances to which he had alluded. Several times during the reign of Charles II. addresses had been presented to his Majesty from the two universities, and received similar answers. Those times, too, (the times of the Charles's) he had heard a noble lord, a member of the late administration, declare, were the glorious times of England. He confessed that these were points which materially differed from the question at issue. He did not dispute the right of the subject to petition. He admitted even that the convention of Cintra was scandalous. The question, however, did not concern either of these two points, but was confined simply to this, whether, in adopting the proposed address, we exercised decent and becoming conduct towards our executive magistrate—a sovereign whose decision and firmness we must all have had occasion to admire!

Mr. *Bentley* declared, that he had not heard a single word or argument against the petition originally proposed. He hoped that he might be allowed, in a few words, to express the reasons why it had his most cordial approbation. He approved of it, first, because it expressed, in becoming terms, the difference between the services rendered to the

country by our fleets, and by our armies. We saw the fleets of our enemies nearly reduced to a state of annihilation, while our own fleets were every where triumphant. Our navy, no doubt, had always been, and must ever continue to be, our chief defence; but, in the present state of Europe, an army, too, was of the most essential importance. While the fleets of our enemies, therefore, where every where beaten, where, in fact, they were to be found in our ports, did we see the armies of our enemies in similar situations? As had been properly observed, our fleets and our armies were composed of the same materials; it therefore became a matter of grave inquiry, why their exertions were attended with such different shades of success. He approved of the address, because it demanded an inquiry into the causes of this difference. He also approved of the address, because it recommended that the commons should be called on to give their advice on so important a question. If an inquiry, in the usual mode, was to be adopted, he was afraid the public hopes and expectations would be grievously disappointed indeed. In the other way, he trusted the desired effect would be produced, otherwise the public would experience a miserable disappointment.

Mr. *Mellish* hoped he should experience the indulgence of the meeting for a few moments. It appeared to him rather extraordinary, that the movers of all addresses on the subject now before the meeting, should dwell so much on two particular points—party, and prejudging the guilty persons. In all the speeches he had heard and read on the subject, there was not one in which the speaker did not endeavour to prove that he was not at all actuated by party. To his mind the very sense of a necessity to demonstrate any thing of the kind, proved

that nothing but party actuated their conduct. He might be unfortunate in the view he had taken of the subject; but still such was his impression that the business depended entirely on party. He himself again interrupted; but the meeting would have patience and should explain himself. He admitted that at first an inquiry seemed to be necessary into a transaction of so inexplicable a nature. At first, therefore, he agreed that the question was free from the imputation of party. Now, however, it was something else but party. He had not read or heard a single speech in which the question was not prejudged in one kind or another. The gentleman who opened the business this day had stated, that an inquiry was necessary to prevent the recurrence of similar circumstances in the future. Was not this prejudging the question? Was that not as much as to say that there was something wrong—that the convention had not been properly entered into? The speech of another gentleman (Mr. *Walthman*) went from beginning to end to prejudge the question. That gentleman asked, would any one get up and say that he believed a due investigation would take place? He for one would say he did believe so; and he was convinced the result of the proceedings of the court of inquiry would prove so. He wished to wait till they should have given their decision, and if it should appear that they had failed in doing their duty, he should be one of the first to address his Majesty, and say so. At present, however, the country had the promise of the sovereign, that an inquiry would take place, nay an order for calling the court had been signed by his Majesty; not only so, but it had been sent down to Scotland, and the signature of the secretary of war; and he believed that it was actually to meet on Monday next.

Indeed, he had seen a paragraph in the papers this day to that effect.— He apprehended there was not a man in the room who would doubt of the right of the people to petition the crown; but still the sacred word of his Majesty was already pledged, that an inquiry should be instituted; and it would be time enough to address his Majesty when it should be seen, that the court of inquiry would not do its duty. There was one member of that court whom he was convinced no man would suspect of acting wrong. He meant Earl Moira, and he trusted that to him and the other members of the court of inquiry, the investigation might be safely committed. He was, therefore, in favour of the amendment.

Mr. *Waithman* rose principally to explain.

Mr. *Mellish* hoped he would be kept strictly to matter of explanation.

Mr. *Sheriff Smith* thought the honourable gentleman had no right to prejudge him and his colleague. He trusted, if the worthy gentleman should get out of order, they would know their duty sufficiently to prevent him from persevering in it.

Mr. *Waithman* then said, the honourable gentleman had quoted him so far correctly, in stating that he had expressed it as his opinion, that due inquiry would not be gone into. He did say, that after all the disappointments the country had experienced on former occasions; after seeing that no due inquiry had been made into the case of Lord Melville, of Mr. Davidson, and others, it was his firm belief that no due inquiry was to be expected in the present instance, if government was not driven into it. As to the honourable gentleman's not having read a speech on this subject, in which party was totally disclaimed, he could only say, that the honourable gentleman must not have read his (Mr. *Waithman's*) speeches with attention, or they must have been very incorrect-

ly reported, if they were of the nature described by the honourable gentleman. He never made a practice of disclaiming party, because if a man acted fairly, conscientiously, and properly, it was no object whether he was of any, or to what party he belonged. It was not to party that any danger attached; it was to the views by which the partizans of any particular party were actuated. For himself he trusted his conduct had been such, he had been so uniform and consistent in his public conduct, as to render any declarations of the kind unnecessary. Wherever he saw men actuated by motives of public utility, with that party he should always be happy to pull. Another gentleman, (Mr. *Yorke*) had reminded him of the good days of Charles the second, and had alluded to precedents in that reign. He begged leave to remark, however, that that gentleman was in a mistake, and, instead of drawing his precedents from the constitution of this country, had deduced them from what could be considered as neither more nor less than as violations of the constitution. He seemed to have forgotten one material period in the history of this country, namely, the revolution; at which it had been declared, not merely to be the right of the people of this country to approach the throne with their requests, but to demand and insist to be heard.— Any repulse or rebuke which the people of this country experienced, therefore, was to be regarded as nothing short of an attempt to deprive us of the rights established to us at the revolution, and to drive us back to those good days of Charles the second, of which the gentleman alluded to seemed so much enamoured. He trusted, however, that we would not prove so totally unworthy of our ancestors, from whom we derived such inestimable privileges; but that we would shew, though we

might not possess courage enough to have asserted and enforced rights which we had lost, that we still had sufficient resolution to maintain those which we continued to possess.

Mr. Byng hoped he should at all times be able to meet his constituents, and to render to them an account of his conduct. He felt himself more peculiarly called on to do so at present, after the speech of the honourable gentleman who was his colleague in the representation of this county, differing as he did, so materially from him, and instead of approving of the amendment, finding himself called on to give his decided support to Mr. Clifford's address *in toto*. From the moment he became acquainted with the terms of the disgraceful convention in Portugal, he had been unable to resist a conviction of the ignominy, disgrace, and disaster with which it was fraught, not to ourselves only, but to an ally whom we were as much bound to support, and of whose interests it was equally our duty to be watchful, as if we had been contending with an enemy on the coasts of these kingdoms. He regretted the meeting had not taken place on an earlier day. But now the freeholders of this county were called on to express their sentiments, not only of the disgraceful convention, but in the most marked and decided manner of the affront and reproof with which his Majesty's ministers had dared to advise his Majesty to receive the dutiful petition and address of the city of London. Disgraceful as the convention was, seeming, as he esteemed it, with calamity and dishonour, he should count it even glorious compared with tame submission to this uncalled for and unconstitutional rebuke! Another commander, more skilful or more fortunate than those who had concluded the convention of Cintra, might achieve a victory which should wipe away the ignomi-

ny of this transaction; but it was tamely submitted to this rebuke, agreed to abandon our dearest rights—our liberties were gone for ever. The trial by jury, and the free press at all times to the foot of the throne were the foundations of our liberties, and our very being and existence as a free people. Our ancestors had bravely and dearly purchased for us these privileges, and we must not, we could not, dishonour, consent to abandon, or consent to lose sight of them, even for a moment! "Would to God," exclaimed Mr. Byng, "that the friends of liberty would defend their rights as vigilantly as the ministers and their followers and servants watch over the prerogative!" These were his sentiments, and differing so widely as he did from his colleague, he thought himself called on to oblige so long on their indulgence.

The motion was then put on the amendment, which was negatived, not more than 24 hands being held up in favour of it.

The motion for agreeing to the original address, was then put and carried by a great shew of hands. Mr. Wells, however, insisted on a division, with which the sheriffs complied. Those in favour of the address, and those against it, accordingly separated to opposite sides of the room, but the majority in favour of the address was so great, that any farther division was waved, and the address was carried.

Mr. Clifford then moved, that the address be signed by the sheriffs, and be by them delivered to his Majesty's principal secretary of state, to be presented to his Majesty; that the sheriffs at the time of delivering the address, do request to know when his Majesty would be pleased to receive the same, and that they do publish Lord Hawkesbury's answer on that occasion in the newspapers. As a ground for moving this proposition, Mr. Clifford stated the fact

that on the occasion of addresses being presented by that county and numberless others, upwards of ninety in all, relative to Lord Melville, not one of those addresses had ever been presented to the King, Lord Hawkesbury being then, as he is now, principal secretary of state for the home department. The reason assigned for this was; that there had been no public levee since these addresses were presented, and it was not usual to present them at private levees. Thus, however, was the right of petitioning the sovereign rendered of non effect.

This motion was carried; as were votes of thanks to the gentlemen who signed the requisition for calling the meeting; and to the sheriffs, for their manly, dignified, and impartial conduct in the chair.

The Sheriffs returned thanks in appropriate terms; and the whole of their conduct was such as to do high honour to themselves, and to afford universal satisfaction to the meeting.

In conformity to the above resolution, the sheriff waited on the secretary of state, and delivered to him the said address, who has returned them the following answer:—

Whitehall, Nov. 16.

“GENTLEMEN.

“I have laid before his Majesty the petition which I received from you yesterday, as Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, from the meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, held at Hackney, on the 11th of this month.

I am, Gentleman,
Your most obedient humble Servant.

HAWKESBURY.”

The Sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

J. J. SMITH.

C. S. HUNTER.

} Sheriff.

Nov. 17. 1808.

On the 25th a meeting of the free-men and citizens of ROCHESTER took place in the town hall of that city, to consider the propriety of addressing his Majesty, and praying him to assemble parliament, to inquire into the causes

and circumstances that led to the late convention of Cintra.

The business commenced by the Mayor reading the requisition, and the names of those who had signed it. He also stated the reason for the postponement of the meeting.

Richard Thompson, Esq. was unanimously called to the chair.

Mr. Simmons, the late Mayor, then rose and addressed the meeting as follows:—“Gentlemen, some time ago, when it was proposed that the city of Rochester should present an address to his Majesty, upon the convention which has excited so much dissatisfaction throughout the country, I felt it incumbent upon me to defer the presentation of any address, because I entertained a confident hope that the conduct of his Majesty’s ministers, however disgraceful, in my opinion, upon various occasions, would at least be inclined for an inquiry into a matter which seemed to injure themselves. But, Sir, since I find not only that those ministers have neglected to produce such an explanation as can satisfy the country but have even advised his Majesty to crush the proposal for an inquiry, which was lately submitted most respectfully by the city of London, I cannot but deem it my duty to come forward, in order to clear the mist that hangs over that convention; and still more for the purpose of recording to posterity, *that ministers had not the power of destroying that free and undaunted spirit, which, in times like these, of foreign calamity and domestic encroachment, seems to be the only guardian of our boasted liberties.*

With these preliminary observations, I beg leave to submit to this meeting the following resolution:—

Resolved, That an humble and dutiful address be presented to his Majesty, expressing the regret which we suffer in contemplating the convention lately concluded at Cintra, between the commanders of his Majesty’s army in Portugal and the commander of the enemy’s army in Lisbon; and praying his Majesty will be graciously pleased to assemble parliament, WITHOUT DELAY, in order that such a full and effectual inquiry may be instituted into this transaction, as will lead to a complete discovery of all those causes, remote and immediate, which produced so injurious and dishonourable an event.

This motion was seconded by Mr. Hulkes. It was then put from the chair, and carried, with the exception of six dissenting voices.

Mr. Simmons then proposed that the following be the address upon this occasion:—

“We, your Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, the citizens and inhabitants of the city of Rochester, beg leave to approach your Majesty with the sincerest assurances of our zealous attachment to your royal person and family; and feeling that your Majesty’s true glory is inseparable from that of your people, we beg leave to express the regret which we suffer in contemplating the convention lately concluded at Cintra, between the commanders of your Majesty’s forces in Portugal, and the commander of the enemy’s army in Lisbon: and further humbly to submit to your Majesty, our earnest and anxious prayer, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to assemble parliament without delay, in order that such a full and effectual inquiry may be instituted into this transaction, as will lead to a complete discovery of all those causes, remote and immediate, which produced so injurious and dishonourable an event.”

Mr. Larkin next addressed the meeting—“I rise,” said he “for the purpose of stating my sentiments as to the resolution which has just now passed. Although I approve of it in every part, yet I consider it does not go to the length it should do, and I therefore mean to propose an addition to it, which I hope will meet with your concurrence. I am sure you will think as I do, that we are met here for the purpose of exercising a right, which no man will have the hardihood to deny the existence of—I mean the right to address his Majesty. It is the only way the subject has to carry his griev-

ances to the royal ear, and the only way to communicate to him what is true sense and the true wishes of the people. Those individuals, who were, who attempted to advise his Majesty to rebuke those who came forward upon such an occasion, deserve to be held up to the highest execration! who advised his Majesty to rebuke the citizens of London, ought to be held to public execration, when they presented an address which breathed nothing but loyalty and patriotism. I am convinced as I am that this right of petitioning the Sovereign was asserted by our ancestors at the glorious revolution, I shall propose the following motion to the address:—which was carried.

“And we assure your Majesty, the persons who advised you to present the Lord Mayor and corporation of the city of London, for their late address, acted in direct opposition to the principles of the British constitution, and in open defiance of the rights of the people, as asserted and maintained by our ancestors, and finally secured to us by the glorious revolution.”

After a long and animated speech, and many interesting observations, considered it necessary to propose the following resolution for their concurrence:—

Resolved, That the said address be presented to his Majesty’s secretary for the home department, by the members, Sir J. B. Thomson, and Calcraft, Esq. and that they be requested to inquire when his Majesty will be pleased to receive the same, and that Lord Hawkesbury’s answer be published.

This resolution was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Baker moved the thanks of the meeting to the worshipful the Mayor for his impartial conduct in the chair. Carried unanimously.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

AMBITIOUS PROJECTS ENCOURAGED BY THE BULK OF MANKIND IN ALL AGES.

To the Editor of the Political Review.
SIR,

It is remarked by an eminent

English historian,* that the happy prepossession which we commonly entertain in favour of ambition, courage, enterprise, and other warlike virtues, engages

* Hume.

rous natures, who always love fame, into such pursuits, as destroy their own peace, and that of the rest of mankind. Though by the term *generous*, the writer undoubtedly had in view the most unexceptionable characters, who from their valour and conquests, have been stiled heroes, yet the observation will equally apply to the greatest disturbers of the world. Now, at the present moment, when this nation, and no doubt every other nation, feels the greatest indignation, at the unprincipled ambition of the French Emperor, his trepanning of the royal family of Spain, and attempt to change the dynasty of the government, it is surely worth while to consider, how far the prejudices and opinions of the bulk of mankind have, in all ages, favoured the views and domination of those conquerors, whose ravages and insatiable thirst of dominion, have been afterwards the just object of abhorrence and detestation. If we fairly and dispassionately enter upon the examination of this question, and are guided by the desire of truth alone, we shall most assuredly discover, that mankind at large have in most instances, forged the chains that have fettered them, encouraged the restless and furious spirit of ambition; and, by their applause, animated the warrior to lay waste the fairest parts of the earth, and immolate millions of their fellow creatures to appease the demon of war! History and poetry have been long enlisted in the cause; and from our very infancy, we are taught to regard with admiration, the exploits of every hero, from Alexander, who sighed because there was not another world to conquer, and obtained the surname of *Great*, to Bonaparte, who is treading in his steps, and hoping to acquire the same fame, that has been so unjustly bestowed upon the Macedonian. This then, having been the almost invariable

conduct of all nations, have we a right to complain, if an ambitious man, like Bonaparte, should sometimes arise, and dazzle the world with those exploits which have never yet failed to animate the historian, to inspire the poet, and excite the wonder and applause of all!

It is a curious spectacle to a reflecting, impartial mind, to observe the people of this country (at least all who have had an opportunity of making their opinions public) manifest the utmost indignation at the very attempt of Bonaparte to invade a neighbouring kingdom, and change the succession of the throne;—as if it were a circumstance quite novel in the transactions of nations—a most unheard of crime, that has been for the first time committed. Whereas the fact is, there is scarcely a nation of any consequence in Europe, whose history does not furnish us with similar instances of oppression and unjust dominion.—It is not within the view of this paper to run through the history of Europe to prove this assertion; but, (and it well answers the same purpose) it may not be amiss to advert to one or two instances.—And to begin with our own country, the boasted land of liberty, the purest seat of the christian religion! Are we quite exempted from the charge of ambition? Have we never invaded an inoffensive country, have we never changed the dynasties or governments? To pass over the numerous wars which we have either waged or incited on the continent—to blot from our history the glorious exploits of our Edwards and our Henrys, let us descend to more modern epochs, and pause for a moment on our transactions in the East Indies.—Have we not there seized a country on which we had not the least claim? Have we not slaughtered thousands of the inhabitants, fighting in defence of their country? Have we not dethroned

their princes, and placed others in their stead, more suitable to our views? "The administration of one of our Bengal governors," it has been asserted before the highest tribunal in this country, "exhibited a medley of meanness and courage, of duplicity and depredation, of prodigality and oppression, of the most callous cruelty contrasted with the hollow affectation of liberality and good faith. *Nations have been extirpated for a sum of money, whole tracts of country laid waste to furnish an investment; princes expelled for the balance of an account, and a bloody sceptre wielded in one hand, in order to replenish the empty purse of mercantile mendicancy displayed in the other.*" Now, Sir, Let us ask ourselves, by what right have we inflicted these evils upon Hindostan? Is not our conduct in these distant regions of the globe, equally unjust and abominable, as that of Bonaparte towards Spain? Or have we a prescriptive right to plunder and oppress? We are generously engaged to put forth all our efforts in defence of the Spaniards; but if the above be a faithful description of our own conduct, we cannot, without the most barefaced inconsistency, apply the epithets of cruel and tyrannical to the Emperor of France, and at the same time continue to oppress the inhabitants of the East.—If we do, it will be vain, in support of our charge, to point to the royal family, and fertile provinces of Spain, laid waste, and deluged with the blood of the inhabitants; for the terrific Corsican will not fail to remind us of the provinces of India, and the burning of Copenhagen!

The Spaniards themselves, experiencing at this moment, the direful effects of ambition and tyranny, and daily beholding every thing de-

• Sheridan's Speech on the Begum Charge.

stroyed within the reach of the enemy, their churches robbed of the most sacred utensils, and the gold and silver plate, whether the property of their priests, or forming a part of the decorations of the holy edifices, melted down, and carried off by the spoilers, have exercised for more than two hundred years, the most cruel oppression, the most galling slavery, over the natives of the settlements in the Two Americas. In a country, obtained by the point of the sword (by the same hand Bonaparte is invading them,) it holds, at this very moment, thousands of their fellow creatures in bondage, to drag out a miserable existence in the mines! And if we take into account, the means by which these commodities were obtained; if we consider all the inhabitants of one island (Hispaniola) to the amount of a million were extirpated by their invaders; that the poor naked Indians were often hunted down and torn in pieces by dogs; we shall allow (if we grant there is anything as justice) that no retribution can be undeserved by the Spanish nation.—When the island of Cuba was invaded by the Spaniards, the only resistance they met with was from a cazique, named Hatuey, who was, however, soon defeated, and according to the barbarous custom of the European robbers, considered as a slave, who had taken arms against his master, and condemned to the flames!! When Hatuey fastened to the stake, a Franciscan friar, labouring to convert him, promised him immediate admission into the joys of heaven, if he would embrace the christian faith. "Are there any Spaniards," says he, after some pause, "in that region?" "Which you describe?" "Yes," replied the monk, "but only such as are worthy and good." "Are any of them," returned the indigenous cazique, "have neither word nor

goodness, I will not go to a place, where I may meet with one of that accursed race." What a just and severe retort!

These reflections may appear very unseasonable to a certain class of people, who will look at only one side of a question, and consequently never understand either; but I will hazard a belief, that there is not a good and *impartial* man in the united kingdom, who will not maintain, that the invasion and oppression of the English in the East, and of the Spaniards in the West, are not as justly to be reprobated, and as subversive of the natural and sacred rights of mankind, as the present invasion of Spain by the French.—But the bulk of mankind have in all ages, been so dazzled by the exploits of warriors, that every Tamerlane, has found sufficient re-

sources, in the common prejudice in favour of conquerors, to accomplish his schemes.—Every nation, of any note, excepting the United States of America, has participated in the guilt: and whatever claim christians may assert to superior moderation, forbearance, &c. impartial history does, and will record, that the heathens never surpassed them in bloody and rancorous wars.

Nothing is farther from my motive than to vindicate the character of Bonaparte: as a conqueror and a tyrant I detest him—he is an enemy to the human race—but *I also regard every other conqueror, and every other tyrant in the same light*—I believe in no *geographical morality*. And with this confession of my creed, I subscribe myself,

COMMON SENSE.

Hampstead, Nov. 15.

MINISTERIAL FINANCIERING.

An arrangement has been settled at an interview between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Huskisson, on the one part, and a deputation of the governor and deputy governor of the Bank, and others, that the commissioners for liquidating the national debt should lay out 30,000*l.* per transfer day, in the purchase of 4 per cents. instead of laying out the whole sum in the redemption of consols and reduced. The consequence of which was that omnium instantly rose one and a half per cent.

This resolution, which will give rise to much interesting inquiry, is explained by its authors to have become necessary to equalize the price between the 3's and 4's; the difference between them, on account of the late loan, being greater than it used to be, and greater than it naturally ought to be. This is not even a plausible or specious pretext to justify a measure so extraordinary.

The effect of the late loan was anticipated; and surely if the commissioners were to be allowed to buy in the 4 per cents. it ought to have been announced at that time, so that the public might have had the benefit of it in

the bargain for the loan; for if Sir F. Baring gave the price which he did for the loan, with the positive declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it was against the interest of the public to buy up 4's he would have given a higher price if he had been told that a part of the weekly sum would be laid out partly in 3's and partly in 4's to keep up the price of the latter stock.

On the contrary, the chancellor of the Exchequer said, that it was prudent to borrow in the 4 per cents. and buy up in the 3 per cents. because it was a great object to create as little capital as possible, and at the same time to buy up at the least expence of capital. Not only did he act upon this policy, but he declared it in the house; and since, we understand, he has firmly adhered to his resolution upon the same principles, in answer to every application of the contractors, when omnium was at a discount of 3 per cent.

How comes it that all at once he, or rather his assessor, Mr. Huskisson, has not merely departed from, but has reversed this policy? It smells so rankly of a job, that with the opinion which we have of the personal integrity of Mr.

Perceval, we are astonished at his suffering himself to be so easily cajoled — What were the arguments used by Mr. Huskisson and company to bring him to this change of system? Certain it is, that many thousands of pounds have been made by those who were in the secret of a transaction, called for by no real necessity, and which counteracts the policy upon which the loan was made.

It is with pleasure we give insertion to the following sensible and well written communication which we have received upon this subject.

"Notwithstanding the plausibility of evasion and dexterity of deception, of which the present ministry have given so many instances, both *at* and *since* their coming into office, that to which I am about to call the attention of your readers, exceeds every thing of which their greatest enemies could have supposed them capable. I allude to the last loan which Mr. Perceval negotiated with Messrs. Barings and company: when the loan was about to be made, he gave notice that he intended to have it in 4 per cents. and, in answer to a question put to him previous to the bidding, he declared it *was not* his intention to alter the appropriation of the sinking fund, the whole of which has always been applied to the redemption of 3 per cents. during war, the 4 and 5 per cents. being redeemable at par, to which price they will rise during peace. With this understanding the biddings were made; and Messrs. Barings and company were the highest bidders. It will be in the recollection of your readers, that the Chancellor, in expatiating on the prosperity of our national finances, took great credit to himself for having made the loan in 4 per cents.; for though *he admitted that he had given a greater interest than he need have given in the 3 per cents.* yet as the 4 per cents. were redeemable at par, there could only be a rise, and consequently only a loss to the country of about 16 per cent. in the redemption during peace, whereas the 3 per cents. (which at a peace would also rise to par) would be redeemed during the war at about 66.

"The loan being negotiated, the omnium rose to 5 per cent. premium; and therefore the contractors have no right to claim assistance in their speculations from the minister, on the score of having made a bad bargain with the

country. I come now to the deception about to be practised on the public; which I trust you will consider as the duty of an independent public paper to expose.

"A short time ago we were told, through the ministerial papers, and the contractors gave notice at the Stock Exchange, in order that the public might be informed through the medium of their brokers, "that the contractors had applied to the chancellor of the Exchequer, to permit a part of the sinking fund to be appropriated to the redemption of 4 per cents. and **THAT HE HAD REFUSED IT.**" In consequence of this notice, the omnium fell to 3 per cent. discount; and then *the few who were in the secret* bought up, at from 2 to 3 per cent. discount that very stock which the public had brought into the market, *in consequence of the express refusal of the Chancellor to do that which he has now announced his intention of doing*; and he has given order that 32,000l. out of the sinking fund, shall be applied *daily* to the purchase of 4 per cents. "till further orders." In the name of consistency, is it thus that the Chancellor of the Exchequer of England is to lend himself to a few *parliamentary money lenders*, in direct violation of his word, given a few weeks ago to the million of public stock-holders? Is it thus that the word of the minister at the head of our finances, pledged to the public at one period, is to be forfeited at another, and made subservient to those schemes and puffs, which, hitherto, we have only witnessed in lottery office keepers and empirics? Or is it that the contractors, *many of whom are members of parliament*, in their second application, have assumed a tone of remonstrance instead of petition; that they have reminded him that parliament must meet soon; that his majority may be doubtful; that they have great influence, and that one good turn deserves another?

"We are told that the purchase of 4 per cents. is only to continue; "till further orders." Let not the public be deceived; that order will be given as soon as these *parliamentary contractors* have gotten rid of their speculation at a profit; and the out-door public stockholder, if not undeceived in time, will see a sudden fall of 2 or 3 per cent. and in the 4 per cent. fund, and an equal rise in the 3 per cent. and he will find

himself in possession of stock in a fund (*likely to be increased in a few months by the next loan*) which, at a peace, will not rise above 14 or 16 per cent. and is liable to be redeemed at a time when he cannot make above 3 per cent. of his money, having been tricked out of the 3 per cent. fund, which, at a peace, will rise 24 per cent. from the present price, without the fear of his stock being redeemed at a time when he cannot employ his money to advantage in any other market.

"No wonder we see such interest made to get a *whole family* into parliament, when a seat can procure a key to such "political bonuses;" for it was in consequence of the ministers declaration, that the sinking fund should *not* be diverted, that the other bidders limited their biddings to a sum under that bid by Messrs. Barings and company; whereas, in deference to those gentlemen, he is now appropriating half the daily interest of the sinking fund to the redemption of the 4 per cent. fund, in which the Barings have been speculating, at a time when the 3 per cents. are actually cheaper, compared with the 4 per cents. than they were when the loan was negotiated."

COURT OF INQUIRY.

First Day, Monday, Nov. 14.

The members of the board, convened by virtue of his Majesty's warrant, under the sign Manual, assembled this morning in the great hall, Chelsea hospital, to enquire into the causes and circumstances of the late treaty of armistice, and convention of Cintra.

General Sir *David Dundas*, on observing that all the members were present, proceeded to the chair appropriated for the president, and requested the rest of the general officers to take their seats at the board, which they immediately did, in the following order:

PRESIDENT.—Gen. Sir DAVID DUNDAS.

Generals . .	{	Earl MOIRA.
		PETER CRAIG.
Lieut.-Gens.	{	Lord HEATHFIELD.
		Earl PEMBROKE.
		Sir G. NUGENT.
		OLIVER NICHOLS.

The board being constituted without any formality, the Hon. R. Ryder, judge

advocate, read his Majesty's warrant, of which the following is a copy :—

‘GEORGE R.

"Whereas, we were pleased, in the month of July, 1808, to constitute and appoint Lieut.-general Sir Hew Dalrymple, Knt. to the command of a body of our forces, employed to act on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, or in such other part of the continent of Europe as he might hereafter be directed to, and the said lieutenant-general did, pursuant to our instructions transmitted to him proceed to Portugal, and did on the 22d. of August, 1808, land in that country, and take upon himself the command of the said body of our forces accordingly. And whereas it appears that on the same 22d. of August, and subsequently to his having assumed the command, an armistice was concluded as follows :—[*Here is recited the armistice as stated in Sir Hew Dalrymple's dispatch.*]

"And, whereas, it appears that on the 30th. day of August, 1808, a convention was concluded as follows :—[*Here is recited the convention as stated in Sir Hew Dalrymple's dispatch*]

"We think it necessary that an enquiry should be made by the general officers herein after named, into the conditions of the said armistice and convention, and into all the causes and circumstances (whether arising from the previous operations of the British army or otherwise), which led to them, and into the conduct, behaviour, and proceedings of the said lieutenant-general Sir Hew Dalrymple, and of any other officer or officers who may have held the command of our troops in Portugal; and of any other person or persons, as far as the same were connected with the said armistice and convention, in order that the said general officers may report to us, touching the matters aforesaid for our better information. Our will and pleasure therefore is, and we do hereby nominate and appoint the general officers of our army, whose names are respectively mentioned in the list annexed, to be a board, of which we do hereby appoint General Sir David Dundas, K. B. to be president, who are to meet accordingly for the purposes above-mentioned.—And you are hereby required to give notice to the said general officers when and where they are to meet for the said examination and inquiry, and you are

hereby directed to summon such persons as may be judged necessary by the said general officers (whether the general officers employed in the expedition, or others), to give information touching the said matters, or whose examination shall be desired by those employed in the said expedition. And the said general officers are hereby directed to hear such persons as shall offer to give information touching the same, and they are hereby authorized, empowered, and required strictly to examine into the matters before mentioned, and to report a state thereof as it shall appear to them, together with their opinion thereupon, and also with their opinion, whether any or what further proceedings should be had thereupon; all of which you are to transmit to our commander in chief, to be by him laid before us for our consideration; and for so doing this shall, as well to you as to our said general officers, and all others concerned, be a sufficient warrant.

"Given at our court in St. James's, this first day of Nov. 1808 in the 49th. year of our reign.

"By his Majesty's command,
(Signed) "JAMES PULTENEY.

"To our right trusty and wellbeloved Counsellor, Hon. Richard Ryder, judge advocate general, or his deputy."

Second Day, Thursday, Nov. 17.

The business opened by the *Judge Advocate* reading certain letters which he had received from General Sir Hew Dalrymple, and from Sir A. Wellesley, relative to the future proceedings of the court, and declaratory of their wish fully to meet the inquiry, while, at the same time they craved certain evidence in the hands of ministers to be produced to the court.

These letters and the answer of Lord Castlereagh, agreeing to the request contained in them, being read, the *Judge Advocate* said, that he was desired by the court, publicly to state their anxious wish, to state the necessity of refraining from the publication of any part of the proceedings of the court, not only till their conclusion, but till his Majesty's pleasure should be known, if any farther proceedings of a military nature were to take place, because, if any such proceedings were to be adopted, justice to those implicated, required that the publication should be kept back till such farther military proceed-

ing as it might be proper to adopt had also been concluded.

The *Judge Advocate* then proceeded to read the various official correspondence between Lord Castlereagh, Sir A. Wellesley, Sir H. Dalrymple, Sir H. Burrard, Sir C. Cotton, Gen. Spencer, &c. and between these officers among themselves, down to the dispatches of the 21st. of September. In this business the court was occupied till 3 o'clock.

Sir *Hew Dalrymple* then came forward and addressed the court. He stated, that before he gave in the narrative of his proceedings, which it was his intention to lay before the court, he felt himself called on to say a word or two in vindication of his character, which had been grossly aspersed in the public papers, to serve, as it would seem, the cause of a more favoured officer. The convention had been very generally reprobated in this country, but he had no doubt that, in a short time, it would be more favourably, because more justly, appreciated. By the publications in question, however, be the convention calamitous or otherwise, he was represented as the sole author of it; that from the moment of his arrival, he had had the stupid presumption to act in opposition to the plan of proceedings previously agreed on, and to order it to be changed; that he had snatched the laurels from the brow of the victor! And that Sir A. Wellesley had protested against, or at all events had strongly disapproved of, the terms of the convention! For himself, he had carefully abstained from stating any thing in the public papers, although he was not ignorant that, previous to his quitting the army in Portugal, there were persons at work there with similar imputations to those thrown out against his character in this country! He had purposely abstained from any newspaper appeals, reserving himself for this day, when he could with confidence, and with the candour and openness becoming a British officer, state his case. *He now pledged himself to that court, and to his country, that Sir Harry Burrard, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and himself were all present with General Kellerman when the preliminaries of the convention of Cintra were discussed and settled. Sir A. Wellesley bore that prominent part in the discussion, to which the important situation he held in the country, the glorious victory he had lately gained, and the important information, more*

particularly of a local nature, which he possessed, so well entitled him to assume. He, therefore, had discussed, and assented to, not only the principle of the convention, but the general details of it; and so far from its being correct, that Sir A. Wellesley had signed the preliminaries, by the order, or rather by the compulsion, of him (Sir H. Dalrymple,) as had been insinuated, the fact was, that he himself was stepping up, for the purpose of putting his own name to the preliminary articles, when he was put right by General Kellerman in point of form, who reminded him that he, as commander in chief, could not sign a preliminary treaty, where the officer on the other side was only a general of division! Sir A. Wellesley then signed the preliminary treaty, without any order from him, (Sir H. Dalrymple.) The conversation, he agreed, was carried on in the French language, and it might be true, he believed it was, that General Kellerman took minutes of it. As already said, however, he had never inserted his own representations, or his own wishes, in the public prints. He had not, as was stated in his name, insisted on a court martial. He was happy that he should meet a court like the present, where his case would be fully gone into, and would not be checked by the trammels of legal proceedings. He was not afraid of any inquiry, being convinced that his cause, and that of truth, would be found to go hand in hand. He assured the court that he should not avail himself of the privilege of declining to answer any question, lest it should criminate himself; on the contrary, he should feel pleasure in the business being sifted to the bottom, and he himself should be ready to give every satisfaction which might be demanded of him, or which it was in his power to give. He had not, as already stated, demanded a court martial, and one reason for his not doing so was, because no charges of a distinct nature had been urged against him. If his conduct had been so called in question as to have rendered it necessary for him to insist on a court martial, it would have been incumbent on him to have called in his defence all the officers of note engaged at present in Spain and Portugal. He was happy to say, however, that, at present no officer was absent from his duty on his (Sir H. Dalrymple's) ac-

count. These facts he had found it necessary for him to explain in vindication of his character, before he entered on the narrative of his proceedings, after he had joined the army in Portugal.

Sir Arthur Wellesley begged to say a few words in answer to what he had just heard. He regretted exceedingly, that any thing should have appeared in any of the public prints, which could be supposed to have the effect of serving him at the expence of the conduct or character of Sir H. Dalrymple. He declared most sincerely, that no such statement had ever been inserted with his knowledge or approbation; and he could equally pledge himself, that none such ever came through the knowledge or concurrence of any of his friends or relations. He agreed in what he had just heard, that he had been present at, and taken a part under the commander in chief, in adjusting the preliminaries of the convention. He had signed these preliminaries in consequence of the desire of the commander in chief, but not in consequence of any command or compulsion exercised over him on that occasion. He had agreed with the commander in chief on the principle of these articles, though he differed from him in some of the details.

Sir H. Dalrymple sat at the side of the court. He was accompanied by General Sir Charles Green, and three officers of his staff. He looked extremely well, is a soldier-looking man, in the prime of life, and seemed to be in good spirits.

The court adjourned till Saturday morning.

Third Day, Saturday, Nov. 19.

The business commenced by Sir A. Wellesley stating his wish to deliver in a paper confirmatory of his statement on the preceding day. Sir Arthur read the paper, which stated in substance the same as his declaration on Thursday, that he was not ordered, much less compelled to sign the armistice—that no authority was given by him or any of his relations or friends, to any of the publishers of newspapers, to make a contrary statement. He also repeated that he agreed in the principle of permitting the French to evacuate Portugal, only differing with the commander in chief respecting some points of detail. The paper containing this statement was delivered by Sir Arthur to the presiding.

Sir Arthur also expressed his regret that an expression in one of his letters read on Thursday, should have gone forth to the public, as conveying a reflection upon the commissariat employed in the army in Portugal. He never meant to state that the individuals employed in the commissariat, were wanting in zeal or deficient in exertion—his only object was to show generally the expediency of making some alteration in the mode of conducting the commissariat department.

A paper containing this statement was also delivered by Sir Arthur to the president.

The *Judge Advocate* then read some dispatches from Sir Hew Dalrymple to Lord Castlereagh, one dated the 3d. of September, which was published in the *Gazette*; others stating, that the terms of the armistice had been communicated to the Portuguese General, but who had not objected to them until after the conclusion of the negotiation, and convention had been signed; a letter in French from the Portuguese General, objecting to the terms of the convention, and an answer from Sir Hew Dalrymple, stating, that the good faith of the country was pledged to carry these conditions into effect. Some other letters were also read, relating to points of detail.

The *Judge Advocate* having finished reading these official dispatches, another person commenced reading, in a very low tone of voice, a series of correspondence relating to several minor details connected with the army in Portugal.

The court adjourned to Monday.

The 4th. and 5th. days (*Monday and Tuesday*) were employed in reading the statements of Sir H.

Dalrymple and Sir A. Wellesley, and examining several witnesses. It is understood from what has already transpired, that Sir H. Dalrymple, having a discretionary power, appears to have done what he thought best, for according to circumstances, *having no cavalry or horses for the artillery, and being without many other essential means of powerful operations against the French, who were in possession of every fortress, a great deal of time, (perhaps some months) would have elapsed before they could have been driven out by force, and of course we must also have suffered great loss in the event; it seems to be the opinion that Sir Hew will be honourably acquitted, as the blame seems attached to ministers at present more than to the commanders.* The court adjourned at half past two o'clock until ten o'clock on Thursday. Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, attended by Lady Charlotte Lindsay, Miss and Mr. St. Leger, entered the Hall about eleven o'clock; she was received by the president at the bar, and other members of the court, standing. In passing Sir A. Wellesley, she gave him a most cordial shake of the hand. Countess Temple, Lady Nugent, and the beautiful Miss Oliver, sat together at some distance from the Princess. This day exceeded all the preceding ones in the display of rank, beauty, and fashion,

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTES.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 19.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Seymour, of his Majesty's ship Amethyst, to Admiral Lord Gambier.

Amethyst, Hamouaze, Nov. 15.

My Lord—I have the most sincere pleasure in acquainting you, that his Majesty's ship the Ame-

thyst, under my command, captured, the 10th instant at night, the French frigate *La Thetis*, of forty-four guns, and a crew of 330 men, who had served years together, and 106 soldiers, from *L'Orient* for *Martinique*. Being close to the N. W. point of *Groa*, she was seen a quarter before

seven P. M. and immediately chased; and a close action began before ten o'clock, which continued with little intermission till twenty minutes after midnight. Having fallen on board for a short time, after ten, and from a quarter past eleven, when she intentionally laid us on board, till she surrendered (about an hour,) she lay fast alongside, the fluke of our best bower anchor having entered her foremost main deck port, and she was, after great slaughter, boarded and taken possession of, and some prisoners received from her, before we disengaged the ships. Shortly after, a ship of war was seen closing fast under a press of sail, which proved to be the *Triumph*, which immediately gave us the most effectual assistance that the anxious and feeling mind of such an officer as Sir Thomas Hardy could suggest. At half past one the *Shannon* joined, received prisoners from, and took *La Thetis* in tow. She is wholly dismasted, dreadfully shattered, and had her commander (Pinsun, Capitaine de Vaisseau,) and 135 men, killed; 102 wounded, amongst whom are all her officers except three. *Amethyst* has lost 19 killed, and 51 wounded, amongst the former is Lieutenant Bernard Kindall, a most promising young officer, of the royal marines, who suffered greatly; and that invaluable officer, Lieut. S. J. Payne, dangerously wounded; the mainmast shot away, and the ship much damaged and leaky. No language can convey an adequate idea of the cool and determined bravery shewn by every officer and man of this ship; and their truly noble behaviour has laid me under the greatest obligation. The assistance I received from my gallant friend the first Lieutenant, Mr. Goddard Blennerhassett, an officer of great merit and ability, is beyond all encomium. Lieut. Hill and Crouch, and Mr. Fair the master, (whose admirable exertions, particularly at

the close of the action, when the enemy was on fire, the boarders employed, and the ship had suddenly made two feet water, surmounted all difficulties,) are happily preserved to add lustre to his Majesty's service. In justice to Monsieur Dede, the surviving commander of *La Thetis*, I must observe, he acted with singular firmness, and was the only Frenchman on the quarter-deck when we boarded her. I have the honour to be, &c.

MICHAEL SEYMOUR.

[Total of killed 19, wounded 51.]

Downing-Street, Nov. 18.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received by Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, from Lieut.-General Beckwith, commanding his Majesty's troops in the Windward and Leeward Islands:—

Barbadoes, Sept. 14.

MY LORD,—Intelligence having been received here on the 27th of last month, that the enemy had hazarded a landing in *Marie Galante* with a detachment of regular troops from *Guadaloupe*; the three companies of the 1st West India Regiment, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Blackwell, of the 4th West India, proceeded from *Barbadoes*, as expressed in my dispatch No. 17, were landed in *Marie Galante* on the 29th, attacked the French troops, in conjunction with the naval garrison, on the 30th, and, after a series of operations in the fastnesses of the country, the enemy surrendered at discretion on the 3d inst. Colonel Cambriel abandoned his command the day before the surrender, and, it is imagined, escaped in a canoe to *Guadaloupe*. The detachment returned to *Barbadoes* on the 10th, having had three men wounded, one of whom is since dead. The perseverance and temper of the three companies was respectable; and the

fatigue they underwent at this season of the year unusually great.

I inclose Lieut.-Colonel Blackwell's Report, and have the honour to be, &c.

GEO. BECKWITH,
Lieut.-Gen.

Grand Bourg, Marie Galante, Sept. 4.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you, that the troops which you were pleased to place under my command arrived here, in his Majesty's ship Captain, on the 29th of August; and finding from Capt. Pigot, commander of this Island, that the French troops were strongly posted within three miles of Grand Bourg, I was immediately landed with three companies of the 1st West India regiment; and having obtained an increase of my force, of about 140 marines, and some sailors, together with a six-pounder, from the army schooner Maria, I lost no time in fulfilling the instructions I received from you.

I have now much satisfaction in reporting, that after a pursuit of the enemy for five days and nights, and having during that period had four engagements with him, in each of which he was repulsed, and obliged to make most precipitate retreats, leaving behind him arms, ammunition, &c. at every different post that had been attacked, and at one place in particular, nine marines (who had been taken prisoners on the first landing of the enemy,) and at another, a brass six-pounder, which had only arrived from Guadaloupe two days, and which was found spiked; by constantly marching and harassing him, we found, on coming within one hundred paces of his front yesterday morning, that he was willing to surrender, and sending out a flag of truce, I granted the following terms:—"That the French troops might march out from the ground they then occupied with the honours of war, but that they should lay down their arms in front of the troops,

and surrender themselves as prisoners of war, and that all prisoners taken since their arrival in the island should be immediately returned." I was however much astonished to find that Colonel Cambriels, who had commanded the army, was not present when they surrendered, but I have since understood that he had quitted it the morning previous, and had returned to Guadaloupe, but I have some reason to imagine he is still in this island.

The field-piece I had taken from the army schooner became useless after the first day, from the tract of the country the enemy led us over; I therefore sent it back to Grand Bourg, and at the same time I directed fifty marines to occupy the post at Deloses, three miles from town, which kept up the communication with the interior of the island.

In our several attacks, it gives me pleasure to say that we have had only two privates wounded, one of them since is dead. The loss on the part of the enemy I have not ascertained, but imagine to have been considerable. I am sorry to mention to you, that a gentleman from Antigua, of the name of Brown, being a prisoner of war, was in the rear of the enemy's picquet when attacked on the evening of the 2d instant, and received a mortal wound. The force which has been brought from Guadaloupe I have not yet exactly found out, but from all accounts must have been above two hundred rank and file.

From the return I send herewith, you will find that one hundred and sixty-two privates have laid down their arms, and there are at present many who have been sick dispersed through the country. The inhabitants that joined were very considerable. I believe their number amounted to from four to five hundred. To Captain Walley, of his Majesty's ship Captain, I am under great

obligations; in every instance he has studied to assist me, and to his exertions I am much indebted for the success of the expedition. Captain Pigot, the commander of the island, was in the field the whole time with the troops; and from his knowledge of the country he afforded me the greatest assistance, for which I consider myself most particularly indebted to him.

I have likewise to return my best thanks to all the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates who were under my command, for the cheerfulness with which they went through the long and harrassing marches, and I think it a duty incumbent upon me to mention to you their extreme good conduct since they have been in the field.

I have the honour to be, &c.

NATH. BLACKWELL,

Lieut. Col. 4th West India Reg.

Marie Galante, Camp at the Estate of Blanchard Cadet, Sept. 3, 1808.

TERMS agreed upon by the commanders of his Britannic Majesty's forces with the French troops in Marie Galante.

Proposal.—The French troops shall surrender unconditionally to the British forces.

Answer.—The French will surrender; but propose that their officers shall be sent on their parole, and their men exchanged at Guadaloupe.

Answer.—The proposal of being sent to Guadaloupe is positively refused, that being left to the pleasure of the commanders in chief of the army and navy. The French are permitted only to march out with the honours of war, and lay down their arms.

Return of Prisoners of War who surrendered on the 3d September.

Marie Galante, Sept. 4.

4 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 162 rank and file, and 1 staff.—

N. B. 1 Lieutenant and 15 rank and file of artillery included.

Return of arms, Ammunition, and Accoutrements, taken and destroyed from 30th August to 3d September.

1 field-piece, 450 firelocks, 200 belts and pouches, and 24 kegs of ball cartridges. — Ammunition for field-piece not ascertained.

R T

Dispatches were on the 17th inst. received by government from Spain. The substance of the intelligence received has been communicated by the following

BULLETIN.

Government have received dispatches from St. Andero, dated the 7th of November, which state that the French, having received considerable reinforcements, attacked the Gallician army, under Gen. Blake, on the 31st of October, in their positions, about a league from Savaresa. The attack commenced at six o'clock in the morning, under cover of a thick fog, and lasted till three in the afternoon, when the Spaniards, after a most obstinately contested engagement, in which they had to contend with numbers greatly superior, and a formidable artillery, being destitute themselves of that species of force, were obliged to retire.

They effected their retreat in excellent order to Bilboa, with a view to a further retirement upon Valmaseda. The enemy's force was computed at 25,000 men; that of General Blake at 17,000.

The bravery and steadiness of the Spanish troops are mentioned in the highest terms. In the course of eight hours most obstinate and incessant fighting, the enemy never gained more than a quarter of a league.

Subsequent letters, dated St. Andero, the 11th, state, that General Blake, finding that the French had advanced beyond Valmaseda, with a view to cut off one of his divisions, advanced upon their army near Valmaseda and Orontea, on the 4th of November, and after a vigorous and obstinate action, which lasted from one o'clock in the day till dark, he defeated the French, and drove them from Valmaseda, with loss, taking one howitzer, much ammunition, two provision waggons, and some prisoners.

VOL. IV.

General Blake was concentrating his army, and moving his head-quarters to Reynosa.

The Marquis de la Romana had arrived at St. Andero, to take the command of the northern army.

Bayonne, Nov. 4.—The Emperor set out to-day, at noon, for Spain. He will, it is said, sleep at Irun, and arrive early to-morrow, with his brother at Vittoria. His Majesty was not able to keep himself long *incog.* at Marac; the Bayonnese were most eager to manifest the joy which they experienced at learning the happy arrival of their august sovereign.—Last night the town was spontaneously illuminated. An immense concourse of people filled all the streets and public places, and the cry of "*Long live Napoleon!*" resounded from all parts. We learn that there has been a very brilliant affair for our troops near Logrono. The insurgents have been completely broken. On the other side, a division of the army, commanded by Marshal Moncey, had, on the 26th of last month, an engagement at Lerin, in which the Spaniards were defeated. In this affair we took several pieces of cannon, and 600 prisoners, which yesterday arrived at Bayonne. The officers are confined in the citadel. These miserable Spaniards are in a most deplorable condition—their clothes are mere shreds, and they are without shoes. Every disposition is making for vigorous offensive operations, and the arrival of his Majesty will, without doubt, give birth to great events. Romana's corps will be the first attacked; we are even assured that every means have been taken for cutting off his retreat. The siege of Saragossa will commence in a few days, and be vigorously carried on. There is a report to-day at Bayonne, that Blake has lost five or six thousand men in an engagement with Gen. Verdier; but this report appears premature.

Troops of all descriptions are continually passing through this place, they are animated with the best spirit, and burn with impatience to fight under the eyes of the hero who always leads them to victory. The army of Spain will, it is said, be divided into eight grand divisions, and commanded by the Marshals Ney, Bessieres, Soult, Mortier, Victor, Moncey, and by the Generals St. Cyr, and the Duc d'Abrantes. They also talk of an army of reserve, but it is not yet known by whom it will be commanded. The imperial troops, infantry and cavalry, which were at Bayonne, all set out at break of day this morning, preceding his Majesty.

Nov. 5.—The dispositions which were made to drive the Spaniards from the Banks of the Ebro, have been attended with the most complete success at every point. Gen. Castanos, after the defeat of his advanced guard, quitted his position at Soria. By this movement the Marquis de Romana was no longer able to receive succours from the principal Spanish army. He has had reason to repent of the temerity with which he advanced. The French soldiers had no sooner perceived this corps, which had rendered itself so guilty by the most signal perfidy, than they most impetuously waited the order for battle; the victory was quickly decided. Romana was not able to effect his retreat, but in the greatest disorder; and his position will no longer permit him to cover St. Andero, which will be immediately attacked and carried.

The Spanish officers, which have been made prisoners, testify the greatest astonishment at the immense force which was brought against them—they were so far deceived as to believe that our troops could not quit Germany, and that all was in confusion in that country. Many of them admit that there exists in Spain the greatest subjects of divi-

sion, both between the different corps of their army and their generals, and between the different authorities.

The following is an account from the Neapolitan Moniteur of the capture of the Island of Capri.

Yesterday the British commandant of the Isle of Capri capitulated, with the garrison under his command.

The expedition which achieved the conquest of this important post, was prepared with so much secrecy and dispatch, that the public had no expectation of our landing troops at Capri.

During the three months which the English possessed this island, they spared neither money nor pains to render it a formidable strong hold. Fortification, artillery, land and sea batteries, had all been constructed or carried there, at a great expence, and they conceived it impregnable, and called it the little Gibraltar; but the courage of our troops surmounted and conquered every obstacle.

His Majesty had scarcely entered his territories, when he perceived of what importance it would be to drive out eternal enemies from a port where the malefactors and brigands of the kingdom had long formed a sure asylum, and where all the intrigues and conspiracies, which are the only arms of the court of Palermo, were contrived, and although always stifled at their commencement, have not failed to disturb the tranquility of this beautiful country. The interests of maritime commerce equally require that enemies who were always on the observation, and who count every vessel that entered or left Naples, should be removed.

On the 4th of October, at three o'clock in the morning, 60 transports, having on board 1,500 men, including carabineers and grenadiers of the French and Neapolitan armies, and the royal guards, went

from Naples. The expedition was commanded by the general of division Lamarque, who had under him the generals of brigade Monstera d'Estrees, and Prince Pignatelli, and the adjutants commandant Thomas and Chavardes. A frigate, a corvette, and 26 gun-boats, protected our transports. The passage was short and favourable. The English thought the enterprise so difficult, that they were extremely astonished at the appearance of our troops, and the sea was so rough, that it for some hours prevented the debarkation, and gave the enemy time to put themselves in a posture of defence.

A vivid and continued fire of musquetry did not prevent our troops from landing. Those who first set foot on shore were the royal grenadiers and Corsican chasseurs, having at their head the adjutant commandant Thomas. They were immediately followed by our brave troops, but when the debarkation was effected, new difficulties presented themselves. It was in the first place necessary to take possession of the height of Anacapri which commands the island, and all the forts which defend it; our soldiers soon accomplished it by climbing up the byeways, which seemed impracticable, and which were intersected at various distances with fossees and intrenchments, and defended by two battalions of the royal Maltese regiments, whom we made all prisoners of war, and carried into Naples. Scarcely had we become masters of the place, than the English commander united his remaining force in the fortified posts of St. Michael and Constant, and the fort de Maggiore, preserving open his communication with the sea, and waiting from moment to moment for a reinforcement, the arrival of which would have been impossible for us to prevent. This circumstance rendered the occupation of the lower

part of the isle extremely important, but the communication between the upper and the lower part of Capri could not be effected otherwise than by the possession of a flight of 511 steps, cut in the rock, where no more than one man could descend in front, and which was commanded by the fort St. Michael, whose cannons, charged with heavy shot, did not cease to play upon this point. Yet, under the cover of the night and the protection of some batteries hastily erected, our troops descended by this road. At the same instant, the succour expected by the enemy appeared at sea, consisting of four frigates, two corvettes, four bomb ships, 14 gun boats, and 9 transports. These forces expected, by close blockading of the island, to defeat our enterprise by the want of ammunition and provisions. But government had anticipated this two months ago, and his Majesty anxious to secure the indubitable subsistence of the army, went in person to the point of Campanella, whence observing the enemy's squadron compelled by the winds to keep at a little distance from the island, he ordered a few ships to attack them, which they immediately performed, with repeated cries of "Live the Emperor, live the King!" The combat was sharp and very successful, and the enemy had the mortification of seeing forty transports arrive at the island, and all the provisions and ammunition wherewith they were charged.

Our batteries were then directed against the forts, and after having partly dismantled them, the English were compelled to sign a capitulation, in virtue of which the garrison and their whole troops on the island surrendered as prisoners of war, and are to be transported to England, and shall not fight against the Emperor of the French, or his allies, nor the King of the Two Sicilies, until they are exchanged.

Scarcely had the capitulation been signed, when various English vessels appeared at sea, having on board the regiment of Watteville from Sicily to succour the English, but they could only witness their defeat. The English and Neapolitan troops equally distinguished themselves during this brilliant expedition. The garrison of the island, a circumstance extremely honourable, were equal in number to those who besieged them.

The following is the substance of the official reports of the late actions in Biscay, as transmitted to the Spanish government:—

On the 31st of October, four divisions of Gen. Blake's army were attacked by 25,000 French.—After fighting as became valliant Spaniards during the whole day, Gen. Blake, in order to prevent being surrounded, determined to fall back, and to form a junction with the divisions of the Asturias and the Marquis de la Romana. The retreat was conducted in the best order, without the loss of cannon, colours, or prisoners.—They halted during the night of the 1st of November, at Bilboa. Gen. Blake having resolved to take post at Valmaseda, the army marched on the 2d for another position, where it was joined by the Asturias, the troops of the North, and the fourth division of Galicia: a small detachment having been left at Bilboa. On the 3d, the French appeared before that city in great force, and the few troops that were there, evacuated it in good order, and fell back on Valmaseda.

In the action of the 31st, all the divisions displayed the greatest gallantry, in maintaining their position against a very superior force, during the whole day with unexampled energy, and left the field of battle with reluctance; the enemy notwithstanding his superiority, was unable to gain a foot of ground. The loss

of the Spaniards was considerable, but that of the French much greater; so that they were incapable of molesting the Spaniards in their retreat, which was effected in the most orderly manner, without the loss of a single knapsack.

The army being concentrated at Valmaseda, General Blake received information, on the 4th, that a division of the enemy, consisting of 10,000 men was marching on the heights of Ontara, with a view of cutting off a division of his army posted in that place. He therefore put his troops in motion at day-break of the 5th, and at one o'clock attacked the enemy. After an obstinate battle, which lasted till dark, he completely put them to the rout, with great slaughter, and the loss of many prisoners, one howitzer, two ammunition waggons, and a considerable quantity of provisions. Till eleven o'clock of the night of the 5th, when the dispatch was sent off, prisoners and baggage continued to be brought in. The number and rank of the prisoners cannot be exactly stated, as our troops continued the pursuit, and there were the best founded hopes they would be able to capture a great part of the French division, who, finding their retreat by the high road cut off, defiled by the edge of the mountains, skirting the vallies, in which direction they were closely pursued.

On the morning of the 6th, all the army marched forward, and earnestly solicited permission to enter Bilboa, at the point of the bayonet. We anxiously await the result of this enterprise, which, there is reason to hope, will prove successful.

The following is an extract of a letter from an officer in Sir David Baird's army, dated Lugo, Nov. 2;—"We arrived at this place on the 31st. ult. after a fatiguing march of four days from Corunna, through a country bare and barren in the extreme, and, of course, little suited

to supply the wants of a large army. The poverty of the natives appeared rather to claim relief from us, than to warrant us in looking for any supplies from them. The rain falls in torrents, and I fear some of the 2d. battalions, which are made up of very fine young lads, but not seasoned, will suffer much in consequence. The stores of our commissariat will require to be renewed to a very large amount, in consequence of the immense and unexpected expenditure occasioned by the circumstances I have mentioned. To-morrow we march hence. Our route is through Constantine, Nogales, Herreteria, Villafranca, Ponteferrado, where we stop some days, and then proceeding to Bonavente, where we expect to meet the army from Portugal."

Letters have been received from Lisbon, and from Oporto of the 3d. inst. By these it appears that provisions in Portugal were abundant, and fully sufficient for an ample supply of many months. From Oporto they write, that the whole of the British troops had been marched into Spain, and that the Spanish junta had requested the Portuguese government to furnish from 30 to 40,000 men from Portugal, in aid of the common cause.

The Gottenburgh mails bring the important intelligence of the rupture of the armistice in Finland. The Stockholm papers come down only to the 4th; but the information in question is communicated in a letter from Gottenburgh of the 7th, which briefly states, that the Russians had on the 27th of October broke the armistice, and attacked the Swedes, who it is feared suffered much on the occasion.—The particulars of the action, or the causes which led to it, are not mentioned.

A gentleman who accompanied the mails to town, states, that the Swedes were attacked in their position at Hemango, and routed with

the loss of most of their artillery and baggage. The Russians, during the armistice, received a reinforcement of 20,000 men ; but it is not stated whether or not hostilities were preceded by the stipulated notice.

The King of Bavaria has abolished all description of slavery or bondage in his dominions. His Majesty lately confiscated the convent of Meran, near Botzen, in Tyrol, and transported the Capuchins for encouraging sedition amongst the Tyrolians, who it is admitted, are still dissatisfied with their change of government.

At the Imperial meeting in Erfurth, 1,500,000 rix-dollars (about 250,000l.) sterling are said to have been thrown into circulation in that town and its environs. The two Emperors paid each for their apartments 50 louis-d'ors a day.

Intelligence from Holland to the 3th inst. mentions, that the decree relative to the introduction of colonial produce is revoked. In a letter of the 4th, from the finance minister to the merchants, conveying this information, he states further, that King Louis had submitted their earnest supplications to Napoleon, and had done every thing in his power to support them. His Imperial Majesty answered, that for once he would concede to their desires; but it would be in vain ever after to trouble him on matters of trade and prohibitory decrees, he having determined to give no more accommodations of that sort, until the restoration of peace. They are also told, for their comfort, that in all maritime and trading affairs they would be in future considered as *French subjects*.

Government have received intelligence of a most alarming nature from Spain. The Lady Pellew packet left Corunna on the 19th, and arrived at Falmouth on the 22d instant. She brings the melancholy account from Lugo, on the line of

march of Sir David Baird's army, that on the 18th they had halted in consequence of advices, that the Northern Spanish army under the command of General Blake, had been totally routed—that the French were in possession of Burgos—and had even advanced by rapid marches to Valladolid. The consequences of which was, that the fleet of transports which were preparing to sail from Corunna, and were actually weighing anchor, were recalled by signal to remain, *as they might be wanted to bring off the British army*. It is added, that the French were pushing forward a column to Madrid, of which they would forthwith be masters. It is more likely, and indeed their march to Valladolid is a proof of it, that their intention is to intercept and cut off the army advancing from Lisbon under Sir John Moore, the first column of which had arrived at Salamanca about the time that the French were at Valladolid. The distance by the direct road is not more than twenty leagues, and on the 13th instant it is understood, that Sir John Moore was at Salamanca, Sir David Baird at Lugos, and the French at Valladolid. In these circumstances considerable apprehensions are entertained respecting the result of the contest in Spain, but particularly respecting our army, which is now considered as being in imminent jeopardy, and those even who are least inclined to despond of the cause of the Spaniards are not a little alarmed about the actual situation of the British.

It was signified by Bernadotte to Frederick the VI. King of Denmark, on the 26th of last month, that Bonaparte wished him to defer the act of his coronation at Roskeld, as it was the intention of the Corsican Emperor to declare him, on the 1st of January next, King of Scandinavia, the Emperor Alexander having consented to cede to Frederick the King-

dom of Sweden, which is to be conquered by their joint arms. In consequence of this intimation, the coronation of the king of Denmark has been deferred. Jutland, Sleswick, and Holstein, will be retained by Bonaparte, and are now occupied by his troops.

Advices from the Brazils, to the 2d of October, have been received. The court has issued a protest in the name of the Infant and Infanta of Spain, who emigrated with the house of Braganza, against the transactions at Bayonne. This report declares the right of the Infant Don Louis and the Infanta, his consort, the daughter of the Prince Regent, to be by no means surrendered or compromised by the pretended cession of Carlos and Ferdinand. It also asserts a right for this Prince, being the nearest relation to Ferdinand not in the power of the enemy, to the regency of Spain. Sir Sydney Smith, it is said, was particularly consulted about the framing and issuing of this instrument. There is a rumour that some coolness prevails at court towards Lord Strangford, in consequence of some offence taken at certain parts of the diplomatic correspondence relative to the evacuation of Lisbon, as published in the English newspapers.

An article from Constantinople, dated Sept. 17, says, "in the memory of man we have not enjoyed so great tranquillity as at present reigns here; we are indebted for it to the Grand Vizier Mustapha Bairacter, who holds with a firm hand the reins of government. He is principally occupied in making the Janissaries submit to proper discipline, who, for many ages, as well as lately, would arrogate to themselves the right of deposing the Sultans: the least insubordination, the most slight murmur, is now punished with death; but they receive their pay on the exact day fixed. The grand Vizier is firmly resolved to put the whole army, as soon as possible, upon the same footing as that of Nizam Geddid: this corps had been raised and exercised after the European manner, and it cost the unfortunate Selim his throne and life for having formed it. The Pachas of the provinces obey the orders of the Grand Vizier, because they know the activity and firmness of his character.—The use of bayonets has been introduced into the army, by order of the Vizier.—Twenty ladies of the Seraglio have been drowned, charged with being accessory to the murder of the late Sultan Selim."

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

At a late numerous and respectable meeting of the freeholders of Hampshire, a petition for an inquiry respecting the convention of Portugal, was carried almost unanimously. Mr. Cobbett, went into a detail of certain public abuses, and was heard with great attention: the following extract from his speech, demands the serious attention of the public:—

"Mr. Cobbett rose and said, that so far from disapproving of any part

of the resolution he heartily approved of every word of it. As to the merits or demerits of the convention, that was a question pretty nearly set at rest; for from those who are hostile to a petition or address for an inquiry, no word nor argument had ever fallen in justification of that convention. His Majesty, it is said, has already given an answer to the petition of the citizens of London, informing them that a due inquiry will be instituted.

We know that the common council has assembled since that answer was delivered, and expressly declared that it was an ungracious answer, and as such is entered upon their journals. It is the example of the city of London that we are to follow, and the answer which has been given to them, renders this proceeding the more necessary. *It is evident to the whole nation, that his Majesty's ministers are fully determined to screen Sir Arthur Wellesley; and why? Sir Arthur Wellesley, it is well known, is allied to a family among the most powerful in this country—a family raised to a predomance, not by great and shining talents, nor by any actions of a sort that can be deemed even meritorious. THEY HAVE BEATEN THE POOR INDIANS, JUST AS DOGS WOULD DO A FLOCK OF SHEEP OUT OF A FIELD.* I wish, gentlemen, that this commander were here upon this occasion to hear me, but although he be not present, I doubt if one of the ministry of a country wherein so many millions of money are annually distributed, can want friends. *Sir Arthur Wellesley, before he left this country, enjoyed a salary of 6566l. for being chief secretary in Ireland. Ministers take him from that office, and send him abroad as a general, he still enjoying the emoluments of that office, although it was impossible for him to execute the duties of it. But his family enjoys in the house of Commons, no less than TWELVE VOTES.* Gentlemen, we have at this time a staff, consisting of no less than TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY ONE GENERALS. The French have not half so many! *Out of all these officers, a man could not be chosen to send to Portugal, without sending to Ireland, and taking the chief secretary, on whom so much business of that part of the United Kingdom rests. I wish you to bear it in mind, that the Wellesley family actually at this moment receives out of the resources of the*

country 23,766l. annually. It is a sum equal to the poor-rates of 60 parishes, on an average of parishes in England and Wales. It is also equal to the amount of the assessed taxes, for 72 parishes. Perhaps it may not be amiss for some of you to know what a staff officer is. A staff officer is generally a colonel of some regiment, selected for his admirable skill and bravery. These officers, who amount to 291, cost us annually, besides their pay as colonels of regiments, 254,776l. 5s. 10d. What are the fruits or beneficial effects they produce? It has been a doubt in the minds of many of my neighbours, that there can be found any body of men possessed of so little decency and sense, as to approve of these measures, which tend solely to waste the finances of a country, and the blood of its inhabitants, by the everlasting duration of war. I could now read a list, which would occupy two hours, of persons, whose great interest it is to continue war at all events, and at all hazards. I'll, however, only detach one case—that of 'Squire Garniere, of Wycombe. Mr. Garniere, of Wycombe, gentlemen, receives a salary and perquisites, amounting to 12,309l. 10s. 5d. a year, for being apothecary-general to the army, Such a man, of course, must like the duration of war.

It is fresh in the memory of every one, that there was a failure on the part of the Duke of York at the Helder. These are not times for men to be mealy-mouthed. It is notorious that the Duke of York commanded an army, fitted out at an expence exceeding any thing of the kind upon former occasions. *It consisted of the very flower of the British youth, who were reduced to the necessity of flying before the French, and were ultimately hemmed up in a corner, where he made a capitulation, by which he gave up, not any thing that he had gained, but what was gained*

by others. By the valour of our fleets, 8000 French sailors were safely lodged in our barracks and guardships, and these the Duke of York gave up by his disgraceful capitulation. That was a failure surely of great magnitude; and yet it has never, to this day, been inquired into. Ministers who are nearly the same persons that they were then, will not be anxious to enter into an inquiry upon this occasion any more than they were formerly. It may not be inapplicable to the subject in question, to state how much the Duke of York receives out of the public money for his services.—The Duke of York receives in a pension, 18,000*l.* a year; as Colonel of the three Battalions of foot guards, he receives annually 6,000*l.*; as commander in chief, exclusive of his expences and patronage, the sum of 10,000*l.* I know not what he receives as Colonel of the five battalions of the 60th regiment, but in addition to these sums, he enjoys an estate in fee-simple, given in lieu of the bishoprick of Osnaburgh, worth 16,000*l.* a year; add to these the interest of 54,000*l.* lent him in 1801, out of the public money, without consent of parliament, 2,700*l.* The whole is equal to the poor's rates of 125, or the assessed taxes of 146 parishes. He is also ranger of two parks, and warden of the new forest. From all these the patronage he enjoys is immense; and we know but too well what patronage is worth.

“It is stated as fact, perhaps, not generally known, but which certainly merits publicity, at a time when the public have so much reason to be dissatisfied with the military administration of the country, that one of the under-secretaries of state in the war-department, instead of being now in the office to attend to his official business, is abroad with the army. The gentleman to whom we allude is the Hon. C. W.

Stewart, brother to Lord Castlereagh, who, at the same time that he holds the office of under-secretary of state, to which a salary of 2000*l.* a-year is annexed, is now commanding the 18th light dragoons in Portugal. Sir A. Wellesley was at the same time secretary for Ireland, with a salary of 6000*l.* a-year, and commander-in chief of the British forces in Portugal.”

At a late meeting of the freeholders of Hampshire, to nominate a person for the representation of the county, in the room of the late Sir H. Mildmay, Mr. Cobbett made an excellent speech on the occasion, of which the following is an extract.

“Gentlemen, the constitution declares that the election of members to serve in parliament shall be *free*, thereby meaning, that no undue influence of any sort shall be made use of to biass the minds or obtain the votes of the electors; and next, which is what I more particularly wish you to attend to, it declares, that no person holding an office, or place of *profit*, under the King, or having a *pension from the crown*, shall be capable of serving as a member of the house of commons. And, gentlemen, if you consider the duties which members of parliament have to perform, you will see the justice and reasonableness of this excellent rule of the constitution, of all which duties, the first and greatest is, to see that the people's money is not improperly granted, and, when granted, not improperly expended. The house of commons are the guardians of the public treasure; and sometimes, still more emphatically, the holders of the national purse strings.

“The house of commons, which now consists of 658 members, contains persons who enjoy the emoluments of 112 places and pensions. But before I proceed farther, suffer me to state to you upon what authority I am about to lay before you

these interesting facts. They are drawn from a report presented to the house of commons; in consequence of a motion made by that intelligent, upright, disinterested and valiant nobleman, Lord Cochrane, who, having so often defeated the enemies of England at sea, appeared to have wished to contribute towards defeating its more dangerous enemies on shore. His lordship's motion, which would have brought into view all the placed and pensioned *relatives* of the members, was in a great measure defeated; but we have at any rate got some information from it. The list, even of the members themselves, is very *incomplete*. It is acknowledged to be incomplete by those who made the report. Many of the offices, out of mere modesty I suppose, have not the amount of the emoluments placed against them; and there are several placemen and pensioners, owing to the want of the returns from the department whence their emoluments arise, who are not mentioned at all in any part of the report. But even from this report, imperfect as it is, it appears, that there actually are, in the house of commons, 78 members who are placemen or pensioners; that they enjoy amongst them 112 places and pensions; that these places and pensions amount to 178,994*l.* a year, which sum, if it were equally divided, would give to each member of the house 272*l.* a year; and, I am convinced, that if all the emoluments had been annexed, and all the names brought into view, the sum would have been double what it now appears. What then would you say, if you could behold the long list of places and pensions enjoyed by the relations of the different members? Suffer me now to state some particulars from this list, because they very nearly concern ourselves. First, gentlemen of Romney, there is your noble neighbour,

my Lord Palmerston, who receives 1000*l.* a year. Secondly, gentlemen of Bishop's Waltham, there is your neighbour, Mr. Hayes Bourne, (who was standing amongst some tall men in the crowd all the time), who receives 1500*l.* a year. Thirdly, gentlemen of the Isle of Wight, there is your governor, my Lord Fitzharris, who, as governor of the island, receives 1379*l.*; and observe, he has taken care to have a grant of this place for his life, sick or well, though I must say, that, in all probability, he is able to command a military force, being bedridden, as if he were actually upon the back of his charger. The Lord has, besides, secured a farther grant of the public money to the amount of 1200*l.* a year for life, to commence after his father's Lord Malmsbury's death; and Lord Malmsbury has received for fifteen years past, and is to receive for his life, a pension of 2300*l.* a year. This, gentlemen, is the new Lord Lieutenant of our country—a pensioner paid out of the fruit of our labour, industry, ingenuity and economy."

The following requisition was presented to the Lord Mayor on Saturday the 19th inst.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

We, the undersigned liverymen of the city of London, request your lordship to convene a common hall on an early day, in order to take into consideration the late convention in Portugal, by which the character, honour, and interests of the country have been so deeply affected, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed advisable.

[Signed by 21 livery men.]

To this requisition his lordship returned the following answer:—

Mansion-House, 21st Nov.

"The Lord Mayor presents his compliments to Mr. Quin and begs to acquaint him, that he has considered the requisition, dated the 2d

of this month, which Mr. Quin presented to him on Saturday evening last—"To convene a common hall, on an early day, in order to take into consideration the late convention in Portugal, by which the character, honour, and interests of the country have been so deeply affected, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed advisable.

"The Lord Mayor cannot but observe, that since the date of the requisition a court of inquiry has been instituted, by his Majesty's command, for investigating the causes which led to the convention alluded to, and that the court is now prosecuting such inquiry.

"The Lord Mayor is of opinion, that a meeting of the livery of London in common hall, on the subject proposed by the requisition, pending such public inquiry, will be highly unnecessary, unseasonable, and improper, and therefore declines to convene a common hall, as requested."

The collector of taxes at the west end of the town, who lately decamped with several thousand pounds, the produce of the taxes received, proves to be Mr. Launcellot Atkinson, the collector of the property and other taxes for the parish of St. James, and is deficient to the amount of upwards of 10,000*l*. This unfortunate man's family are very respectable; his father kept a cheese-monger's shop for a number of years in Jermin-street, and he married the daughter of a wealthy and eminent butcher in St. James's market, with whom he received 8000*l*. fortune. It is supposed he was not prosperous in business, and the commissioners of the parish, out of respect for his family and connections, appointed him collector of the taxes, which is supposed to have produced him between 3 and 400*l*. a year.—About six weeks since he told the commissioners, his family, &c. that he was going into Nottinghamshire on a visit to a gentleman very well known to them. The time having

arrived when he appointed to return, and he not appearing, some suspicion arose that all was not right in his affairs, and in consequence a letter was written to the gentleman in Nottinghamshire. The gentleman, in answer, said he had not been at his house. This confirmed the suspicion; and, on investigation, it was ascertained that a few days previous to his leaving London, he had sold out of the funds stock to the amount of between 4 and 5,000*l*, part of his wife's fortune, and not the least trace could be made where he was gone.—The commissioners, issued their warrant, and employed two active officers belonging to the public office Bow-street, to execute it, who first went to his *chère amie's* residence in the New Road, and found that she had left there at the time Mr. A. left London; but it was not known where she was gone. The officers, however, continued their enquiries in the neighbourhood, till they found a man who had been employed in removing several very large trunks from the house a short time previous to her setting off, and that they were taken to the new Inn, in the Old Bailey, directed for Mr. Ward, to go by the waggon to Portsmouth. This left no doubt in the officers' minds but that Mr. A. had assumed the name of Ward (the name of the woman he cohabited with), and they at last traced him to Truro, in Cornwall, where the officers arrived on Tuesday se'nnight.—Having satisfied themselves that the Mr. Ward they found there was the person of whom they came in search, they arrested him in the house of the Mayor of Truro. They returned with him to his house, when he asked Mrs. Ward for the keys, and delivered to the officers a large pocket-book, containing bank notes and bills, to the amount of 5,000*l*.—They brought him to London and he has undergone several examinations before the commissioners.

THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST PRICE OF STOCKS: FROM OCTOBER 25, NOVEMBER 29, 1895
By JOHN HENNING, Broker, No. 8, Capel Court, Bartholomew Lane, London.

Days	Bank Stock.	India Stock.	3 per Ct. Reduced.	3 per Ct. Consols.	4 per Ct	5 per Ct.	Long Ann.	Omn.	India Bonds.	Esche. Bills.	Stocks shut and open.
Oct. 25	235 $\frac{1}{2}$	179 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	India, Nov. 29. Jan. 17.
27	235 $\frac{1}{2}$	179 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	Cons. Dec. 2. — 20.
29	—	179 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18-16	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	5 p.c.s. — 2. — 30.
31	—	180 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18-16	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
Nov. 1	236 $\frac{1}{2}$	180 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
2	236 $\frac{1}{2}$	180 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
3	236 $\frac{1}{2}$	180 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
4	236 $\frac{1}{2}$	180 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
7	236 $\frac{1}{2}$	181	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
8	236 $\frac{1}{2}$	181	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
10	237 $\frac{1}{2}$	181 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
11	237 $\frac{1}{2}$	181 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
12	237 $\frac{1}{2}$	181 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
14	237	181 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
15	237 $\frac{1}{2}$	182 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18-16	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
16	237 $\frac{1}{2}$	182 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18-16	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
17	237 $\frac{1}{2}$	182 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18-16	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
18	237 $\frac{1}{2}$	182 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18-16	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
19	237	183	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18-16	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
21	237	183	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18-16	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
22	236 $\frac{1}{2}$	182 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18-16	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
23	236 $\frac{1}{2}$	182 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18-16	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	
24	236 $\frac{1}{2}$	182 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	18-16	14d.	4. 5p.	7p.	

N. R. The days omitted are Sundays, or Holidays.—The blank spaces denote that nothing was done in that fund.—
P. stands for Premium, and D. for Discount.

THE MONTHLY REGISTER,

FOR DECEMBER, 1808.

STATE PAPERS.

FRENCH EXPOSE

LEGISLATIVE BODY.

Paris, Nov. 3.—In the sitting of yesterday, his excellency the minister of the Interior, accompanied by Messrs. de Segur and Corvetto, Councillors of state, pronounced the following speech on the situation of the empire:—

“GENTLEMEN—You terminated your last session, leaving the empire happy, and its chief loaded with glory. The year has passed away, and a multitude of new circumstances have added to the good fortune of the country, and increased our hopes of future benefits. All that I have to state to you, gentlemen, is already known to you, and for your full information, I have only to retrace to your memory the principal events which have filled up the interval between your last and your present session, and to recal to you the additional advantages for which France is indebted to the wisdom and valour of her sovereign. I will speak to you first of the WANTS

• OF NATIONS; *justice, public instruction, the arts and sciences, the numerous branches of internal administration, public worship, the finances, and our principal relations with the states of the continent.* The recital will bring us of course to this lamentable war, which we maintain against one single people. The glory of our nation wounds that people, our strength alarms them, the independence of our commerce and our industry disquiets them;

every thing is again subjected to the fortune of war; but the days of justice are not far distant.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

The maintenance of great states is founded on the preservation of property, which is the reciprocal tie between individuals and their government; property is regulated and guarded by civil laws. *The nation which has the best civil laws is that for which we may presage the greatest felicity.* Far from having any thing to envy in this respect, since we have lived under the government of the Code Napoleon, we beheld, and not without just pride, numerous nations adopting this code, and enjoying with us this precious triumph of the age over the obscurity, the nobility, and the variations of old systems of law. The legislation of a celebrated nation which governed the world, our own usages, when sanctioned by reason and modern manners, compose, at this day, the greatest of the monuments of wisdom; it shall last for the happiness of men, and for the inextinguishable glory of the genius who raised it.

But the empire of laws, even the most clear and precise, is unhappily subject to be contested; their true sense is misinterpreted by the interests which they injure, by the bad faith which eludes them, and by the subtlety which perverts their spirit and intention. It is thus that civil laws have not always been able to preserve property from the scourge of the forms of litigation. It is even

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remarkable that its ravages are most prevalent among the richest and most populous nations: shall these forms then become a concealed mean of fixing limits to the progress of civilization? These forms constitute an art, and that of a very difficult nature, which has its combinations and its principles. They would become an abyss, in which the good order of society would be engulfed, if the judicial code had not assigned limits to this deplorable war of litigation. This part of the law is known under the name of the code of process; and it is to be considered as the complement of the civil code, and the principal instrument of its execution.

Who knows not the outcries of the people against the old abuses of the forms of process?—Who knows not in what way the French discovered their sense of it, when they could do so in the national assemblies? Who does not recollect the complaints which have filled their books, and resound in a thousand forms on their theatres?—But chicanery set at defiance all these useless clamours, and disorders increased from the want of a good law, or the forms of process. Thanks to the new judicial code, which has put a period to so many evils! Henceforward prosperity is placed under the effective protection of legislation; this protection shall be pure, it shall no more be deceptive in its results; and the expences of litigation, limited within just bounds, shall cease to absorb the value of litigated property, and to ruin families, under the false pretences of justice.

Commerce has acquired such importance in modern times, that a necessity has been felt for assigning to it separate laws. France enjoyed excellent laws on the subject of commerce, but time had pointed out imperfections in them: it was perceived, in particular, that they were

insufficient with respect to failures and bankruptcies. The code which you have decreed, Messieurs, in your last session, has provided effectually for the repression of an offence, become so common, by the audacity and bad faith of debtors, by the weakness of their victims, or rather by the inefficacy of the laws. This code has acquired such respect among neighbouring nations, that one day, perhaps, the commerce of Europe will place itself under the salutary guidance of an uniform legislation.

The code Napoleon, the judicial code, and the code of commerce, thus complete the system which regulates property; but the wants of society require laws of a different order:—I speak of criminal laws. Among uncivilized nations these laws are simple, the sentence arbitrary, and the punishment prompt; they are still worse under despotic governments; but among nations constituted upon the obligations of individual liberty and the security of person, the criminal law forms a very complicated problem, which has incessantly occupied the sagacity of legislators, and of philosophers.

Among the innumerable questions which the discussion of this problem has given rise to, I shall only speak to you of the JURY INTRODUCED INTO THE CODE, which you will have to examine in the present session.

The institution of a jury took its rise amidst the simple manners of our ancestors. *Feudal despotism banished it from France, but it took refuge amongst a neighbouring people, where it acquired a great celebrity.*—

THIS PEOPLE, AFTER A LONG USE OF IT, HAVE CONSIDERED A JURY AS THE EXCLUSIVE GUARDIAN OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, AND EVEN OF POLITICAL FREEDOM! They have experienced, that by confiding, in criminal trials, the judgment of the fact to the con-

science of a jury, to a body, sufficiently numerous, of enlightened citizens, rendered impartial by the right of recusation, independent on authority, and interested in the purity of their functions by the perceived possibility of being, in their turn, placed at the bar, they have experienced, I say, that a jury was a mode of investigating the truth, preferable to that of fixed judges, whose judgments are with difficulty excepted; who are often hardened by the exercise of their terrible functions, liable to inattention from fatigue, dependent on the authority which appoints them, and dependent still more upon certain professional maxims, and a certain jurisprudence *de corps*, apt at times to darken the understanding.

Whether from the principle of imitation, or from conviction, the revolution was the signal for an universal wish in favour of a jury, and this enthusiasm still displays itself, from the recollection of a body of judges, who, by their elevation, were too far separated from the people, and who, by imperious forms, gave to their judgments, in other respects impartial and enlightened, the dismaying aspect of something absolute and arbitrary.

The Constituent Assembly consented to the wishes of France, and a jury was established; but forgetful that the operations of an instrument so simple ought to be disengaged from every thing complicated, they attempted to improve the jury by forms which were alien to its essence. Instead of a precise declaration of *Yes* or *No*, upon the fact of the offence, and upon the culpability of the accused, it was thought necessary to divide the principal question into a multitude of questions derived from it, and to penetrate into the conscience of the jurors, by the aid of a most difficult analysis, the least sure and least effectual means of obtaining good results.

Jury trial was in this situation in France, when the council of state proceeded to examine the means of its improvements. You know, Messieurs, what share his Majesty has taken in an inquiry which so loudly called for the aid of his genius. In that council the faults ascribed to the jury were judged upon, its errors were reckoned; and in appreciating them, a conviction was produced, that they originated in the imperfection of its institution, in the choice, frequently imprudent, of jurors, and in the loss of their independence, at periods when every thing was subject to the oppressive yoke of factions.

The project of the criminal code which will be presented to you, restores the fine institution of a jury to all its purity: divested of the false supports with which indiscreet innovation had surrounded it, it will continue to protect the good, to punish the guilty, to protect society from crime, and to preserve security for innocence.

You will also have occasion to recognise, among the important changes which will be proposed to you, the suppression of the jury of accusation. Experience has shewn that it is useless, and even hurtful; that it fetters the progress and the activity of justice in its pursuit of crimes; and you will be of opinion, that the system of accusation which is proposed to you is infinitely preferable.

The government has not confined itself to preparing for the national blessing of the wisest laws; it has also, since your last session, investigated the means of securing their execution. The judicial order called for its particular attention; it became necessary to conciliate its independence, and the fixed continuance of its functions, with the precautions which were necessary to guard against the surprise of a first choice. The *senatus consultum* of the 16th of Oct. 1807, places the

judges under a previous trial of five years, a period sufficient for ascertaining their capacity and integrity. A retreat has been prepared for judges, whom age or infirmities have disabled from sitting on the bench. Auditors have been appointed in the courts of justice, selected from families devoted to the career of magistracy, and placed by their fortunes in a suitable independence; these young auditors, seated by the side of experience, will become, in their turn, enlightened magistrates, and worthy of the public confidence.

SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.

Next to a religion, whose principles and system of morality, derived from a divine origin, tend to render man better and more sociable, one of the most powerful means of arriving at the same end is, the propagation of the sciences and literature, to which civilized nations are indebted for their perfection — to which industry owes its most valuable discoveries — the mind its most amiable and most noble enjoyments.

What sovereign has ever been more deeply penetrated with this truth than the Emperor? What monarch has taken a pleasure, like him, in surrounding himself with all the arts and all the sciences, in interrogating them separately, in making himself acquainted with their state, and with the most certain means of producing emulation among the learned and among artists, and of directing their efforts towards the most useful objects?

How interesting, Messieurs, were those sittings, at which the four classes of the illustrious body which does honour to France, advanced to the foot of the throne, to mingle their peaceful trophies with the noble trophies of victory! I think I still hear those deputies of letters, of the sciences, of the arts, pay the eloquent tribute of their homage,

and, in the transports of a respectful gratitude, come under those honourable engagements which they will perform; let us not doubt it, they and their successors.

They have displayed before the eyes of his Majesty a vast and curious tablet of human knowledge, and of the productions which have distinguished the twenty years which are running on. You have viewed these paintings; you have seen with a satisfaction mixed with surprise, that during this period, in spite of the evils of civil discord, the physical and mathematical sciences have made immense strides, and industry a great advance; that the arts, and particularly painting, have shone among us with new lustre; that literature, ancient and modern, has been cultivated with success; and, in fine, that we have supported our character in all those departments of knowledge, in which we have not acquired new titles to glory.

To whom are we indebted, if it is not to the hero whose ascendancy has crushed all factions; to the conqueror whose triumphs have enriched us with so many *chefs d'œuvres*; to the wise and eloquent general who took his sitting among the members of the institute, before he sat upon one of the first thrones in the world?

Soon his august hand, which distributes sceptres, will not disdain to place a crown on the head of the victors, in the solemnity of the distribution of decennial prizes.

In the month of November in the ensuing year, on the very day of the anniversary of the 18th Brumaire, France shall witness this pompous festival, the return of which shall recal to the present and to future ages a memorable epoch, and the innumerable benefits of an immortal reign. What more proper to inflame genius! What enthusiasm ought to be excited among all classes, by the announcement of a ceremony more brilliant than the

celebrated games of ancient Greece ! And must not emulation excite prodigies among us, when so many means are presented to it of running the noble career of the sciences and arts !

The Napoleon Museum has been enriched by many articles from Germany ; the monuments of the Villa Borghese were wanting to this immense assemblage of the *chefs d'œuvres* of antiquity ; a liberal hand has made a purchase of them ; they are arriving, and are about to be offered to public admiration.

The museum of natural history will soon present in the new galleries which are at this moment constructing, the precious collections lately made by learned travellers. The Egyptian commission continues its labours ; every thing will be done, in order that, with regard to the arts and sciences, the result of an expedition so remarkable may be presented in the most complete manner. A volume of this work will soon appear. Other learned undertakings have been encouraged ; and throughout all France the public libraries have been multiplied and augmented.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.

The internal administration of France presents to the care of government an immense variety of objects, which cannot be entirely embraced without the most constant application. In the mean while the several parts of the great whole have been particularly attended to. To appreciate better the wants of the different departments of his empire, his Majesty pays successive visits to them every year. In these useful journeys he deigns to collect around him the functionaries of the different departments of the state. He judges for himself of their capacity, and interrogates them on the abuses, and on their possible amelioration. The merchant, the artisan, and the agriculturist, express liberally their

wishes. The Emperor views by himself the interior of cities, the state of countries, establishments of every description, the manufactories, &c. His genius, which applies to every thing, directs him to discover all defects, and the means of correcting them. His Majesty has travelled, in the course of this year, the departments situated beyond the Alps, those of the south-west of France, and part of the states which lead to Erfurth. It was impossible for him to make a step in Europe without retracing some illustrious action on his memory.—In visiting Italy, he saw the first theatre of his glory. In Piedmont and Germany he has traversed the ever memorable fields of Marengo and Jena. Every where he saw useful institutions and important works which entitled him to the blessings of the people, whose hearts were impressed with indelible gratitude. The departments of ci-devant Piedmont, and of Liguria, confided to the government of a Prince born in Italy, and allied to the Imperial family, appears attached to France by bonds more strict than ever. Bourdeaux, already proud of having contained her Sovereign, looks proud again with a great number of public monuments.—Montauban, forgotten in the territorial division of the empire, must become the principal town of a new department. Bayonne, Toulouse, and Nantes, cannot recollect the residence of his Majesty without the most lively transports ; and Mentz, several times favoured with the presence of the Emperor, constantly displays the same joy. What happy results, gentlemen, must follow from such journeys. In consequence of one of these journeys, Etruria, that ancient country of the arts, has been united to France, and associated under all the advantages of a protective and powerful government, which ought to fix the destiny of this unsettled and flourishing country.

A commission, under the name of junta, is charged to attend to the former administration of Tuscany, and to attend to their future management; so that the country may be prepared to live under the government prepared for it.

The states of Parma and Placentia having become the department of Taro, cease to make an exception to the system of the administration of the state. The cities of Wesel and Flushing are re-united to the empire.

These different acquisitions have the increase of territory less for their object than the advantages of a more powerful frontier, the interest of commerce, added to the possession of a great extension of shore, as well as of number of ports.

PUBLIC WORSHIP.

The insufficiency of the number of the ministers of the altar has attracted the attention of government. Six thousand new succursals have been placed at the charge of the public treasury.—The number is now 30,000. United to 330,051 curates, they will amply provide for the spiritual wants of the faithful of the catholic church. To favour the education of the persons destined to an ecclesiastical life, and to prepare for the pastors of the imperial churches successors who may imitate their zeal, and who equally merit the public confidence, 8000 purses of 400 franks each, and 1600 semi-purses, have been distributed amongst the seminaries of France. Thus the religious establishment is completed. The concordat has established an unalterable place between the throne and the altar. The source of those contests, which were so dangerous when the existence of two distinct powers was supposed, is henceforth extinguished. The authority of the Sovereign is no longer interrupted in its action; the independence of the state and of the church of France, is no longer

menaced by foreign maxims. The concordat, that celebrated act of peace, has fixed for ever the respect and fidelity due towards the religion most generally established, and consecrated, *the tolerance of every other form of worship!*

In this respect the citizens have only to answer to their conscience, that inviolable asylum of human liberty! The Napoleon code has restored to the civil laws the power of regulating and administering to the situation of all the members of society. Under it they contract their most important engagements; they enter into the body social by birth, the form, the sacred obligation of marriage, and are freed from it at the term of their existence. *With regard to these acts, the laws admit nothing beyond the conditions they prescribe, and nothing which belongs to the empire of religious opinions; but the forms which different religions command may be freely performed. Thus the duty towards the law, and the exercise of the rights of conscience, are conciliated.* Such is the situation of France, happily replaced under the mild laws of the gospel, under the doctrines of the church, and union with its visible chief.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

If private morals were sufficient for man in the state of society, the precepts of religion, the lights of reason, example, his interest well understood, and the blessing of his creation, which has formed his good, would render, perhaps, superfluous, those public institutions appointed for placing or maintaining him in the paths of virtue; but collected in society, men have to perform so many duties, they are assailed by so many passions, enveloped in so many errors, they are called upon to employ their intelligence in such various ways, that in a situation so complicated their natural powers, are no longer sufficient. Instruction and education must aid their

weakness, give them a proper direction; and become their guides in the paths of truth. *Truth is one in its essence; but the investigation of it is difficult.* The means of discovering it must also, in order to be efficacious, derive their force from unity; that is to say, they must be regulated by uniform principles.

Instruction is destined to point out to man the good, and to mark that which is bad. It will triumph with so much the more certainty, that its powers are concentrated by the unity of its object and of its means. It is not only the instrument proper for perfecting reason, it is also the guarantee of social institutions; every country in which there shall be only one opinion upon the constitution, the government, and the laws, will be preserved from civil dissensions, or at least from that dangerous character which they are apt to contract. In order to secure such great advantages, the government, which watches over, and acts for the whole society, ought to direct and watch over the public instruction; it ought to make civil education and religious instruction, though separate, advance hand in hand. Destined to lend each other mutual assistance, and to become rivals in success for the advantage of man, their double direction shall be independent. We shall henceforth be no longer witnesses of their clashing interests, nor of their attempts to gain the ascendancy over each other; on the contrary, an alliance will be formed between them, which has hitherto been in vain attempted, and which is to be regarded as the effect of the profound combinations, and that distribution of means established by the constitutions of the university.

Were it necessary to adduce examples of the advantages to be derived from a system of education directed to one object, we might find them in the ancient universities and

the great literary incorporations; but we should see at the same time how many disorders were occasioned by a want of sufficient authority on the part of the Sovereign in the direction of their studies; how often the public peace was endangered and interrupted, and how often also the citizens were misled and diverted from their exclusive duties towards the country, by opinions of a dangerous tendency, and a power exercised without law, and without moderation.

The university shall have all the advantages resulting from unity of design, without partaking of any of the inconveniences of the old institutions. Its care and authority will be extended to the lowest classes of instruction, and will accompany it in all its developements. Its operation will be simple, and the effect certain; because in a single chief, the grand master, the authority will be vested—a magistracy of the first importance, newly created, and from this moment so worthily filled by one of the principal functionaries of the empire. The university will furnish professors in all the departments; it will train them in the bosom of a regular and properly disciplined school, to the difficult art of teaching.—It will open to them an honourable career, and secure to them a maintenance amid the distresses and infirmities of age. In short, the university, free in the exercise of all the proper and laudable means of transmitting and extending the sciences, will feel its dependence on the public authority only in cases where it might be misled, in exercising contrary to the public interest, and the good order of society.

Some cities, however, still wished for the secondary schools, and their wishes have been complied with. Scarcely does there exist a town at this moment which does not possess means of instruction proportioned

to its circumstances. The schools for law justify every day the confidence that has been reposed in them.

Eight new Lyceums have been established, and twelve hundred new scholars have been invited to participate of the advantages of gratuitous education. Wherever the Emperor has directed his steps, those happy asylums of youth have been honoured by his august presence. How much must the scholars have felt the value of so noble an encouragement; what a source of pleasing recollections must it afford them! The institution of funds in every commune secures for ever the prosperity of the Lyceums, destined to be the reward of labour and exertion. They present to the pupils of the secondary schools a powerful motive for emulation, and to the several towns of the empire for the certainty of seeing their children reap the fruits of the sacrifices they have made.

In enumerating the objects which relate to the sciences and arts, I must not omit the theatres, the influence of which, on the minds and morals of the nation, if well directed, may become so advantageous and extensive. In the capital, the suppression of several places of this description, formerly considered necessary, has diminished a pernicious competition, and been the means of carrying to other quarters, formerly destitute of them, the sources of a useful amusement.

More necessary with respect to their object, and more important in their means, the studies relative to medicine, to surgery, and pharmacy, have received new succours. Schools both for the theory and practice have opened in the hospitals in Angers, Caen, Marseilles, Nants, Bourdeaux, Rheims, and Dijon. The officers of health and the midwives will there receive instruction so much the more solid and certain, as both the one and the other

will find it necessary to practise their lessons in the service of the hospitals.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS, &c.

I must now, gentlemen, enter into administrative details, which, though they apply to objects of less magnitude, will not the less excite your attention, since they are very nearly connected with the welfare of society. The administration of the hospital first presents itself. An exact superintendence has been exercised over those asylums of great indigence and old age. The resources have been employed with economy, and, thanks to the administrative commissioners of the hospitals, and the wisdom of government, these resources have accrued from a capital of 3,000,582 livres produced by public donations.

The attention of his Majesty having been long fixed on the services rendered to the indigent and sick by the *sisters of charity*, has manifested his satisfaction in a distinguished manner, by the august protection which he has been pleased to bestow on these congregations, by the re-establishment of their general chapter, under the presidency of Madame Merc, and by considerable concessions which he has made to them.

The establishments for mineral waters which exist in the Pyrenees, have been placed under a new system of administration proper to improve and extend them. The same foresight which embraces all, has placed at the disposal of the minister of the interior a fund raised from each department for succouring the victims of hail storms, of fires, of earthquakes, and of inundations of rivers or ravages of the sea. The town of Spa, several parts of the department of the Po, Flushing, the departments of the Scheldt, the Dyle, and the two Nethes, have more particularly participated in these succours, and the accents of their gratitude have re-echoed to the throne.

Grand and important measures have been taken for the repression of mendicity. Each department shall have in its centre a depot, where the indigent will find an asylum, subsistence, and work: a paternal establishment, where beneficence will temper restraint with mildness, maintain discipline by affection, and encourage labour by awakening sentiments of salutary shame.

These institutions will speedily be carried into effect. As the rewards of its efforts, the government confidently hopes that France, in a few years, will present the solution of the problem, hitherto sought for in vain, the extinction of mendicity in a great state. The indigent who cannot be reclaimed to honest habits, and who shall be found begging out of their departments, shall be confined in the central houses of detention, and treated according to the decree of the 16th. of June last. The prisons also are improved; repairs have been made in several departments, which render them more safe and more salubrious. But the government is far from considering these first ameliorations sufficient; it is aware that the greater part of the prisons require a new creation. This is called for by compassion for the criminal persons detained in them, and by every sentiment of humanity and justice towards the innocent.

PUBLIC WORKS.

Civil Buildings.—Other objects have required additional works. In the bosom of Paris large granaries for supplies of provision are raising on the cite of the arsenal; and persons are occupied in preparing, for the commerce of wines, an immense depot, upon the Quay St. Barnard. The reconstruction of the cupola of the corn-hall is resolved on. Four market-places are transferred into commodious and covered places, to procure a free circulation of air in streets formerly confined. The ef-

forts of the government are not confined to objects of utility and necessity; works for the embellishment of Paris, which will make it the first city in the world, are pursued with activity. The demolition of the houses of the bridge of St. Michael and adjoining streets, have been mostly executed. I will not detain you with the immense and continued construction of the Louvre, nor of the Pillar of the Great Army erected upon La Palace Vendome, nor of the Temple of Glory, nor of the Triumphal Arch, of the Star, and the works of the Carrousal; every one of these works, carried on with the greatest celerity, strike every day your eye, and excite your admiration. The legislative body associate themselves to these noble enterprises; your palace, gentlemen, will soon be one of the ornaments of the capital. More than forty new fountains will soon distribute their wholesome waters; soon the canal of L'Oureq will occupy the interval which separates the bason of La Villette from the old ditches of the Bastile, and supply, on the other side, the whole town with water.

BRIDGES AND CAUSEWAYS.

The Quays of the invalids, Napoleon, and of the Louvre, promise, or possess already, regularity of prospect on the river, facilities of communication, and works to prevent inundation. The stone bridge of Jena is advancing. That which is to replace the wooden bridge of Sevres is undertaken. The restoration and augmentation of the bridge of St. Cloud will soon commence.

In the departments this year was finished a wooden bridge on the Rhine at Kehl, which, constructed with boldness, rose rapidly. The public enjoy the bridge of Tilsit at Lyons, that of Rubion at Montele-mart, and of that at Auberive, between Lyons and Valence. Besides the funds destined for the preservation of the roads, already sensibly

preserved by the use of broad wheels, particular funds and local contributions provide for different improvements.

The roads from Bayonne to Bourdeaux, and a part of that from Paris to Spain, offered some intervals of difficult passage. A sum of 800,000 francs is destined for their repairs. The stupendous roads of Sampson and Mont Cenis have received the best improvements. The pass of Mont Genevre receives a new importance by the decree of his Majesty, who, by ordering the opening of communication between Sezaune and Fenestrolle, between Ceva and Carcare, has formed the most strait road between the south of old France, and the ports of the gulph of Genoa. Within a few months, carriages will be able to pass from Savone to Alexandria. Several parts of this road display a grandeur worthy of the present age.

By the end of next campaign an easy communication will be made between Savone and Genoa, by a road almost without any declivity, managed with so much industry, that it triumphed over obstacles considered insurmountable. New difficulties will be overcome by his Majesty's engineers in the Appenines: his Majesty has given orders that those mountains shall be levelled in different directions. In the departments of la Sarre and Moselle, the road from Paris to Mentz is now making; 1,400,000 francs were appropriated to this service.

In the departments of the Scheldt, Gard, and Briskins, the point of embarkation for Flushing will be joined by a causeway, which will pass over that fertile country, and facilitate the exportation of its abundant produce. The clearance of the ports of Commerce of Marseilles, of Cette, and of Honfleur, has been continued. The foundations of the sluice of Dieppe are advanced. The sluice of Ostend, and o-

ther works, useful as maritime works, and as drains for the country, make great progress. The digging of the bason of Antwerp will soon be finished. Some parts of the quays are executed. The ports of Aigue Mortes will be re-established by the funds voted by the general counsel of the department of Gard. His Majesty himself presided upon the spot at the formation of the plan, which has for its object to facilitate the entrance to the port of Bayonne. A great plan for draining marshes is preparing.

The atmosphere at Rochefort is sensibly purified; the mortality is lessened; the streets of the town are paved; wholesome waters have been supplied; and valuable lands have been preserved from inundation. The elevation of the Loire, the dyke of the Rhone, the Banks of the Rhine, are continual objects of care and expences. A certain number of sluices are now constructing, to guard against the rapid descent on several navigable rivers.

A canal is digging at Troyes, and several works have begun to raise the navigation as high as the sources of the river. Plans are forming for the amelioration of the navigation of the Tarn, of the Bays of Gers, for carrying the canal of l'Adour to the Garrone, for the junction of the Seine to the Meuse by l'Aisne and Le Bar, and for that of the Po to the Gulph of Genoa, by the Bormida. The canal of St. Quintin is expected with impatience by the merchants, to complete the system of communication by water from Nantes and Havre with Antwerp. You will find it going on with activity in your next session.

The canal of the Saone, to the Rhine, which will join Marseilles with Amsterdam, judged worthy to bear the name of Napoleon, is continued upon two points between Dule, Besancon, and between Mulhausen and the Rhine. The canal of

the North, which makes but a single river with the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine, and will revive countries now deprived of communication, is in progress.

By these means France will acquire the advantage of being intersected in all directions by artificial rivers, which will join those nature has given her. Thus countries the most remote will communicate by navigation, and this great system of conveyance by water, which combines with the roads by land, will comprehend all the countries, all the produce, and all the objects of commerce.

The most active circulation of the manufactures will carry life from the centre of France to the extremities of the empire, and, by happy reaction, bring back the principles of animation, abundance, and prosperity.

THE ARTS.

Among the arts of industry which have made progress in the course of this year, we must enumerate the manufactory of tin. In two of our manufactories they have attained a degree of perfection, no ways yielding to that of the English. A premium of encouragement has been given accordingly; and another is also destined to ulterior efforts in the same branch.

The mechanics, in their endeavours of simplifying their looms, and introducing economy in their labours, have often also improved the quality of their stuffs. Those that are used in the weaving of cottons, have for several years, been much multiplied; the spirit of invention has brought them to perfection. There is nothing now but what we can make, and very well. The weaving of the cotton has made as marked a progress as the spinning. These two kinds of industry are already adequate to the consumption of the empire, which is for ever liberated of the grievous taxation it has hitherto been under to the Indian manufacturers, and to their oppressors. The machines best calculated for the manufacture of cloths, are already in wide circulation; they have lately been much encouraged by advances made to different manufacturers in the departments.

The conservatory of arts and handicraft is daily enriching by the requisition of new patterns, and is entitled to commendation for the information which the pupils receive, which frequent its school of drawing and descriptive geometry.—Reforms have been made in the school at Chalons-sur-marne.

The consultation chambers of the manufacturers are hastening to present useful views, which will be taken advantage of. The institution of arbitrators for the purpose of deciding with celerity variances that may arise between the workmen and their employers, render to industry services which have been set forth. Since your last session, gentlemen, several towns have demanded them, and there are already some established at Nîmes, Aix-la-Chapelle, Avignon, Troies, Mulhausen, Sedan, and Thiers.

COMMERCE.

The political events have been unfavourable to commerce. It still was kept alive in the midst of the contentions that have deluged the continent in blood, because those nations that were involved in the war preferred their neutrality—that right deemed even in our times inviolable. But the English legislation, already misled by the ambition of universal monopoly, has overthrown the ancient barrier of the law of nations, and trampled their independence under foot, substituting in the room of them a new maritime code.—The ordinances of his Britannic Majesty have realised these innovations; that of the 11th. of November, 1807, is particularly remarkable; it pronounces by an universal blockade, the interdiction of all our ports, in subjecting the ships of neutral powers, friendly, and even allied to Great Britain, to the visitation of its cruisers, to be conducted to British ports, and there to be taxed by an arbitrary inquisition.

The Emperor, obliged to oppose just reprisals to this strange legislation, gave out the decree of the 23d. of November, ordaining the seizure and confiscation of the ships, which, after having touched in England, should enter the ports of France. From these measures, provoked by the British laws, the almost absolute cessation of the maritime relations, and many privations for the French merchants, manufacturers, and consumers, must have necessarily ensued. We all know with what resigna-

tion these privations were endured; we know that they are already become habitual, that they have awakened the genius of invention, and produced a thousand resources in substitution of the objects which we are in want of; we know, finally, that a great nation, essentially agricultural, can, by possessing in abundance all articles of utility, easily forego those which only form certain luxuries or conveniences of life, particularly when its independence and glory should be put at stake.

These circumstances have favoured one of the greatest scourges of commerce, smuggling. But it has been strongly repressed. The government is preparing new means against this foe to the public revenue, and national industry; the great emoluments it procures excites the most ardent cupidity. Those, who ought not to be honoured with the appellation of merchants, lest we should degrade commerce, are still devoting themselves to criminal peculations: they think that they are only braving the shame of an ordinary transgression, but the public indignation and vengeance will overtake them, and teach them, that under circumstances where the nation employs for its defence in an unexampled war, the interdiction of all commercial relations with the enemy, the violation of these dispositions is an hostile declaration, a true alliance with this same enemy; that consequently every smuggler renounces the benefit of the municipal laws to be subjected solely to those of war, and that he ought to dread the terrible and rapid application of these laws, which authorise the invasion of his fortune and personal castigation.

The government, penetrated with the situation of the French commerce, has strove to mitigate the evils, and to provide for its wants.

Abroad, a treaty with the kingdom of Italy, secures to France all the advantages which are compatible with reciprocal justice. In the interior, various sums, which have been advanced to manufacturers and proprietors of produce which public events had accumulated or cramped in their stores.

The *caisse d'amortissement* has interfered in the outfittings of adventures.

A law has limited the bounds of the interest on money; offices established at Lyons and at Rouen are prolusive to

a grand system of facility in the circulation of the numerary and merchandize.

The exchange and the commercial tribunal of Paris see rising for their accommodation a stately palace, on the scite of the nunnery of St. Thomas.

Conformably to the new code, an organization of the tribunals of commerce of the empire is preparing. The prefects, the courts of appeal, have been consulted on the most eligible scites for these tribunals, as well as on the subject of their number, the judges, and their surrogates. A general project has been submitted to the discussion of the council of state, and to the sanction of his Majesty.

AGRICULTURE.

The prefects, the courts of appeal, and of the members of the general councils of department formed in commission, are also called upon to give their advice on a project of the greatest utility, that of a rural code, so important to the prosperity of agriculture, and so closely interwoven with national prosperity.

In the mean time, one of the principal improvements of which agriculture is capable, is daily effected by the reorganization of our repositories for the breed of horses. Eight new repositories of stallions have been formed this year. Premiums held out to the owners of the best horses brought to the fairs, rewards decreed at the departmental races, are so many additional means of favouring the production of the most eligible species of this animal.

Two new sheep farms have been introduced. Six hundred Merinos, of the best breed, have been ordered from Spain, and they are already arrived in France, notwithstanding the variety of obstacles that have occurred on their passage. They will be divided in two new establishments, as yet in embryo. The multiplication of the flocks increases rapidly, and we may consider the happy revolution introduced in this branch as completed.

May it one day be so also with the culture of cotton. In spite of the contrarieties of a hardy spring, and a tolerable cold autumn, the attempts made still give room to hope for ultimate success. We are justified to augur well also of the attempts made on the subject of the syrups of the grape. The rich culture of tobacco is duly extend-

ing; that which is gathered in the vicinity of St. Malo, equals in quality those of America. France will one day, to judge by appearances, not only supply its own wants with that production, but also export it to her neighbours.

THE PUBLIC TREASURE AND FINANCES.

Regularity, and a judicious administration, prevail in every department of the public treasury. The national accounts are reduced to a system the most scientific and luminous; it differs only from the mode adopted by the most intelligent merchants, in the extent and necessary complication of the transactions of government.

The finances have been gradually brought by the Emperor from a state of dilapidation and confusion, to a state of order and prosperity unknown in the governments the best administered. It is a trophy raised by vigorous exertion, by combinations the most judicious, and by a perseverance which has unravelled the most intricate details, and surmounted incredible difficulties. The nation enjoys the benefits which result from this new sort of conquest. Since France has generously consented to the adoption of indirect taxation, the finances have really been consolidated, and the utmost facility of carrying on the functions of every department of the public service.

The finances in modern times may be considered as the security of states, and the measure of their stability. If they furnish government only with inadequate, precarious, or oppressive resources, its energies become paralyzed, individuals insolvent, and if war, or any other calamity, should visit a nation under these circumstances, it must subscribe to its own dishonour, or be involved in irretrievable ruin.

The finances of a state are not essentially and efficiently good until they become independent of circumstances—until they can be maintained independently of the ruinous expedient of resorting to loans and excessive contributions—until, in fine, they are so connected and identified with national prosperity, that they constitute a direct emanation from it; then only can they be deemed solid, efficient, permanent, and essentially national, and particularly, if they have received an organization sufficiently simple; so that in an extraordinary emergency, all the property, and all the individuals may be

called upon, promptly to furnish their respective quotas in advance.

The endeavours of his Majesty have been incessantly directed to the attainment of this desirable object, and they have been crowned by the most complete success, and the finances are calculated in future to meet with equal effect the exigencies of war and of peace.

In a period of peace, 600 millions will be sufficient to defray the public expences, and will leave a large surplus for national improvements. The receipts which amount at the present moment to 800 millions, will, according to this arrangement, be reduced one fourth.

In time of war, it is not in the contemplation of his Imperial Majesty to resort to the illusory expedients of imposing taxes of a novel description, or to hold out temptation to raise new supplies. The contributions on the recurrence of war will be brought back to the war standard—i. e. 800 millions, and even then raised only by 100 or 150 millions at a time, in case of need; and this will be done by a simple scale, or table of propositions, which will enable every citizen to judge of the share he has in the good or bad fortune of the state.

Observe, Gentlemen, that this simplicity has no affinity or connexion with that so considerably extolled as the result of a single direct contribution; it is, on the contrary, founded on a conviction that taxes ought to be laid on various objects, that our laws of finance include all the taxes which it was expedient to establish, and that all that is just and reasonable has been effected.

It remains only to limit the survey or register, without which the uniform progress of the scale of increase or diminution would be deficient, in proportion, and would continue to affect the proprietors of the funds actually surcharged; the making up of this register, which ought to efface so much inequality, to repair so much involuntary and inevitable injustice, is pursued with so much constancy, that those who disbelieved the practicability of this immense work, no longer doubt of its speedy execution. I must not here omit, Gentlemen, the creation of the court of accounts, to the establishment of which you co-operated in your last session.—We wanted a new institution, powerful in its unity, present to all the deposita-

ries of the public property, by the rapidity of its action embracing all the responsibility of inferior accountants connected with the public income and expenditure. This court ought, by the distribution of its duties, and the number of its members, to be adequate to all the occasions, and responsible for all the labours that may be entrusted to it. The principles on which this establishment rests, the choice of its members, the consideration in which they are held, every thing guarantees the success the government has promised itself, that of a salutary controul over the several accountants.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE WAR

DEPARTMENT.

The same principles of order, and the same views for the acceleration of the service, have influenced the general direction of the commissariat, whose first essays justify the expectation that had been formed. This administration renders the supplies of the army independent of contractors, who have so frequently done injury, at the same time that it secures the advantage of an economy, very sensible to the public funds.

MARINE.

Though during the present campaign the government has limited its maritime operations, still a squadron armed at Toulon, as if by enchantment, and conducted with skill, has been able to defeat, by able manœuvres, the combinations of the enemy, by conveying to Corfu two years supplies of men, artillery, provisions, and ammunition. After having thus rendered useless the expedition with which that barrier of the Adriatic was threatened, the fleet of Admiral Gantheume returned safe through all the difficulties of a boisterous navigation, and all the dangers of continued tempests. The colonies have in like manner been successfully supplied with provisions, by squadrons of frigates and corvettes, which, while they fulfilled that important object, had, like the squadron that went to Corfu, the advantage of making prizes of a great number of the enemy's ships, richly laden. In India, prizes to the value of 15 millions have been the result of the cruizes of our frigates, one of which only surrendered, and that after a glorious contest against a superior force.*

* Our readers will recollect, that the

Our cruisers in all parts of the world, and above all in the seas of India and Guadaloupe, have proved themselves formidable to the enemy. But it is not so much with a view to what it has done, but to what it may do with time, that our marine ought to be considered. Ten ships of the line, constructed in the docks of Antwerp, and fitted for sea many months since, are awaiting their destination. The flotilla of Boulogne, kept up and equipped, is still in readiness to undertake the operations for which it was originally created.—Twelve ships of the line and as many frigates have been launched within the year, and twenty-five more, and as many frigates, on the stocks, attest the activity of our dock yards. Our ports are preserved in perfect order, and the creation of that of Cherbourg is so far advanced, that its bason may be expected to be in a state to contain squadrons before the lapse of two campaigns.

Spezia is about to become a second Toulon. The union of almost all the coasts of the Mediterranean to France secures to our arsenals, and our ships, abundant supplies of provisions, stores and men. Venice, Ancona, Naples, and all the means of Holland and Italy, are in motion.

THE PRESENT WAR.

At the epoch of your last sitting, gentlemen, every thing combined to deliver Europe from its long agitations, but England, the enemy of the world, still repeated the cry of perpetual war, and war continues. What then is the object, what will be the issue? The object of this war is the slavery of the world, by the exclusive possession of the seas. There is no doubt, that by subscribing treaties of bondage, disguised under the holy name of peace, nations may obtain repose; but this shameful repose would be death. In this alternative the choice between submission and resistance could not be long doubtful.

The war which England has provoked, which she continues with so affair here alluded to, is the capture of the Piedmontaise French frigate, in which the superiority of force was in direct opposition to the statement of the French orator.

much pride and obstinacy, is the termination of the ambitious system which she has cherished during two centuries. Mixing in the politics of the continent, she has succeeded in holding Europe in a perpetual agitation, and in exciting against France all the envious and jealous passions. It was her wish to humble or destroy France, by keeping the people of the continent constantly under arms; but thus detaching the maritime powers, she had the art to profit from the divisions she fomented among neighbours, in order to forward her distant conquests.

In this manner has she extended her colonies, and augmented her naval power; and, by the aid of that power, she hopes henceforth to enjoy her usurpation, and to arrogate to herself the exclusive possession of the seas.

But until these latter times, she paid at least some respect to the laws of nations: she seemed to respect the rights of her allies, and even, by some returns towards peace, allowed her enemies to breathe.

This conduct is, however, no longer suitable to the development of a system which she can no farther dissemble. All who do not promote her interests are her enemies. The abandonment of her alliance is a cause of war; neutrality is a revolt; and all the nations that resist her yoke, are made subject to her cruel ravages.

It is impossible to foresee what might have been the consequence of so much audacity, had not fortune, on our part, raised up a man of a superior order, destined to repel the evils with which England threatens the world.

He had always to combat the allies of that power on the continent, and to conquer the rising enemies she succeeded in creating. Always attacked, always threatened, he found it necessary to regulate his policy by that state of things, and felt that

to allay the contest it was necessary to augment our forces, and weaken those of our enemies.

The Emperor, always pacific, but always armed by necessity, was not ambitious of aggrandizing the empire. Prudence always directed his views. It became necessary for him to relieve our ancient frontiers from the too near danger of sudden attacks, and to found their security on limits fortified by nature: finally, it became necessary so to separate France, by alliances, from her rivals, that even the sight of an enemy's standard never could alarm the territory of the empire.

England, defeated in the disputes she so often renewed, profited, however, of them to increase her wealth, by the universal monopoly of commerce.

She had impoverished her allies by wars, in which they fought only for her interests. Abandoned at the moment in which their arms ceased to serve those interests, their fate became the more indifferent to her, as she preserved some commercial relations with them, even while she continued the war with France.

Even France herself left to the English the hope of a shameful subjugation to the want of certain objects, the privation of which they believe our generous population could not support. They thought that if they could not enter our territory of the empire by their arms, they might penetrate its heart by a commerce now become its most dangerous enemy, and the admission of which would have exhausted its most valuable resources.

The genius and the prudence of the Emperor have not overlooked this danger. Involved in the difficulties of the continental war, he ceased not, however, to repel from his states the monopoly of English commerce. He has since completed the measures of an effectual resistance.

No one can now be deceived on this subject; since the English have declared this new kind of war, all the ports of the continent are blockaded, the ocean is interdicted to every neutral ship which will not pay to the British treasury, a tribute which is meant to be imposed on the whole population of the globe.

To this law of slavery other nations have replied by measures of reprisal, and by wishes for the annihilation of such tyranny.

The English nation has separated itself from every other nation. England is fixed in this situation. All her social relations with the continent are suspended. She is smitten by the *excommunication* which she has herself provoked.

The war will henceforth consist in repelling from all points the English commerce, and in employing all the means calculated to promote that end.

France has energetically concurred in the exclusion of the monopoly of commerce; she has resigned herself to privations which long habits must have rendered more painful. Some branches of her agriculture and her industry have suffered, and still suffer, but the prosperity of the great body of the nation is not affected: she is familiarized with that transitory state, the hardships of which she beholds without fear. The allies of France, and the United States, sacrifice, like her, and with a resolution equally generous, their private conveniences. England was on the eve of the moment when her exclusion from the continent was about to be consummated; but she availed herself of the last circumstance to spread the genius of evil over Spain, and to excite in that unhappy country all the rage of furious passions. She has sought for alliances even in the support of the inquisition, and even in the most barbarous prejudices. Unhappy people, to whom do you confide your

destiny? To the 'contemner of all moral obligations—to the enemies of your religion; to those who, violating their promises, have elevated on your territory a monument of their impudence, an affront, the impunity of which for above a century would bear testimony against your courage, if the weakness of your government had not been alone to blame. You ally yourself with the English, who have so often wounded your pride and your independence, who have so long ravished from you by open violence, and even in time of peace, the commerce of your colonies—who, in order to intimate to you their prohibition of your neutrality, caused their decrees to be preceded by the plunder of your treasure, and the massacre of your navigators; who, in fine, have covered Europe with proofs of their contempt for their allies, and for the deceitful promises they had made to them. You have without doubt recovered from your error. You will then groan for the new perfidies that are reserved for you. But how much blood, and what a quantity of wars will flow before this tardy return to your senses. The English hitherto, absent from all great conflicts, try a new fortune on the continent. They ungarrison their island, and leave it almost without defence in the presence of an enterprising and valiant King, who commands a French army, and who has already snatched from them the strong position of the island of Capri. What then will be the fruit of their efforts? Can they hope to be able to exclude the French from Spain and Portugal? Can the success be doubtful? The Emperor himself will command his invincible legions.—What a presage does the heroic army of Portugal offer to us, which, struggling against double its force, has been able to raise trophies of victory on the very land where it fought to such disadvantage, and to dictate the conditions of a glorious

retreat. In preparing for a new struggle against our old enemy, the Emperor has done all that was necessary for the maintenance of peace on the continent. He must reckon upon it without doubt, inasmuch as Austria, the only power which could disturb it, has given the strongest assurances of her disposition, in recalling her ambassador from London, and desisting from all political communication with England.

Still Austria had recently made armaments. But they took place certainly without any hostile intention. Prudence nevertheless dictated energetic measures of precaution. The armies of Germany and Italy are strengthened by levies of the new conscription. The troops of the Confederation of the Rhine are complete, well organized, and disciplined.

One hundred thousand of the grand army leave the Prussian states to occupy the camp at Boulogne, while Denmark henceforth safe from any English invasion, is evacuated by our troops, which are concentrated and *contrasting* themselves. Before the end of January the battalions withdrawn to Spain will be replaced on the Banks of the Elbe and the Rhine.

Those which quelled Italy last year return to their former destination.

Such, Messieurs, is the external situation of France.

In the interior, the greatest order in all parts of the administration, important ameliorations, and a great number of new institutions, have excited the gratitude of the people.

The creation of titles of nobility have environed the throne with a new splendor. This system creates in all hearts a laudable emulation. It perpetuates the recollection of the most illustrious services paid by the most honourable reward.

The clergy have distinguished themselves by their patriotism, and by their attachment to their sovereign and their duties. Respect to

the ministers of the altar, who honour religion by a devotion so pure, and virtues so disinterested!

The magistrates of all classes every where aid, and without their efforts, the views of the Sovereign and the people by their zeal facilitate the operation of their authority; and by the manifestation of the most affecting sentiments, exalt the courage and ardour of the troops.

Soldiers, magistrates, citizens, all have but one object, the service of the state; but one sentiment, that of admiration of the Sovereign; but one desire, that of seeing heaven watch over his days, too just a recompence for a Monarch who has no other thought, no other ambition, than those of the happiness and the glory of the French nation.

The orator descended from the tribune amidst the applauses of the assembly.

The *President*.—Monsieur the minister of the interior, and gentlemen counsellors of state—

You have painted the true greatness of the Prince, in retracing all the good he has done. The annual pictures of his internal administration will one day be the finest monuments of his reign. Unhappy the Sovereign who is great only at the head of his armies; happy the one who knows how to govern as well as to conquer, who occupies himself incessantly with useful works, in order to rest himself from the fatigues of war, and whose provident hand sows in the midst of so many ravages, the fruitful seeds of public felicity. One man has fulfilled these two great destinies. He has subdued powerful states; he has traversed Europe, as a conqueror under triumphal arches, erected to his glory, from the bounds of Italy to the farthest extremities of Poland. It was enough for the first of heroes, but not enough for the first of Kings. In the fields of Marengo and of Jena, that indefatigable genius mediated the happy

ness of nations. All the ideas of public order—all these safe counsels which protect societies and empires, have always accompanied him in his warlike tent. It was he that re-opened the temples of desolated religion, and who saved morality and the laws from a ruin which was almost inevitable. In one word, he has founded more than others had destroyed.—Behold that which recommends his memory to eternity.

In the midst of the most magnificent of our squares, a column worthy of the age of the Antonines or the Trajans, has been elevated in opposition to the voice of the hero, that is above such things. Our exploits will be engraven on the glorious bronzes with which it is to be covered. Victory erect on this triumphal column will point to Italy twice subdued, to Vienna, to Berlin, and Warsaw, opening their gates; our standards floating on the Pyramids, the Po, the Danube, the Rhine, the Spree, the Vistula, stooping beneath our laws.—Frenchmen will stop with pride at the foot of this monument. The day is perhaps not far distant, when we may be able to erect to the pacification of Europe, a monument still more worthy of him. Let all the arts decorate him with the emblems of agriculture and industry; let the images of peace and abundance preside above; there be represented with them, not cities destroyed, but cities rebuilt—not captive rivers, but rivers mixing their streams for the benefit of commerce—not fields of slaughter, but fields fertile—not the war which shatters thrones, but the wisdom which re-establishes them. Let them engrave on it, in fine, as a substitute for all other inscriptions these memorable words:—“*I have felt that in order to be happy it was necessary for me first to be assured of the happiness of France.*”

This triumphal arch of a new description will never be beheld, with-

out emotions of respect and love. It is there that every heart will send forth, with effort, the most exalted eulogy of that great man who has been the author of so much good. We cannot render him our homage in a better mode than by putting up vows, that his talents as a warrior may soon become useless. Secure is he of finding within himself other sources of greatness. Let us not doubt it. Thanks to all that he shall undertake for the happiness of the nation. His renown as a conqueror will henceforth be but the most feeble part of his glory.

The assembly renewed its applauses.

The legislative bodies gave a formal deed of acknowledgement to the orators of the *Exposé*, which they had presented in the name of his Majesty, which they ordered to be entered on the journals, and also to be printed and distributed to each of the members.

SPAIN.

PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE SUPREME JUNTA OF SPAIN, TO THE SPANISH NATION.

Spaniards!

The supreme junta of government, the depositary of the supreme authority, has devoted the first moments which succeeded its formation, to the urgent measures which its institution, and the circumstances of the time, prescribe. But from the first instant of its installation, it has believed that one of its obligations is to address itself to you, with the dignity which becomes a great and generous nation, in order to inform you of your situation, and establish in a frank and noble manner those relations of reciprocal confidence which are the bases of every just and prudent administration. Without these, neither the

government can fulfil the high duty imposed upon it, nor the governed attain the objects desired.

A tyranny of 20 years, exercised by the unfittest hands ever known, had placed our country on the brink of perdition. The oppressor of Europe saw that the time was arrived for carrying into execution the plot he had long been forming, and adding the richest and most brilliant wreath to the bloody crown. Every thing appeared to flatter his hopes. The nation was alienated from its government by hatred or contempt—the royal family was divided—the beloved heir to the crown accused, calumniated, and, if possible, degraded; the public force dispersed and disorganized; the resources exhausted; the French troops were introduced into the kingdom, and had already seized the strong places of the frontier; finally, 60,000 men were ready to enter the capital, in order from thence to give law to the kingdom.

It was at this critical moment that, suddenly awaking from the slumber in which you lay, you precipitated the favourite from the height of power he had usurped, and placed on the throne the prince you idolized. An act of fraud the most abominable which the records of human perversity bear, deprived you of your most innocent King; and the aggression of Bonaparte and tyranny of the French were announced to Spain by the cannonade of the 2d of May on Madrid, and by the blood and slaughter of its innocent and brave inhabitants—a horrible but fit presage of the fate Napoleon was preparing for you.

From that memorable day, when the supreme authority was sold to the enemy which our deceived monarch had left at the head of the government—when the other authorities were oppressed, and the seat of the empire occupied by the foe, the French believed that no further

resistance would be made, and spread themselves from East to South, to extend their dominion, and enjoy the fruits of their perfidy. Fools! they were not aware that they were insulting and outraging a people most jealous of their honour, and that they rushed on inevitable perdition.

The irritated provinces of Spain rose against the oppressors suddenly, but with solemnity, and swore to perish rather than sustain so ignominious a tyranny. Europe, in astonishment, was informed at the same instant of the offence and the chastisement; and a nation which but a short time before had scarcely the semblance of power, became at once the object of the interest and admiration of the universe.

Our situation was unexampled in our history, unforeseen by our laws, and, as it were, opposed to our habits. It was necessary to give a direction to the public force, corresponding with the will and the sacrifices of the people; and this necessity created the juntas in the provinces, which collected in themselves the whole authority of the nation, in order to expel the public enemy and maintain the peace of the interior. What their energy has been—how they have discharged the trust imposed upon them by the people—and what gratitude the nation owes them, let the fields declare which have been covered with the bodies of Frenchmen, the military spoils of the invader, which serve to deck our temples as trophies; the lives and independence of the greater part of the national magistrates which have been preserved, and the applauses of so many thousands of individuals who owe to them their liberty and their vengeance.

But as soon as the capital was delivered from the enemy, and the communication between the provinces was re-established, it was necessary to unite the public authority

into one centre, which had been divided into as many parts as there were provincial juntas, whence the strength and activity of the nation could be called into exercise. This was the decision of the public voice, and this was the measure adopted by the provinces. Their respective juntas nominated deputies, who concurred in forming the centre of authority; and in less time than had been in French Machiavelism to destroy our ancient government, a new and much more formidable administration was seen in the central junta which is now addressing you.

The concurrence in the national will, which wrought this good—the universal freedom from selfish motives which induced the provinces to entrust their authority and power to other hands; this has been, Spaniards, your greatest action, this your best victory. The present age which beholds you, and posterity, to whom you will serve for study and admiration, will find in this act the most convincing proof of your virtue and prudence. The enemies of Spain had already designated the moment of your ruin; they already saw the divisions which would be formed by the convulsions of civil discord—they already triumphed, believing the provinces would be disunited by ambition, and that some pretending to superiority over the rest, would apply to them for protection and aid: But, lo! a central power has been formed before their eyes, and peacefully acknowledged by all; the ear of the state runs upon one axle-tree, and vehemently and powerfully forces its way, crushing all the pretensions and all the hopes of their iniquity.

The junta being established, its attention was at once turned to the discharge of its duties. To drive the enemy beyond the Pyrenees, and compel him to deliver up the august person of our august King; and those

of his brother and uncle, recognizing at the same time our liberty and independence; was the first duty which the junta conceived the nation had imposed upon it. Much of this it found already effected, at the period of its establishment; the public enthusiasm was kindled; armies were formed, composed almost wholly of fresh troops; important victories were gained; the enemy was driven to the frontiers; the opinion in favour of his military skill destroyed, and the laurels which adorned those conquerors of Europe, transferred to the brows of our warriors.

This had already been done, and was what might be expected from the impulse of the first moment; but having effected all that could be produced by impetuosity and valour, it is necessary to avail ourselves of the means prescribed by prudence and constancy; for what we have yet to attain, Spaniards, we must repeat it again and again, is an arduous undertaking, and ought to call into exercise all your enthusiasm and all your virtue.

You will be convinced of this when you turn your attention to the internal and external situation of public affairs, at the time when the junta began to exercise its functions. Our armies full of ardour, and eager to march to victory, but naked and unprovided with every thing: beyond, the remains of the French armies awaiting reinforcements on the banks of the Ebro, ravaging Upper Castile, the Rioja, and the provinces of Biscay; occupying Pampeluna and Barcelona with their fortresses; masters of the castle of St. Feidenand, ruling over almost the whole of Navarre and Catalonia; the despot of France, restless on his throne, deceiving the slaves who obey him by the grossest impostures, and striving to lull to inactivity all the other states, in order to discharge on us alone the enormous

weight of his military force; the powers of the continent, in fine, oppressed or insulted by France, expecting with anxiety the issue of this first struggle, desiring to declare against the common enemy of all, but proceeding with the timid circumspection which their past misfortunes counsel.

It is evident that the sole asylum which remains for the preservation of their independence, is a general confederacy—a confederacy which will assuredly take place at last, for interest persuades and necessity prescribes it. Which is the state which can hold relations of amity with Bonaparte? Who can give credit to his words and promises, or trust to his loyalty and good faith? The fate of Spain will serve as a lesson and a warning, her resolution is an example, her victories as an incentive; and the reprobate who has trampled under foot the principles of equity, and the sanctity of good faith, is placed himself in the hard necessity of having more power than all of them, or of being buried under the mountains raised by his frenzy.

The security and certainty of this league, so necessary and just, are to be determined by our previous exertions, and the prudence of our conduct. When we shall have raised a mass of military force as terrible for its quantity as for its preparation—when we shall hold in our hands all the means of profiting by success, or remedying a reverse—when the sound judgment and integrity which distinguish the Spanish people, among all others, will manifest themselves in the regulation of all our proceedings and pretensions: then all Europe, secure of triumphing, will unite itself to us, and avenge at once its injuries and ours. Then Spain will enjoy the glory of having saved the powers of the continent, and reposing in the moderation and rectitude of her desires,

and in the strength of her situation, she will be, and she will be recognized as the loyal confederate of all, but neither the slave nor the tyrant of any.

Let us then now employ all the means we possess, as if we had to sustain alone the whole force of France. For this purpose, the junta has believed that it is necessary to maintain under arms 550,000 effective men; the 50,000 to be cavalry; an enormous mass of strength, and disproportionate it may be confessed to our present situation and our ancient wants, but by no means unsuited to the present occasion. The three armies which are to occupy the frontier, and the bodies of reserve which are to support their operations, and supply their wants, will easily absorb the designated number. And what are they or the sacrifices which necessity requires, compared with the enterprize we have proposed to ourselves, and the enthusiasm which animates us? Spaniards, the power of our adversary is colossal, his ambition is still greater than his power, and his existence is incompatible with our liberty. Judge of his exertions by the barbarity of his character, and the extremity of his danger; but these are the exertions of a tyrant, and will be confounded, opposed to the valour of a great and free people, who have resolved upon no other termination to their conflict than to conquer or die.

Considering the magnitude and importance of this first object, the junta turned its attention to the vast means necessary to attain it. The neglect of the last government, if that may be called government which was one continued and monstrous dilapidation, had exhausted all the sources of prosperity, had obstructed the canals which brought life and food to all the members of the state, dissipating the treasures, disorganizing the public force, and

consuming the resources.

The junta has already announced to the public, the great savings which result from the suppression of the expences of the royal household, the enormous sums which had been devoured by the greedy and insatiable avarice of the favourite, the product of his great possessions, and that of the estates of those unworthy Spaniards who fled with the tyrant. We may add to these the profit which will accrue to the state from a free navigation and commerce, and from the communication already opened with America. Principally we rely on a well-arranged administration of the public revenue, and regularly distributed contributions, to the reform and management of which the junta will directly apply its attention. We may add to these means, the succours which are now given with so generous a hand, and will be hereafter granted us by the English nation. But it is incumbent on us that these succours which have been so opportunely given, and so gratefully received, and the effects of which have been so beneficial, should be hereafter recognised and recompensed with the reciprocity and decorum which become a great and powerful nation. The Spanish monarchy ought not, in this respect, to be placed in a state of inequality and dependence upon its allies.

The produce of these means will certainly be great, but at the same time it will be slow, and for that reason insufficient for the urgent necessities of the state. Are they sufficient to furnish for a time the ordinary supplies, discharge the immense debt which will be incurred, and maintain the formidable army which is to be kept on foot? But the junta will, in case of the manifold events and force of circumstances should exhaust the treasury, have recourse at once to the nation with the confidence which its ardent patriotism ought to inspire, and the

necessity and notoriety of the sacrifice. For evils so extraordinary as the present, remedies as extraordinary must be applied; and as the government judges it to be one of its obligations to give an exact account to the nation of the application of the resources and funds which it is about to administer, it has no fear that its demands will be disregarded through distrust, or be detested as arbitrary.

Thus much with respect to the defence of the kingdom, and the means of effecting it, the most urgent concerns and the first in the order of time which the junta has under its care. But, Spaniards, there are others as necessary and primary as that, without attending to which the junta would fulfil but half its duties, and which is the great reward of your enthusiasm and sacrifices. Political independence is nothing without felicity and interior security. Turn your eyes to the time when oppressed and degraded, ignorant of your own strength, and finding no asylum against your evils, either in the institutions or in the laws, you held foreign dominion less odious than the wasting tyranny which internally consumed you. The dominion of a will always capricious, and for the greater part unjust, has, for your calamity lasted long enough in Spain: your patience, your love of order, and your generous loyalty, have been long enough abused; it is time that the voice of the law only should begin to command, founded on general utility. This was the desire of our good and unfortunate Monarch; this was the path he pointed out, even during an unjust captivity to which a perfidious traitor reduced him. Country, Spaniards! ought not to be a vague and a vain name to you: it ought to import in your ears, and in your heart the sanctuary of the laws and customs, the theatre for talents, and the reward of virtue.

Yes, Spaniards, the great day is drawing near, when, according to the uniform desires of our beloved King and of his loyal people, the monarchy will be established on solid and durable bases. You will then possess fundamental laws, which will be beneficial, friends of order, restrictive of arbitrary power; and these being re-established, and your genuine rights being assured, you will rejoice to behold a monument worthy of you, and of the Monarch who is to watch over the preservation of it, blessing, amid so many calamities, the share which the people will have had in its erection. The junta, which holds in its hand the supreme direction of the national forces, in order, by all means, to assure its defence, felicity, and glory; the junta, which has already publicly acknowledged the great influence which a nation ought to have in the government, which alone, and without any assistance, has done every thing in the name of the King and for his cause; the junta solemnly promise to you, that you shall possess that country which you have invoked with so much enthusiasm, and defended, or rather conquered, with so much valour.

Until the military operations, slow at first, in order better to secure a happy result, shall furnish the opportunity and repose necessary for the grand and solemn re-union which it announces to you, the government will take care privately to discuss and to examine the projects of reform, and the institutions which ought to be presented for the national sanction. Without instruction, knowledge, or date, the majestic work of legislation is the result of a blind and unstable will, and as such, exposed to error, inconsistency, and contempt. Wise Spaniards! you who devoted to the investigation of the social principles, unite the love of humanity to the love of country, and instruction with zeal: this con-

cern is yours, the happy execution of which is so necessary. The junta, instead of rejecting your council, desires and seeks it. The knowledge and illustration of our ancient constitutional law; changes, which, in their re-establishment, they ought to undergo from the difference of circumstances; reforms which are to be made in the civil, criminal, and commercial codes; projects to meliorate public education, which, among us, is so greatly in decline; a system of regulated economy for the better distribution and collection of the national revenue; all these claim your attention, and form a vast series of problems and objects of meditation, in which you may manifest your talents and your acquirements. The junta will form from among your different committees, each entrusted with a particular department, to whom are to be freely addressed all writings on matters of government and administration, in which may be discussed the different objects which claim the general attention; so that each contributing by his exertions to give a just and enlightened direction to the public opinion, they may enable the nation to establish solidity, and tranquillity its internal felicity.

The Spanish revolution will thus be distinguished by characteristic features, altogether the reverse of those which were seen in the French revolution. That began in the wretched internal intrigues of courtiers; ours, in the necessity of repelling an unjust and powerful aggressor: in that, there were as many opinions concerning the forms of government, as there were factions, or rather persons: in ours, there is but one opinion, one general desire; an hereditary monarchy, and Ferdinand VII. on the throne. The French shedding torrents of blood during their anarchy, proclaimed no one principle which they did not afterwards reject; they made no

law which they did not violate, and at last they submitted to a barbarous despotism. The Spaniards, who, on account of the perfidious invasion of the French, found themselves without a government, and without communication with each other, have not shewn themselves terrible or bloody, except towards their enemies, and well know how to ameliorate their institutions, and consolidate their liberty, without overthrowing the state.

O Spaniards! How beautiful a perspective of glory and felicity we behold before us, if we know how to profit by the singular epoch; if we fulfil the high purposes which Providence points out to us! Instead of being objects of compassion and contempt, as we have hitherto been, we are about to become the envy and admiration of the world. The delicious climate we enjoy, the fertile soil whence we draw our subsistence, our geographical position, the riches which nature has lavished upon us, and the noble and generous character with which she has endowed us, will not be wasted gifts in the hands of a vile and enslaved people.

Already the Spanish name is pronounced with respect in Europe, whose nations, which lie trampled upon by the French, hang all their hopes upon our fortune; even the very slaves of the tyrant, groaning under his intolerable yoke, form vows for us. Let us be constant, and we shall gather the fruit which victory will produce: the laws of religion satisfied; our monarch either restored to the throne, or avenged; the fundamental laws of the monarchy restored and consecrated, in a manner solemn, and consonant with civil liberty; the fountains of public prosperity pouring benefits spontaneously, and without impediment; our relations with our colonies drawn more closely and become more fraternal, and consequently more useful; in fine, activity, in-

dustry, talents and virtues stimulated and rewarded: to such a degree of splendour and fortune we shall raise our country, if we ourselves correspond with the magnificent circumstances which surround us.

These are the views, and this is the plan which the junta proposed to itself from the moment of its installation, in order to fulfil the two primary and essential objects of its institution. Its members charged with an authority so great, and making themselves responsible by entertaining hopes so flattering, do not fail to see the difficulties they have to conquer, in order to realize them, the enormity of the weight which hangs over them, nor the dangers to which they are exposed; but they will think the fatigues, and the devotion of their persons to the service of the country well paid, if they succeed in inspiring Spaniards with that confidence, without which the public good cannot be secured, and which the junta dares to affirm it merits, from the rectitude of its principles and the purity of its intentions.

Aranjuez, Oct. 26, 1808.

(Decreed by the same Supreme Junta, the 10th Nov.)

MARTIN DE GARAI,
Member and Sec.-Gen.

MANIFESTO OF THE SUPREME JUNTA.

The Supreme Central Junta of the kingdom has caused to be transmitted to all the councils the following royal decree, of date the 14th instant.

From the period that Spain, in the year 1793, relinquished those arms which she had taken up against the revolutionary party which governed France, and renewed her friendly relations with that power, by the treaty of alliance of 1796, she has as religiously observed the stipulations of that alliance, as she has patiently suffered the evils without number which have followed from it. During all the successive mutations of the French government, which have changed its name, without altering the essence of its abi-

bition and destructive system, as well under the directory, as during the consulship and the empire, Spain respected and acknowledged the rights of an independent nation, and her alliances facilitated the glories of France, always in the hope of subduing, by a conduct so generous, the measureless ambition of the French cabinet; or, that the moment so anxiously desired by the human race would arrive, when a government less turbulent would be established in that country. No posterior event was able to change the purpose of Spain;—neither the usurpation of the Emperor of the French in Europe, nor the desertion of the interests of Spain by France, in her conventions with other powers, nor the affronts suffered in the persons of princes allied or related to the royal family; nor, finally, the preponderance and want of just reciprocity with which the compliances of the Spanish government were met.—It would be a work of too much prolixity to enumerate the injuries of which Spain might complain. Within a few years she saw dethroned the sovereign of the Two Sicilies, the brother of her King; she saw her cause abandoned at Amiens, the cabinet of Paris, consenting that she should lose the island of Trinidad, though she had been promised the contrary, in return for her faithful co-operation in a ruinous war, undertaken solely for the cause of France; she saw the independence of Portugal many times threatened, to afford an opportunity to exact the most grievous subsidies, involving Spain also in these differences, which at a great expence, was obliged to take a direction contrary to the feelings of her sovereign, in order to ward off the total ruin of that kingdom; she saw the cession of the colony of Louisiana imperiously demanded by the French government, with the intention, as afterwards appeared, of transferring it, for money, to a third power, without the knowledge of Spain. As the only recompence for these and other costly sacrifices, and for the states of Parma, of which an infant of Spain was despoiled, she saw the precarious possession of Tuscany assigned to the Prince of Parma, with the design to deprive him of that also almost immediately, under the pretext of a new compensation in the north of Portugal, which France neither could nor intended to carry into effect; and, finally, at a very recent

period, during which an odious favourite governed the monarchy, she saw the insensate ambition of that person flattered by illusions and apparent promises, that he should be enabled to dismember and rule the kingdom.

On the other hand, the imposts upon Spanish commerce in the ports of France were augmented above measure; indemnifications which were due to the crown and to the subjects of the King constantly denied, and all remonstrances absolutely disregarded. During all this Spain had placed her fleets, her troops, at the disposal of France; had opened her treasures, had consented to pay subsidies to prevent a rupture with England, which, after all, she was not able to avoid; and amidst the ridiculous ostentation with which the French government has proclaimed it to be one of its first objects to aggrandize and recompense its allies, Spain, the most ancient and most faithful of these allies, has been robbed, dishonoured, impoverished, and, in short, treated worse than a neutral of bad faith.

So many outrages, so many losses, would long ago have opened the eyes of the government, if they had not been unfortunately in the hands of the infamous author of the treaty of 1796, of Manuel Godoy. The black policy, the devastating and insatiable ambition of the Emperor Napoleon, beheld with pleasure the debasement of Spain, which was the work of his own hands, and of the absurd management of the depotic favourite. He threw away the mask which scarcely covered his designs, and audaciously resolved upon the destruction of the reigning family, and the desolation of a generous nation, which had sacrificed itself for France. He resolved within himself that Spain should not be independent, and he put his hands to the work without fully knowing the road which should lead him to his proposed object. Here he began the scene of iniquity, the intrigues, the atrocious perfidies which were necessary to be put in practice, in order to trample under foot the ties of peace and alliance, the respect due to sovereigns, and to a nation, and (the consideration of gratitude, so often professed. He sedulously fomented that dissention which the traitorous practices of the favourite had found means to introduce within the bosom of the royal family; he watched his opportunities; contrary to the most

solemn conventions, he introduced into the peninsula numerous armies, under the pretext of marching them to the coasts opposite to Africa, in order to form plans against another enemy; with the most marked bad faith, his troops took possession of the frontier fortresses, under the pretence of precautions, and measures of policy purely military; and while he treated at Paris with a plenipotentiary, who was the confident of the favourite, about the dismemberment of Spain, the troops of the Usurper were advancing towards the capital, in order to intimidate its deluded sovereigns, and force them to follow the example of the house of Braganza. The unexpected revolution at Aranjuez, on the 17th and 19th of March, rendered abortive designs so wicked; and when the spontaneous abdication of Signor Don Charles IV. raised his eldest son, the hereditary prince, beloved by his people for his virtues and misfortunes, to the throne of his ancestors, the atrocious enemy of Spanish independence changed his plan, and meditated placing the nation in the most painful state of orphanism, for the purpose of making it from that moment the prey of his ambition. With the aid of his worthy satellites, and by arts of the lowest intrigue, he drew the young adored King of Spain as far as Bayonne, under the pretence of embracing him as a friend, and acknowledging him as sovereign; to that city also he drew the parents, the brothers, the relatives of the imprisoned king, and involving them all in the proscription, as unheard of as detestable, he forced them to certain illegal and pretended renunciations, and absurdly believed himself the possessor of the throne, which he profaned with his own name, and that of his brother Joseph Napoleon. His troops, composed of assassins, and his generals, converted into highway robbers, cover unfortunate Spain with blood and desolation, and, with an impudence of which they alone are capable, affect to treat patriotism as insubordination, national honour as stupidity and barbarism, and the love of a legitimate sovereign as rebellion and perjury. They sack our towns, they violate our virgins, they profane our temples and sacred images; they respect not the very God whom they say they adore, and whom they imperiously throw under their sacrilegious feet: and they speak

to the Spanish people of felicity and regeneration, while they lay waste their fields, rob their temples, and plunder their houses; while they would destroy their constitution, their laws and privileges, and propose to carry off the Spanish youth in chains, in order to fill up their armies, while they deflower their sisters, their wives and their mistresses. Patriotism and national valour have confounded the pride of the Usurper, have diminished his armies, and with a front elevated and crowned with laurels, they pursue their implacable enemies. All the provinces have armed themselves in defence of so just a cause; several of them, even before the installation of the central government, have formally declared war against France; all have waged war, and are doing so with the greatest ardour, and there is not one Spaniard who has not sworn in his heart to conquer or die for his country, his king, and his religion.—The supreme central and governing junta of the kingdoms of Spain and of the Indies, who exercise the sovereign authority in the name of their sovereign and lord Don Ferdinand VII. and who has been acknowledged by the whole nation, declare, that, from the 20th day of the month of April of the present year, the day on which the sovereignty of King Ferdinand VIII. his liberty and independence, and the august dignity of the whole nation were infamously insulted and trampled upon at Bayonne, all the ties which connected Spain with the French Government are broken off, as also all treaties of whatever kind, ancient or modern which existed with France; in consequence, pronouncing, from that epoch, all captures and other acts authorized by the rights of nations in a state of war, to be valid and lawful, as well as all and every kind of hostilities carried on by every one of the provinces, or by individuals, in the struggle which they separately maintained, till the happy moment of national union, they DECLARE, in the most solemn manner, that the Spanish nation has been at war with France from the above-mentioned period of the 20th of April; and that this war, the most just that any nation ever maintained, shall continue by sea and land, against the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and against his estates and subjects, so long as they submit to the oppression which renders them subservient to the

designs of the universal oppressor; since Spain, which has seen itself forced to run to arms in defence of the honour of its beloved King, and of the national independence, cannot make that distinction which it would wish, between the aggressive government of the Emperor Napoleon and the French nation, till the period when the latter shall open their eyes, and recover their ancient dignity. At the same time the supreme central junta declare, that those powers which groan under the heavy yoke of the Emperor of the French, may preserve with Spain those relations which are not opposed to her just interests, and which are conformable to the principles of natural equity, provided they commit no hostilities against Spain, either directly or indirectly.

They finally declare, that they have solemnly, by an act the most solemn, neither to listen to nor admit of any proposals for peace, without the restoration of his throne of their beloved Monarch, Begnor Don Fernando VII. and without a stipulation, as the first condition, for the absolute integrity of Spain and her American possessions, without the dismemberment of the smallest village; and they order, in consequence, that there be communicated to all parts of the dominions of Spain; within and without the peninsula, the precautions and orders which may conduce to her defence, and to that of all Spanish subjects; and to the prejudice of the enemy. To be communicated for the information of the council, in order to its fulfilment in its department;

(Signed) FLORIDA BLANCA.

Aranjuez, Nov. 14.

To the President of the Council,

MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME JUNTA.

To his Excellency the Duke, President of the Royal Council.

May it please your Excellency.

The King our master, Don Ferdinand VII. and in his royal name the supreme central junta governing the kingdom, having considered that the exile of the monarchs not only caused to those our unhappy brethren the disagreeable necessity of having to live expatriated at a distance from their friends and relations, and abandoned to the mercy of strangers, but that, in addition, also to the difficulty of furnishing them with the pensions assigned them by his Majesty, the funds which they received

were extracted from the exchequer, specie of the kingdom to increase that of foreign countries, and even of our enemies, has ordered that their banishment be annulled, and that they be permitted to return to whatever provinces of Spain they may wish, the same pension being furnished them which they enjoyed during their exile. I commend the royal order to your excellency for the information and approbation of the council.

May God preserve your excellency many years.

MARTIN DE GARAY.

Palace of Aranjuez, Nov. 15.

To his Excellency the Secretary of State and of the War Department.

May it please your Excellency.

The King our master, Ferdinand VII. and in his royal name, the supreme junta of the government of the kingdom, considering that nothing contributed so much to excite valour and emulation among soldiers as the distribution, on proper occasions, of rewards to those who have distinguished themselves in any brilliant or remarkable action, have resolved, that to all those who have been mentioned in the last dispatch of General Don Joaquin Blake, there be given double pay for two days; and that your excellency communicate the necessary orders for carrying this resolution into effect.

May God preserve your excellency many years.

MARTIN DE GARAY.

Palace of Aranjuez, Nov. 15.

PROCLAMATION.

Spaniards,

The central junta of government of the kingdom, after having taken all measures in its power to defeat the enemy, who, continuing his attacks, has advanced into the neighbourhood of Samozierra, addresses you for the purpose of putting you upon your guard against the intrigues with which the perfidious agents of Napoleon endeavour to alarm and deceive you, by increasing the numbers of the enemy's troops, who hardly amount to 8000 men, according to the reports made by the generals whom the junta has charged with the defence of the important post of Guadarama.

Inhabitants of Madrid!—The country stands in need of your exertions; your

circumspection and patriotism are the bulwarks on which it chiefly rests its defence. The junta trusts that you will know how to support the dispositions of your captain-general and the tribunal of vigilance, in order to discover and deliver to the inexorable arm of the law, all traitors, who will now exert themselves more than ever to introduce disorder, and paralyze the activity with which you must be present at all points, which will be pointed out to you, bearing in mind the 2d. day of May; when, deprived of all assistance, and even of the liberty to defend yourselves, you struck the whole nation with astonishment by your loyalty and valour.

The central junta feel at a loss to express to you the confidence which the enthusiasm with which the soldiers of the nation prepare themselves to beat the enemies of our beloved sovereign Ferdinand VII. of our country, and our religion. Our allies, the English, convinced of the justice of the cause we defend, and animated by the same enthusiasm, are invited and ready to march from the Escorial, where they are at present, to reinforce the position chosen by our wise general, and support the operations of our van, which must already have commenced to engage the slaves of the tyrant who oppresses all nations.

Spaniards!—Cowardice, inspired by treason, will no doubt induce the evil disposed to exaggerate the dangers, in order to frustrate the measures pursued by the junta, which places implicit confidence in your unexampled fidelity and obedience.

By order of the supreme junta.

MARTIN DE GARAY.

Palace of Aranjuez, Nov. 21.

HOLLAND.

Amsterdam, Nov. 22. The session of the legislative body was opened on Friday last, with the usual solemnities; and his Majesty being seated on his throne, Mr. Rengeis, President *ad interim*, addressed his Majesty as follows:—

“SIRE—Admitted by your Majesty to this solemn audience we, your faithful subjects, constituting

the legislative body, come to perform one of the most pleasant of our duties, in renewing to your Majesty the homage of our profound respect, attachment and inviolable devotion.

“We were in expectation that the calamitous war which has lasted so long, would have been brought to a conclusion by the return of our annual session; but our wishes are not yet accomplished, and the numberless sacrifices which the welfare of the state demands, augmented by the total stagnation of commerce, still continue to press with all their weight upon every class of society. Your Majesty’s heart, we are aware, suffers more from this consideration than our own. We receive incessant proofs of the affection which your Majesty bears towards your people, and the unwearied efforts which you make, to allay at least the wounds of the state, if you cannot completely heal them.

“We accordingly again approach your throne, full of confidence in your Majesty’s paternal solicitude, in order that in concert with our King, animated with the same spirit, and actuated by the same sentiments, we may lighten the burthens of the state, and co-operate for its happiness and prosperity, which are the constant objects of all your Majesty’s thoughts and measures, as they are of the ardent and perpetual gratitude of your Majesty’s people; and more especially of the legislative body, which is better enabled to appreciate your cares and paternal anxiety, by their labours, and the repeated proofs of the confidence and esteem of your Majesty, who call them near your person at this interesting period of the year, when the most important concerns of the state are to be discussed with a precision and frankness worthy of the character of your Majesty, and that of your brave and faithful people.”

[The King replied to the above address in a very long speech, in which he expatiated on the progress made in carrying into effect the various measures in train for promoting the internal prosperity of the kingdom. He regrets that the events of the last year, and the necessity of performing his engagements to France, had rendered a military establishment requisite to the number of 50,000 men, which of course occasioned a considerable addition to the public expenditure beyond the estimate of July, 1806. This proceeding, however, he vindicates, by stating that it was indispensable to the restoration of the peace of the continent, and that under the existing circumstances, "the choice was not difficult, or rather that there was no choice." He descants on the advantages which, in the event of a maritime peace, Holland must derive from the new department which she has acquired. He admits that there is a deficiency of 70 millions in the produce of the taxes of the two last years, compared with the expenditure. To reduce this deficit, he looks to the operation of a sinking fund; the adoption of a definitive budget on the 1st of January, 1810, on an economical system, whether peace be then concluded or not; and a small loan, to be the last until the sinking fund begins to operate. Upon this topic he further says—"We have a whole year before us to prepare this permanent budget, by the year 1810. We rely on the friendship of France, and our brother, the Emperor, to enable us to persist in the plan of order and economy, which, under the blessing of God, shall, on the return of peace, and the restoration of our commerce, completely re-establish our prosperity. Our political system can be no other than that of France. It is her true interest to favour and protect, in every possible manner, even

by some sacrifices, the independence, the prosperity, and commerce of a continental state, which, from its situation and government, is forever united with that empire, and which can be more useful to her in proportion as it becomes more happy and prosperous." He then enters into a minute statement of the proposed financial arrangements, and concludes with once more turning the hopes of his people to the speedy restoration of a general peace, and all its concomitant blessings. He assures them, that while he lives, their national laws, customs, and manners, shall be carefully respected and maintained; and that whatever difficulties may arise, he will never consent to a national bankruptcy nor a conscription.]

In the same sitting, the minister of the interior presented a detailed report on the state of the country, coinciding, in various passages, with the substance of the King's speech.]

AMERICA.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Letter from the Hon. Joseph Alston, Speaker of the house of representatives of the state, to the President of the United States, covering the resolutions of the legislature of the 29th of June last, approbatory of the conduct of the administration.

Oaks, near Georgetown, July 6.

SIR,

The legislature of South Carolina, deeply impressed with the situation in which the United States have been placed, by the unbounded and arrogant pretensions of the belligerent powers of Europe; and aware of the force derived, in a government like ours, from public opinion, have thought it right, at such a crisis to make known to the world their unalterable determination to support the rights and honour of our country, and to declare their entire

approbation of the prudent and dignified course pursued by its administration.—To this manifestation of their own feelings, they have been yet further, induced by the expression, in other parts of the union, of contrary sentiments, at a moment, when it is conceived, that a sacrifice of the conflicting opinions of individuals, and the animosities of party, were demanded alike by sound policy and patriotism.

The resolutions I have now the honour to transmit you, obtained, you will perceive, the unanimous concurrence of both branches of our legislature; a conclusion from hence, however, either that there existed amongst us a perfect unanimity of political sentiment, or that the present restrictions upon our commerce were but little felt by us, would be equally erroneous. South-Carolina, like her sister states, is, to a certain extent, characterised by parties. The legislature, which adopted these resolutions, consisted, to use the distinguishing appellations of the day, of federalists and republicans. But, Sir, however we may differ as to questions of ordinary policy, we should deprecate as disgraceful to us the idea of division, where the national honour and interests were concerned. Of the effects attendant, in all countries, upon a sudden suspension of trade, many circumstances combined to render this state far from insensible: But, if the conveniences or privations resulting to our citizens from the embargo be great, their patriotism and public spirit are still greater; and I am persuaded, that those who compose our legislature have been the faithful organs of their constituents, when they declare their determination, at every hazard, “to support the general government in all measures calculated to maintain the rights and support the independence of the United States.” I have the honour to

be, Sir, very respectfully yours, &c.

JOSEPH ALSTON.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

To the Hon. Joseph Alston, Speaker of the House of Representatives of South Carolina.

Monticello, August 4.

SIR,

I have duly received your letter of July 6, covering the resolutions of the legislature of South Carolina, of June 29; and I see in those resolutions a new manifestation of the national spirit of which South Carolina has given so many proofs. It is the more exemplary, as it is certain that no state sacrifices more by the operation of a measure which, whether to avoid a war, or to prepare for it, has been deemed equally necessary. The unanimity of these resolutions does peculiar honour to those individuals, who, differing from the mass of their fellow citizens in their opinions of government, yet forget all differences when the rights of their country are in question; who, when it is assailed by foreign wrong, and menaced with the evils of war, instead of encouraging enemies by forebodings of weakness and division, present to them one common and undivided front. Persuaded that the sentiments expressed in these resolutions are a true specimen of those entertained by the great mass of our fellow-citizens we may regret the evils which a contrary opinion in others may produce, but we cannot fear the result of any trial they may put us to.

I receive with particular gratification assurances of approbation from the legislature of South Carolina, and will not cease in my endeavours to merit a continuance of it.—I pray you to accept my salutations and assurances of great respect and consideration.

T. H. JEFFERSON.

**SPEECH OF THE GOVERNOR OF
NEW YORK.**

Gentlemen of the State and Assembly.

At the commencement of the last session, I had the honour of expressing to the legislature my opinion respecting the measures adopted by the national councils, to prevent our being involved in the desolating wars of Europe. Nothing has since occurred to produce a change of that opinion, or to impair my confidence in their exertions and zeal to avert, as far as is consistent with the welfare and independence of our country, the calamities of war. I am, however, compelled with regret to inform you, that I am not apprized of any material alteration in the state of our foreign relations since that period. The embarrassments to commerce and agriculture, incident to the existence of the embargo, are still experienced, and should they continue, they must be ascribed to the perseverance of the belligerents in their illegal and unjust aggressions upon the commerce of the United States. This consideration affords additional motives for enduring with patience, the privations resulting from the counteracting measures of our own rulers, and for yielding a warm, unanimous, and decided support to their prudent and incessant efforts to maintain, without an appeal to arms, the honour of our country, and the rights and tranquillity of its citizens. *Should our hopes of an amicable accommodation of existing differences be frustrated, by an obstinate adherence of the belligerents to their unprincipled and arbitrary restraints upon neutral commerce, and a resort to the sword become inevitable, we can meet the event with a consciousness of the rectitude of our cause; with a firm dependence on the patriotism and bravery of freemen, and with a humble reliance on the protection of that Providence who has hitherto favoured us.*

The period for which the presi-

dent and vice-president of the United States were elected, expires on the fourth day of March next. The appointment of electors to represent this state in the choice of successors to those distinguished personages, is the principal business for which you are now convened.

It affords me pleasure to inform you that the fortifications erecting under the authority of the United States for the defence of the city of New York, have been prosecuted with activity and zeal. A variety of circumstances have retarded the commencement of the expenditure of one hundred thousand dollars appropriated for that object by the legislature of this state. To accomplish these views by devising and commencing works upon which the greatest number of distressed persons might be employed, and which might be in concert with the defensive operations of the general government, and at the same time to apply the sum granted in the most economical and beneficial manner, was a task replete with anxiety, responsibility, and embarrassment. I have the satisfaction to inform you, that with the intelligence and generous assistance of Colonel Williams, chief engineer of the United States, whose services merit the highest encomium, these difficulties have finally been surmounted, and I flatter myself the place which has been decided upon, and the plan of the works to be erected, will meet your approbation.

It is our lot, Gentlemen, to live in a portentous period. The old world is shaken to its centre by the mad ambition of its potentates; and Europe exhibits an affecting spectacle of blood and warfare. It has been the alternate policy of two of the belligerents to entangle us in their quarrels; hitherto we have escaped, but it requires almost superhuman wisdom in our rulers to preserve our sovereignty and independence, and to avoid being engaged in their wars. Thus situated,

it is our solemn duty to second the efforts of those to whom we have entrusted the highly responsible rights of peace and war. It is our duty to strengthen the hands of government, by imparting a liberal confidence when our dearest rights are not only in jeopardy but actually invaded, and to prove to the world that we are not a divided people, but that we are in truth Americans.

With an ardent wish that harmony may prevail in your deliberations, and that your proceedings may promote the welfare of our constituents, I tender you an assurance of my readiness to co-operate in your labours to promote the common benefit.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

Albany, Nov. 1. 1808.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

ON THE LICENCE OF TONGUE AT THE BAR.

To the Editor.

SIR,

I was much surprised on perusing your Review some time ago, to find that the letter signed an Englishman, contained in No. XX. should not have received an answer in any of the succeeding numbers. The subject which it treats is, as the writer justly observes, an evil of great and growing magnitude, and therefore calls imperiously for the notice of the public. In the few lines which I venture to address to you, I cannot undertake to answer positively, the query it contains, but shall be satisfied if I succeed in urging the necessity of farther discussion, and prevent a subject from falling to the ground which affects not merely you Sir, nor me, but the whole community; and must come home to the breast of every man who values the security of reputation, and the sweets of private repose.

That libels are pronounced with impunity under shelter of the long robe, every day's experience evinces; and the question of your Correspondent is intended to ascertain whether there is no remedy provided by the constitution, exclusive of those which he himself enumerates.

As far as my information goes, there are no others; although nothing can be more clearly inferred from the spirit of our government, than that a privilege to defame was not intended to be vested in any class of men, whatever their rank, whatever their respectability. While we boast the tenderness and particularity of our laws in protecting the character of individuals, there would be a contradiction in supposing that the professors of those very laws should be constituted into a tribunal of licensed slander, and that our ancestors should be absurd enough to propose banishing libel and lie, by the efforts of a body privileged to libel and lie themselves: no, it is evident to common reason, that the great founders of our political and civil fabric vested no such right in the oracles of the law, nor dreamt of raising them to a height above all other subjects, from which they might let fly the shafts of malice and of vengeance with confidence, and with effect. What! shall it be said that they who are to wrest the dagger from the assassin, are authorised to use it with their own hands? Is there any thing in the construction of a legal frame to render the instrument less destructive under their direction, or rather is there not every thing to aggravate its virulence? The law

yer from his education is capable of being severe; he can give a poignancy to his expressions, which common men who intend as badly, may be unable to do: his attack, therefore, is more cruel: from the respectability of his calling, he is attended to with a deference, which common men cannot command; his attack therefore is more impressive: from the publicity of his situation it is more extended, and from the nature of his profession, more unjust: with every thing therefore to aggravate the consequences, and the criminality of such a privilege, on the part of the lawyer, it would be doing an injury to the understanding or the patriotism of our ancestors, to suspect them of countenancing so great an evil.

But while I believe that this is the language of our constitution on the licence of speech at the bar, I must allow that in the present, as well as in many other cases, there is a wide distinction between the language of the old constitution, and the language of the practice of modern times. The former says no one shall be placed above the law; justice shall be done to all and on all; but the latter adopts a different tone, and proclaims, those who practice the law shall despise it; those who live by it shall trample on it; and whatever of acrimony, whatever of vindictiveness and malice rankle in their hearts, shall have a passport through the courts and sanctuaries of the kingdom to prey upon the vitals of society.

It is a melancholy circumstance Sir, that with so many instances of the injustice of lawyers in this respect, there should be none of their punishment; and if ever there were instances to be selected above others, they are those which occurred in the two recent cases to which your correspondent has alluded. I beg pardon for obtruding upon your recollection again, an attack which

I am sure you despise too much to revive; but which for the sake of common justice, I cannot avoid mentioning. You have been attacked as well as Sir Richard Phillips, in a manner the most unwarrantable; on an imputation which you have well proved to be false and scandalous; but though it is not necessary to make any allusion to it in defence of *you*, it is right to pass some censure on the venal calumny of him whose protection is in his gown, and whose stimulant is in his pocket; he probably may be one of those not uncommon characters, who finding truth a vendible commodity, do not hesitate to sell what they know not how to appreciate; money, as it is his motive, may also be his justification for abuse; but there are hangmen who destroy life upon the same principle that he attempts to destroy reputation: and for my part I cannot draw the line which shall distinguish their respectability.

It is contended that if lawyers had not a very great privilege in this respect, it would be impossible for them to do justice to their clients. Now, if doing justice to their clients is, (as it ought to be,) the only object, *that* surely can be effected by a liberty distinct from licentiousness; a liberty to speak the truth, not a licence to violate it: if justice is the only object, misrepresentation does not make up one of the ingredients necessary to its production; on the contrary, it is subversive of the end: the jury as your correspondent states, are most of them plain men, and liable to be misled by general invective; a licence therefore to indulge in it without foundation must have this injurious tendency, that of inducing them frequently to decide a cause from a feeling of abhorrence to the individual, when they should only be influenced by the consideration of its own inherent merits; liberty not licence is the birthright of an Englishman; liberty

not licence should be the privilege of a lawyer.

I would also suggest a remark to the profession themselves on the tendency of such a licence upon their own body. There is something to my apprehension exceedingly humiliating, as well as iniquitous, in hiring out falsehood to those who will pay for it, and descending to the lowest scurrility, and the foulest slander, in a place where nothing but calm discussion should be heard, and liberality tolerated. I appeal to all who have entered that respectable profession with a due sense of its dignity, and its nature, whether gravity is not its appropriate characteristic, and a quick sense of right and wrong, with a constant solicitude for the former, its brightest distinction: and I will ask those who venerate the wise establishments of our forefathers, whether they can suspect them of intending that the courts in which our rights and properties are secured, should be the only places in the country where character is left defenceless!

As an injury to private happiness, as an obstruction to public justice, as a derogation from professional respectability, such a practice should be discountenanced: the able and the ingenuous will avoid it from pride; the interested and the insignificant should be made to avoid it from fear: there are beings in that profession as well as in every other

who are not only a disgrace to it, but to the species to which they belong; and they are those who blush at no acts but such as are punishable; whose notion of right is comprised in profit; whose sense of wrong is derived from the authority of the jailor, and the executioner; who confound impunity with justification, and escape, with innocence.

That the public should have some protection against such personages is a truth that cannot be disputed; and that no protection has been hitherto afforded, speaks plainly in the history of all the courts. Whether the privileges with which the judge and the opposite council are vested, those of interruption and reply, are adequate to the prevention of this evil, is not known, as they have not been enforced. The public are loudly called upon to insist on the experiment, by marking with their decided disapprobation, the negligence that leaves them unexercised: if their opinion is strongly expressed on this subject, judges and council must conform, and courts of law may perhaps become what they ought to be, the asylums of injured fame, to which all can apply with confidence, and from which none will be sent away with the qualified gratification of being compensated, and abused!

Dec. 3.

H.

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S DECLARATION, ON THE RECENT OVERTURES FOR PEACE.

The Overtures made to his Majesty by the governments of Russia and of France have not led to negotiation: and the intercourse to which those overtures gave rise being terminated, his Majesty thinks it right thus promptly and publicly to make known its termination.

The continued appearance of a negociation, when peace has been found to be utterly unattainable, could be advantageous only to the enemy.

It might enable France to sow distrust and jealousy in the councils of those who are combined to resist

her oppressions: and if, among the nations which groan under the tyranny of French alliance, or among those which maintain against France a doubtful and precarious independence, there should be any which even now are ballancing between the certain ruin of a prolonged inactivity, and the contingent dangers of an effort to save themselves from that ruin; to nations so situated the delusive prospect of a peace between Great Britain and France could not fail to be peculiarly injurious. Their preparations might be relaxed by the vain hope of returning tranquillity; or their purpose shaken by the apprehension of being left to contend alone.

That such was, in fact, the main object of France in the proposals transmitted to his Majesty from Erfurth, his Majesty entertained a strong persuasion.

But at a moment when results so awful from their importance, and so tremendous from their uncertainty, might be depending upon the decision of peace or war, the King felt it due to himself to ascertain, beyond the possibility of doubt, the views and intentions of his enemies.

It was difficult for his Majesty to believe, that the Emperor of Russia had devoted himself so blindly and fatally to the violence and ambition of the power with which his Imperial Majesty had unfortunately become allied, as to be prepared openly to abet the usurpation of the Spanish monarchy; and to acknowledge and maintain the right, assumed by France, to depose and imprison friendly sovereigns, and forcibly to transfer to herself the allegiance of independent nations.

When, therefore, it was proposed to his Majesty to enter into negotiation for a general peace, in concert with his Majesty's allies, and to treat either on the basis of the *uti possidetis*, (heretofore the subject of so much controversy) or on any other

basis, consistent with justice, honour, and equality, his Majesty determined to meet this seeming fairness and moderation, with fairness and moderation, on his Majesty's part real and sincere.

The King professed his readiness to enter into such negotiation in concurrence with his allies; and undertook forthwith to communicate to them the proposals which his Majesty had received. But as his Majesty was not connected with Spain by a formal treaty of alliance, his Majesty thought it necessary to declare, that the engagements which he had contracted, in the face of the world, with that nation, were considered by his Majesty as no less sacred, and no less binding upon his Majesty, than the most solemn treaties; and to express his Majesty's just confidence that the government of Spain, acting in the name of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII, was understood to be a party of the negotiation.

The reply returned by France to this proposition of his Majesty casts off at once the thin disguise, which had been assumed for a momentary purpose; and displays, with less than ordinary reserve, the arrogance and injustice of that government. The universal Spanish nation is described by the degrading appellation of "the Spanish insurgents;" and the demand for the admission of the government of Spain as a party to any negotiation, is rejected as inadmissible and insulting.

With astonishment as well as with grief his Majesty has received from the Emperor of Russia a reply, similar in effect, although less indecorous in tone and manner. The Emperor of Russia also stigmatizes as "insurrection," the glorious efforts of the Spanish people in behalf of their legitimate sovereign, and in defence of the independence of their country; thus giving the sanction of his Imperial Majesty's authority.

to an usurpation which has no parallel in the history of the world.

The King would readily have embraced an opportunity of negotiation, which might have afforded any hope or prospect of a peace, compatible with justice and with honour. His Majesty deeply laments an issue, by which the sufferings of Europe are aggravated and prolonged. But neither the honour of his Majesty, nor the generosity of the British nation, would admit his Majesty's consenting to commence a negotiation, by the abandonment of a brave and loyal people, who are contending for the preservation of all that is dear to man; and whose exertions in a cause so unquestionably just, his Majesty has solemnly pledged himself to sustain.

HIBERNIAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this society was held at the Royal Exchange, Dublin on Monday the 14th of November, 1808.

THE PATRON,

His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, in the chair.

The Secretary read the report of the committee for the last year, which was received, and is as follows:—

“At the last annual meeting of your society, your committee was entrusted with the important commission of procuring suitable patronage for the institution. To the accomplishment of this primary object, they immediately applied themselves, by communicating the nature and designs of the society, to some of the first characters in Ireland, and soliciting their countenance and support. Your committee were highly gratified by the politeness and promptitude with which the most satisfactory answers were given to their communications; and could not but anticipate the most salutary results

from the support of the noblemen and gentlemen, who have come forward, as patron, president, and vice-presidents of the society.

“Your committee were convinced, that one extensive institution, pervading the whole country, having one grand fund, and acting on one plan, would contribute more to the general circulation of the scriptures in Ireland, than the partial efforts of individuals, or even of local and isolated societies. Their attention was, therefore, directed to the extending of their institution, by the formation of branches of the society in such principal towns as their influence extended to; and, though they have to regret, that in some instances, their exertions have not yet been crowned with success, they have also the happiness of stating, that a second and highly respectable branch of the society has been formed in Limerick, under the patronage of one of our vice presidents, the lord bishop of that see. We have the pleasure of adding, that the efforts of your committee have given rise to a bible society in Cork, though not connected with us.

“In the course of the correspondence on these subjects, in which your committee was engaged, it was suggested, that our former name, the ‘Dublin bible society,’ was of too local a nature; and that, as our exertions were to be bounded only by our country, it was expedient, that our designation should be sufficiently general, to point out our sphere of action. In consequence of this suggestion, a general meeting was called, to which this subject was submitted; and by which our present denomination, ‘The Hibernian bible society,’ was unanimously adopted.

“The name of the society being thus changed, your committee published the report of the former year, with the names of the officers of the society, and a list of subscribers.

This publication has been extensively circulated, and not without effect in this, and the sister country. It has been the means of increasing the number of our members at home; and such was the favourable impression which it made on the committee of the British and foreign bible society, in London, that they presented us with the sum of 100*l.* sterling, as a testimony of their good will, and for an encouragement to greater exertion in the good cause in which we both were engaged.

“ Among the many instances of polite attention which your committee met with from several individuals, they cannot deny themselves the pleasure of noticing the conduct of the venerable and highly respected president of the royal Irish Academy: when a deputation of their body waited on him for permission to hold the committee meetings in the academy house, he received them with the greatest kindness, entered warmly with them into the views of the society, and cheerfully complied with their request.

“ Your committee have derived the greatest satisfaction from the exertions of the gentlemen who constitute the committee of the Belfast branch of the society; their co-operation with us has been most cordial and active; they have laboured assiduously to increase our general fund for the more extended circulation of the scriptures in their immediate vicinity. The plan they have adopted for this latter purpose, is worthy of imitation: they addressed a circular letter to the ministers of religion, of every denomination, in Belfast and its neighbourhood, stating the objects of their society, and requesting them to have a collection made in each of their places of worship, on a particular day, in aid of the institution.

“ During the time your committee have been in office, they have had repeated proofs of the necessity and

usefulness of this society: A very general desire to purchase and read the bible is prevalent in the country; and yet in several parts, the bible cannot be procured, at least, by the lower classes. A letter from a clergyman in a very populous district of the North of Ireland, stated to your committee, that the bible could not be procured there for any money.— From this circumstance, the society may judge, what must be the case in those parts of the land where the people are less instructed, and where books are still scarcer; of the usefulness of the society, the best proof is the following statement of the books circulated during the last year, viz.

Bibles.	2446.	} Total 4898.
Testaments.	2452.	

Remain in the Repository:—

Bibles.	1567.	} Total 2929.
Testaments.	1362.	

“ Encouraged by the notice which his grace the Duke of Richmond has taken of the society, by condescending to become a benefactor to it, your committee have presented a memorial to his Excellency, praying permission to circulate our communications through the country, free of postage. To this memorial we have not yet received an answer, as it is necessary his grace should consult the post-masters general, previous to his communicating to us his final determination.

“ Your committee will now lay before the society the state of their funds, which they regret to observe, are not as flourishing as they would wish.

State of the Funds:

Received during last year.	1963	17	7
Expended do.	855	10	11

Bal. in Treasurer's hands.	108	6	8
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“ They shall conclude by urging on each member of the society, the necessity of increased exertion in the best of causes. The improvement of our country in civilization and

morals, and the increasing of the knowledge of salvation—of all the countries of the earth, we are among the most favoured by Providence. While other lands are wasted by famine, or desolated by war, we are in the enjoyment of domestic peace and prosperity ; and surely the least return we can make to the bountiful author of these our blessings is, to diffuse amongst our countrymen, the knowledge of his gospel.”

This report being read, the thanks of the society were presented to his grace the Duke of Richmond, for his donation of twenty guineas to the funds of the institution ; to the patron, president, and vice-presidents ; to the treasurers, secretaries, and committee, and also to Richard Kirwan, Esq. President of the royal Irish Academy, for having accommodated the committee with the use of the Academy-house to hold its meetings in.

The noblemen and gentlemen who have acted as patron, president, and vice-presidents of the society during the last year were chosen, with the addition of the Rev. Mr. Bristow as a vice-president. The following gentlemen were appointed the committee for the ensuing year, Drs. Graves, Stopford, M'Dowell ; the Rev. Messrs. Swertner, Morgan, Hutton, Pollock ; Messrs. Birch, Blood, Chambers, Clarke, Dugdale, Forster, Gordon, Guinness, Hall, Howie, Latouche, M'Auley, Singer, Stott.

The 6th general rule, which confined the number of the committee to 15, having been previously altered.

Messrs. Ponsonby and Bernard Shaw, were chosen treasurers, and the Rev. B. W. Mathies and the Rev. W. Thorpe, secretaries.

Before his grace the patron had left the chair, he most liberally pre-

sented the society with the sum of one hundred pounds sterling. His grace having left the chair, Dr. Stopford being called to it, the thanks of the society were given to his grace, for his polite attention to the business of the day.

After which the Meeting was adjourned.

REMARKABLE EPITAPH
On a Stone in Bunhill Fields.

Mr. FRANCIS SMITH,
Late of London, Bookseller,
(Whose grateful Memory
May this Stone perpetuate)
During the reign of Tyranny and
Oppression in the 17th Century, for
Urging the frequency of Parliaments,
And publishing the Sentiments
Of FREEMEN,
Suffered much by
Fines, Corporal Punishment,
and
Forty-one Imprisonments.
Unremitted Severity
Necessarily much impaired
his Constitution :

Yet,
This spot did not receive him
Till Heaven by the hand of the
Glorious KING WILLIAM,
Had restored to his
Almost ruined Country,
The RIGHTS OF MEN,
Of CHRISTIANS, and
Of BRITONS.

He Died
Keeper of the Custom House
To that Great Prince,
Dec. 22d, 1691.

This Tomb was restored by
His Descendant
THOMAS COX,
Citizen of London 1761.
Who hopes to rest with his
Family in the same place.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FRENCH OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF
THE CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN.*Paris, Nov. 17—21.*FIRST BULLETIN OF THE
ARMY OF SPAIN.*Vittoria, Nov. 9.*—Position of the French army on the 25th of October:—

Head quarters at Vittoria.

The Marshal Duke of Cornegliano, with his left wing, along the banks of the Arragon and the Ebro. His head-quarters at Rafalla.

The Marshal Duke of Elchingen, is with his head quarters at Guardia.

The Marshal Duke of Istria has his head quarters at Miranda, with a garrison in Fort Pancorba.

The General of division Merlin occupies with one division the heights of Durango, and presses upon the enemy, who seem disposed to attack the heights of Mondragon.

The Marshal Duke of Dantzic, having arrived with the divisions of Sebastiani and Laval, the King was pleased to order the division of Merlin to return.

The enemy being in the mean time in force at Lerin, and having occupied Viana, and several posts on the left bank of the Ebro, the King ordered the Duke of Cornegliano to advance against the enemy. General Waltier, commander of the cavalry, and the brigades of Generals Habert, Brune, and Razout proceeded against the enemy's posts. On the 27th of October the enemy were defeated at all points. Twelve hundred men who were surrounded in Lerin, at first shewed a disposition to defend themselves; but General Grandjean having made his arrangements, defeated them completely, making prisoners one colonel, two lieut.-colonels, 40 officers, and 1200 soldiers. These troops formed part of the camp of St. Roque,

before Gibraltar. At the same time, Marshal, the Duke of Elchingen marched for Logrono, passed the Ebro, took 300 of the enemy prisoners, pursued them several miles, and re-established the bridge of Logrono. In consequence of this event, the Spanish General Pignatelli, who commanded the insurgents, was stoned by them!

The troops of the traitor, Romana, and the Spanish prisoners in England, landed by the English in Spain, with the divisions of Galicia, making together a force of 30,000 men, threatened from Bilbao Marshal the Duke of Dantzic, who, led on by a noble ardour, advanced upon them on the 31st of October, and drove them, at the point of the bayonet, from all their positions.—The troops of the Confederation of the Rhine, and particularly the corps of Baden, distinguished themselves.

The Marshal Duke of Dantzic closely followed up his pursuit of the enemy, the whole 1st of November, as far as Guenes, and entered Bilbao. In that city very considerable magazines were found. Several Englishmen were made prisoners. The enemy's loss, in killed and wounded, was considerable; but we took very few of them prisoners.—Our loss consists of only 50 killed, and about 100 wounded. However praiseworthy this action was, it was to be wished that it had not taken place; the Spanish corps was in a situation to have been completely cut off.

The corps of Marshal Victor having just arrived, was detached from Vittoria to Ordon. On the 7th of November, the enemy, reinforced by fresh troops from St. Andero, occupied the height of Guenes. The Marshal Duke of Dantzic advanced against them, and broke through their centre. The 58th and 32d

regiments distinguished themselves upon this occasion.

Had these events occurred in the plains, not a man of the enemy would have escaped; but the mountains of St. Andero and Bilbao are almost impassable. The Duke of Dantzic pursued the foe during the whole of the day in the passes of Valmaseda.

In these various affairs, the enemy have lost in killed and wounded from 3500 to 4000 men.

The Duke of Dantzic particularly praises the generals of division Laval and Sebastiani, the Dutch general Chassey, Colonel Lacoste, of the 27th regiment of light infantry, Colonel Baco, of the 63d regiment of the line, and the colonels of the regiments of Baden and Nassau, upon whom his Majesty has conferred rewards.

The army is abundantly supplied with provision, and the weather is very fine.

Our columns are marching forward, and combining their movements. It is supposed that the head-quarters will move forward to night from Vittoria.

SECOND BULLETIN.

Burgos, Nov. 12.—The Duke of Dantzic entered Valmaseda in pursuit of the foe.

On the 8th General Sebastiani discovered the rear guard of the insurgents posted upon a high hill to the right of Valmaseda: he immediately advanced against them, defeated them, and took about 100 of them prisoners.

In the mean time the city of Burgos was occupied by the army of Estramadura, consisting of three divisions. The advanced guard was composed of Walloons and Spanish guards; and the students of the universities of Salamanca and Leon, divided into several battalions, and some regiments of the line, with other corps raised since the insurrection of Badajoz, made the whole of

this army amount to little short of 20,000 men. The command of the cavalry of the army was given to Marshal the Duke of Istria; and the Emperor confided the command of the second corps to Marshal the Duke of Dalmatia.

On the 10th, at day break, the latter marshal marched at the head of the division of Monton, to reconnoitre the enemy. On reaching Gamonal, he was received with the discharge of thirty pieces of artillery. This was the signal for advancing at the *pas de charge*; the infantry of the division of Monton attacked them, supported by the artillery. The Walloons and Spanish guards were defeated at the first onset. The Duke of Istria, at the head of his cavalry, attacked them in flank. The enemy was completely routed; 3000 of them being left dead on the field. We took 12 pair of colours 25 pieces of cannon, and 3000 prisoners. The remainder were completely dispersed. Our troops entered the city of Burgos, intermixed with the enemy, and the cavalry pursued them in all directions.

This army of Estramadura, which had come from Madrid by forced marches, whose first enterprise was the assassination of their unfortunate General Count Torres, and which was completely equipped with English arms, besides being in the pay of England, is no longer in existence. The colonel of the Walloon guards, and a considerable number of the superior officers, are prisoners. Our loss was very inconsiderable, consisting only of 12 or 15 killed, and at most fifty wounded; only one captain was killed by a cannon ball.

This affair, which we owe to the excellent dispositions of the Duke of Dalmatia, and the intrepidity with which the Duke of Istria led on the cavalry, does the greatest honour to the division of Monton

though it is well known that this division consists of corps whose name alone has for a long time been a title of honour.

The castle of Burgos has been occupied, and was found in good condition; it contained considerable quantities of flour, wine, and grain.

On the 11th the Emperor reviewed the division of General Bonnet, and immediately detached it towards the entrance of the passes of St. Andero.

The position of the army this day is as follows:—

The Marshal Duke of Belluna is in close pursuit of the remains of the army of Galicia, who are flying in the direction of Villarcayo and Reynosa, towards which points the Duke of Dalmatia is also marching. They can have no other resource than that of dispersing in the mountains, with the loss of artillery, baggage, and every thing that constitutes an army.

His Majesty the Emperor is with his guard at Burgos.

General Milhaud is marching with his division upon Palencia. General Lasalle has taken possession of Lerma.

Thus, in an instant, have the armies of Galicia been defeated, dispersed, and partly annihilated, notwithstanding that all the corps of our army have not yet come up.—Three-fourths of the cavalry, and almost one half of the infantry remain behind.

The army of the insurgents exhibited the most singular contrast. In the pockets of the officers who were killed, were found lists of companies, having some of them the name of *Company of Brutus*, and some of them *Company of the People*. There were companies of students, and others that had the names of saints. Such were the military bands that composed the insurgent army of the peasants. Anarchy and confusion—these were what England sowed in

Spain. What will she reap from them? The hatred of this brave people, when they are once enlightened, and under a good government; for the rest, the extravagance of the leaders of the insurgents is every where notorious. Among the standards that that have fallen into our hands are some bearing a representation of the lion of Spain tearing in pieces the Imperial eagle. And who are they that have indulged in such emblems? The worst troops that are in Europe.

The cavalry of the army of Estremadura could not even so much as face us. The instant the 10th regiment of chasseurs came in sight of them, they were put to the rout, and were no longer to be seen.

The Emperor reviewed the corps of the Duke of Dalmatia previous to its marching from Burgos in pursuit of the rear of the army of Galicia. His Majesty has made various promotions, distributed rewards, and is extremely well satisfied with the conduct of these troops. He has expressed his satisfaction to the conquerors of Medina, Rio Seco, and Burgos, the Marshal Duke of Istria, and Generals Merle and Monton.

THIRD BULLETIN.

Burgos, Nov. 13.—The army of Galicia is flying from Bilbao, and is pursued by Marshal the Duke of Belluna in the direction of Espinosa, and Marshal the Duke of Dantzic in that of Villarcayo. Marshal the Duke of Dalmatia has proceeded for Reynosa to cut off their retreat; so that very important events may be expected.

General Milhaud has entered Palencia with his division of cavalry, and sent detachments to the passes of Reynosa in pursuit of a park of artillery, belonging to the army of Galicia.

The young students of Salamanca, who thought of nothing short of the conquest of France, and the fanatical peasantry that already dreamed

of plundering Bayonne and Bourdeaux, and conceived that they were every where conducted by saints that had appeared to their cheating monks, now see all their mischievous illusions vanishing; their despair and confusion are at the height; they lament over the misfortunes to which they have become a prey, the falsehoods they have been made to believe, and the causeless struggle in which they have involved themselves.

The whole plain of the Castiles is already covered with our cavalry; the ardour and zeal of our troops enables them to march fourteen or fifteen miles a day, with great ease. Our piquets are upon the Douro. The whole coast, from St. Andero to Bilboa, is cleared of the enemy.

The unfortunate city of Burgos, a prey to all the calamities of a city taken by storm, trembles with terror. Priests, monks, and inhabitants, took to flight upon the first tidings of the battle, apprehensive that the soldiers of the army of Estremadura would, as they gave out, defend themselves in their houses, and that they would be first plundered by these, and afterwards by our soldiers, who, having driven out the enemy, would find no inhabitants there.

Such men as M. Vanstien, who from the want of troops of the line, themselves incapable of opposing our eagles, encourage the extravagant idea of an insurrection *en masse*, ought to be sensible of the evils resulting from it, and the very considerable obstacles which such a resource can offer to regular troops.

In Burgos and the environs, a quantity of wool has been found, to the amount of 30 millions, which his Majesty the Emperor has ordered to be put under sequestration. All the wool belonging to monks, or any other persons who have joined the insurgents, will be confisca-

ted and appropriated in the first instance to the indemnification of the losses sustained by the French; for even at Madrid, Frenchmen resident there for forty years, have been stripped of their property. Those Spaniards who have been faithful to their King were declared exiles. The property of the most virtuous and enlightened minister, Arana, of the most able seaman Mascardo, and of the best soldier in Spain O'Farril, has been publicly sold. That of Campo d'Alange, respectable for his virtues, his reputation, and his wealth, being the owner of 60,000 Merinos, and having an annual income of three millions, has become the prey of these frantic proceedings.

Another measure ordered by the Emperor, is the confiscation of all English goods and colonial produce, landed in Spain since the insurrection. The merchants of London do very well to send their merchandise to Lisbon, Oporto, and the ports of Spain. The more they send, the greater the contribution with which they supply us!

The city of Palencia, governed by a worthy bishop has received our troops with kindness. That city suffers none of the evils of war.

A virtuous bishop, who teaches the doctrines of the gospel, and who is inspired with christian charity, and from whose lips flows truth but honey, is the greatest blessing that Heaven can bestow upon a people; but an ambitious, vain, and wicked prelate, who preaches nothing but insurrection, discord, and disorder, is a minister that God has sent in his wrath to nations to mislead them, by polluting the very fountain of morality.

In the prisons of Burgos are a great number of monks, who were stoned by the peasantry. Wretches said they to them, "We have plunged us into the gulph of misery; perhaps we shall never again

behold our unhappy wives and our poor children. Wretches! a righteous God will punish you in hell for all the calamities you have brought on our families and our country.

FOURTH BULLETIN.

Burgos, Nov. 15.—His Majesty yesterday reviewed the division of Marchand. He appointed the most meritorious officers and sub-officers, to fill the vacant commissions, and bestowed rewards upon the soldiers that distinguished themselves. His Majesty was highly pleased with these troops, who had just arrived, without a single halt, from the borders of the Vistula.

The Duke of Elchingen has set off from Burgos.

The Emperor reviewed his guard this morning upon the plain of Burgos. His Majesty afterwards inspected the division of Dessollos, and filled up all the vacancies in that division.

Events are in preparation, and all is in progress. Nothing can succeed in war that is not the result of a well-digested plan.

Among the prisoners were some who had on their buttons an eagle reversed, with two arrows, and the motto, "To the Conqueror of France." By this ridiculous bravado, we may easily recognize the countrymen of Don Quixote.

It would be impossible to find worse troops either in the mountains, or the plains. Clownish ignorance, silly conceits, cruelty towards the weak, and baseness and cowardice towards the strong—such is the sad scene we have before us. The monks and the inquisition have plunged this nation into barbarism.

Ten thousand light infantry and dragoons, with 24 field-pieces, marched off on the 11th. to attack the rear of the English division that was said to be at Valladolid. These brave fellows went over thirty-four miles of ground in two days, but our hopes were disappointed. We

entered Palencia and Valladolid, and advanced even six miles further, and found no Englishmen, but abundance of promises and assurances.

In the mean time, it appears certain, that a division of their troops has disembarked at Corunna, and that a nother division, at the beginning of this month, entered Badajos. The day we fall in with them will be a day of festivity to the French army. May they moisten with their blood that continent which they have desolated by their intrigues, their monopoly, and their horrible selfishness! May they, instead of 20,000, be 80 or 100,000 strong; that the English mothers may learn what the calamities of war are, and that the English government may not always continue to sport with the lives and blood of the people of the continent.

The greatest falsehoods, the basest means, have been employed by English machiavelism to mislead the Spanish nation; but the bulk of it is still good. Biscay, Navarre, Old Castile, and the greater part of Aragon itself, are well disposed. The nation in general beholds with the most profound sorrow, the abyss into which it is plunged, and will speedily curse the authors of so many calamities.

Florida Blanca, who is at the head of the insurgents, is the person who was minister under Charles III. He was always the sworn enemy of France, and the zealous partizan of England. It is to be hoped that he will, in the evening of his days, discover the errors of his political life. He is an old man, who, to the blindest attachment to the English, adds the most credulous superstition. His confidants and friends are the most fanatical and stupid of the monks.

Tranquillity is restored at Burgos and the environs. To the first moment of fury confidence had succeeded. The peasants have returned

ed to their villages, and are again pursuing their labours.

FIFTH BULLETIN.

Burgos, Nov. 16.— The fate of the army of Estremadura has been decided on the plains of Burgos. The Gallician army, beaten in the battles of Durango, Guenes, and Valmaseda, has been dispersed in the battle of Espinosa. This army was composed of the ancient Spanish troops which were in Portugal and Galicia, and which quitted Porto towards the end of June; the militia of Galicia, Asturias, and Old Castile; of 5000 Spanish prisoners, which the English had clothed and armed at their expence, and disembarked at St. Ander; of the volunteers of Galicia, of regiments of artillery, and of the troops which the traitor Romana had carried away from the north. This army had the presumption to attempt cutting off our communication with Biscay. For ten days it was driven from post to post; at last, on the 10th. of November, it arrived at Espinosa, where, in order to save its artillery, magazines, &c. it formed in order of battle, as it believed itself in a situation not to be forced.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, Marshal Bellune arrived in front of the enemy. Gen. Pacthod was ordered to carry a small battery occupied by the troops of the traitor Romana. This position was excellent, and defended by their best troops; but Gen. Pacthod, with his corps, fell upon these troops who had abused our confidence, and violated their oaths. In an instant they were broken and precipitated down the precipices. The Prince's regiment was destroyed. The enemy made several attacks, in all of which they were defeated. During the night both armies remained in their positions. Whilst this was taking place, the Duke of Dalmatia marched towards Reynosa, the only retreat of the enemy. At break of

day the enemy were attacked both on the right and left by the Duke of Dantzic and Bellune, while Gen. Meuron advanced against his centre. The enemy fled, throwing away their arms and colours, and abandoning their artillery. The Duke of Dantzic took, at Reynosa, their artillery, magazines, and baggage, and made some prisoners. Thus the enemy have been turned, not only at Reynosa, but at Palencia. Sixty pieces of cannon have been taken, 20,000 men killed or prisoners, two Spanish Generals killed; all the succours in arms, &c. sent by the English, have fallen into our hands. ~~Blanche~~ ^{Blanche} ~~and~~ ^{himself} by taking to the Asturias mountains. Romana, with a few thousand men, is marching towards Santander. Our loss is trifling in these contests, not exceeding 80 killed, and 300 wounded. We have not lost any officer of distinction.

SIXTH BULLETIN.

Burgos, Nov. 18.— Of the 20,000 men who composed the army of Galicia, part have been killed and taken, and the rest dispersed. The remaining arrive daily at our post. The General of division, Debellé, has taken 500 prisoners in the environs of Vasconcelles. Colonel Trenchell, who commands the first regiment of Chasseurs, ~~attacked~~ ^{escorted} the Spanish ~~General~~ ^{escort} vedo; the troops who ~~companied~~ ^{escorted} having made some resistance, they were all put to the sword. General Bennet, with his division, fell in with the head of a column of fugitives, consisting of 2000 men; they were partly taken, and partly destroyed.

Marshal the Duke of Istria, who commands the cavalry of the army, entered Aranda on the 16th. at noon. Our advanced parties of horse go in the left as far as Soria and Madrid, and on the right to Leon and Zamora. The enemy evacuated Aranda with the utmost precipitation, leaving there four pieces of cannon.

considerable magazine of biscuit, 4000 quintals of grain; and a large quantity of clothing was found in the town. In Reynosa numerous English effects were found, and a considerable quantity of provisions of every description. The inhabitants of Montana, and of the whole plain of Castile, which extends to Portugal, and of the province of Spain, detest and curse the authors of this war, and earnestly demand peace and repose.—Twenty thousand bales of wool, worth from 15 to 20 millions, which were seized at Burgos, have been sent to Bayonne.

SEVENTH BULLETIN.

Burgos, Nov. 20.—On the 16th. the van of the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia entered St. Andero, and found there a large quantity of flour, ammunition, and English goods. The bishop of St. Andero, animated rather with the spirit of the devil, than that of the gospel, always marching with a cutlass by his side, has taken shelter on board the English frigates. The cavalry of General Lasalle has pushed its advanced posts as far as Torno Sierra. The regiments of Zamora and of the Princess, which formed part of Romana's division, are entirely annihilated.

EIGHTH BULLETIN.

Burgos, Nov. 22.—The Duke of Dalmatia is following his successes with the utmost activity. A convoy of artillery, ammunition, and English muskets, were taken in the port of Cunikar, the very moment the ships were on the point of getting under weigh. General Sarrat, at the head of his brigade, continues vigorously to pursue the enemy. He has passed Montana and entered Asturia. The light companies of the 36th. regiment have seized in the port of Santillana, the English convoy, laden with sugar, coffee, cotton, and other colonial commodities. The number of English vessels, rich-

ly laden, which have been taken on this coast, amounts already to 25.

The 7th. corps of the army of Spain, commanded by General Govion St. Cyr, has also began preparation. On the 6th. November, the place of Rosas was invested by Generals Reille and Penó, and the heights of St. Pedro were carried by the Italians—a large number of Miquelets and English occupied the port of Silva; they were attacked by General Fontana, at the head of three battalions of light infantry, and driven into the sea, with the loss of ten 24-pounders, four of which were English, which they had not time to embark.—On the 8th. the garrison of Rosas made a *sortie* in three columns, protected by the guns of the English ships. General Mazuchelli killed 600 of them, and repulsed the rest. It is supposed that the head-quarters will be removed from Burgos in the course of the night.

NINTH BULLETIN.

Aranda, Nov. 25.—The military system of the Spaniards seems to have been as follows:—On the left was the army of Galicia, one moiety of which was composed of troops of the line, and of all the resources of Galicia, Asturia, and Leon. In the centre was the army of Estremadura, which the English troops had promised to support, and which was composed of all the resources of Estremadura and the neighbouring provinces. The army of Andalusia, Valencia, New Castile, and Arragon, stated to amount to 80,000 men, occupied, the 20th of November, Calabeara, Tudela, and the borders of Arragon. This army supported the right of the enemy, and was composed of the troops who formed the camp of St. Roch, and of the whole force of Andalusia, Valencia, Carthage, and Madrid. It is against this army the French troops are now manœuvring; the rest having been dispersed and destroyed in the battles of Espinosa and Burgos. The head-quarters were removed on the 22d, from Burgos to Lerma, and on the 23d. from Lerma to Aranda. The Duke of Elchingen marched on the 22d. to

Soria. The town was disarmed, and a committee of well disposed persons appointed for the administration of the province. The Duke is now in Medina. Celi, and his light troops scour the road from Saragossa to Madrid. On the 22d. the Dukes of Montebello and Corregliano, formed a junction near the bridge of Lodosa. On the 24th. the Duke of Bellune removed his headquarters to Venta Gornez. Almost all the roads of communication between Madrid and the Northern provinces are intercepted by our troops, whose light parties have picked up a great number of couriers and mails. The utmost confusion seems to prevail in Madrid, and the whole nation anxiously desires the restoration of that tranquillity and peace, of which Spain has been deprived by the puerile arrogance and criminal cunning of a few intriguers. It appears difficult for the army which forms the right of the enemy, and is now on the banks of the Ebro, to fall back on Madrid, and the south of Spain. The events which are now preparing, will probably decide the fate of this other moiety of the Spanish army. For these three days we have had damp hazy weather, which is more hurtful to the natives of the country than to men accustomed to the climate of the North. General St. Cyr continues vigorously to push on the siege of Rosas.

TENTH BULLETIN.

Aranda de Douro. Nov. 26.—It appears that the Spanish forces amount to one hundred and eighty thousand effective men.—Eighty thousand effective men, making 60,000 men under arms, which composed the armies of Galicia and Estramadura, under the command of Blake, Romana, and Galuzzo, have been dispersed and rendered incapable of service.

The army of Andalusia, Valencia, New Castile, and Arragon, under the command of Castanos, Penas, and Palafox, which appeared also to consist of eighty thousand men, that is to say sixty thousand under arms, will in a few days have accomplished its destinies. Marshal the Duke of Montebello has orders to attack it in front with thirty thousand men, whilst the Dukes of Elchingen and Belluno are already posted in its rear.

There remains 60,000 effective men, which may yield 40,000 men in arms, of which 30,000 are in Catalonia, and 10

thousand at Madrid, Valencia, and the other depots, or on the march.

Before he had advanced a step beyond the Douro, the Emperor had taken the resolution to annihilate the armies of the centre and the left, and to make that of the right, under Gen. Castanos, share the same fate. When this plan shall have been executed, the march to Madrid will be but a promenade. This grand design must, at this present time, be accomplished.

As to the corps in Catalonia, being composed of the troops of Valencia, Murcia, and Grenada, these provinces when menaced, will withdraw their troops, if the state of the communication should then admit of it; at all events, the seventh corps, after having terminated the siege of Rosas, will give an account of that corps. At Barcelona, General Duhesme, with 15,000 men, provisioned for six months, will answer for that important place.

We have not yet spoken of the English forces. It appears, that there is one division in Galicia, and that another division made its appearance at Badajoz, towards the close of last month. If the English have any cavalry, we should have discovered it, because our light troops have proceeded almost to the frontiers of Portugal. If they have infantry, they probably do not mean to employ them in favour of their allies; for it is now thirty days since the campaign has opened; three powerful armies have been destroyed; an immense quantity of artillery has been taken; the provinces of Castile, Montaua, Arragon, &c. have been conquered; in fine, the fate of Spain and Portugal has been decided, and nothing has been heard of any movement of the English troops.—Nevertheless not one half of the French army has yet arrived; a part of the 4th. corps of the army, the whole of the 5th. and 8th. six regiments of light cavalry, many companies of artillery and miners, and a great number of men belonging to the regiments in Spain, have not yet passed the Bidassoa.

The Ferret, and English brig, which sailed from Portsmouth on the 11th. of this month, cast anchor on the 22d. in the port of St. Andero, not aware that it was in the possession of the French: She had important dispatches on board, and many English papers, all of which have been taken.

A large quantity of Jesuits bark, and other colonial articles, was found at St. Andero, and sent to Bayonne.

The Duke of Dalmatia has entered Asturias; several cities and many villages, have offered to submit, in order to escape the gulph prepared for them by foreign councils and the passions of the multitude.

ELEVENTH BULLETIN.

Aranda de Douro, Nov. 27. His Majesty on the 19th inst. sent off the Marshal Duke of Montebello, with instructions for the movements of the left, of which he gave him the command. The Duke of Montebello and the Duke of Corregliano concerted measures together at Lodosa, on the 20th, for the execution of the orders of his Majesty. On the 21st the division of General Lagrange, with the brigade of light cavalry of General Colbert, and the brigade of dragoons of General Dijon, set out from Logrono by the right of the Ebro. At the same time the four divisions, composing the corps of the Duke of Corregliano, passed the river of Lodosa, abandoning the whole country between the Ebro and Pampluna.

On the 23d, at the break of day the French army began its march. It took its direction to Calahorna, where, on the evening before, were the headquarters of Castanos; it found that town evacuated; and afterwards marched upon Alfaro; the enemy had in like manner retreated.—On the 23d, at break of day, the general of division, Lefebvre, at the head of the cavalry, and supported by the division of Gen. Morlet, forming the advanced guard, met with the enemy—he immediately gave information to the Duke of Montebello, who found the army of the enemy in seven divisions, consisting of 45,000 men, under arms, with its right before Tudela, and its left occupying a line of a league and a half; a disposition absolutely bad. The Aragonese were on the right; the troops of Valencia and New Castile in the centre, and the three divisions of Andalusia, which General Castanos commanded more especially, formed the left—49 pieces of cannon covered the enemy's line. At nine in the morning, the columns of the French army began to deploy with that order, that regularity and coolness, which characterise veteran troops. Situations

were chosen for establishing batteries with sixty peices of cannon, but the impetuosity of the troops and the inquietude of the enemy, did not allow time for this. The Spanish army was already vanquished by the order and movements of the French army. The Duke of Montebello caused the centre to be pierced by the division of Gen. Maurice Mathieu. The General of division Lefebvre, with his cavalry, immediately passed on the trot through this opening, and took a circuit by a quarter which enveloped on the left the whole right of the enemy. The moment when half of the enemy's line found itself thus turned and defeated, was that in which General Lagrange attacked the village of Cascante, where the line of Castanos was placed, which did not exhibit a better countenance than the right; but abandoned the field of battle, leaving behind it its artillery and a great number of prisoners. The cavalry pursued the remains of the enemy's army to Mallen, in the direction of Saragossa; and to Tarracona, in the direction of Agreda. Seven standards, thirty peices of cannon, with all their furniture, 12 colonels, 300 officers, and 3000 men, have been taken; 4000 Spaniards have been left dead on the field of battle, or driven into the Ebro. Our loss has been trifling; we have had sixty men killed, and 400 wounded; among the latter is the general of division Lagrange, who has received a bullet in the arm.—Our troops found at Tudela a number of magazines.

The Marshal Duke of Corregliano has begun his march upon Saragossa; while a part of the fugitives retired to this place, the left of which had been cut off, fled in disorder to Tarracona and Agreda. The Duke of Elchingen, who was on the 22d at Soria, ought to have been on the 23d at Agreda; in that case, not a man would have escaped. But this corps being too much fatigued, remained at Soria the 23d and 24th. He arrived at Agreda on the 25th, still sufficiently in time to seize a great number of magazines. One named Palafox, formerly a *garde du corps*, a man without talents, and without courage, a kind of insignificant monk, the true head of a party which acquired him the name of general, was the first to take flight. This is not the

first time he has acted in that manner—he has done the same on all occasions.

This army of 45,000 has been thus beaten and defeated, without our having more than 6000 men engaged. The battle of Burgos has struck the centre of the enemy, and the battle of Espinosa the right. The battle of Tudela has struck the left.—Victory has thus struck our foe as with a thunder-bolt, and dispersed the whole league of the enemy.

TWELFTH BULLETIN.

Aranda, Nov. 28.—At the battle of Tudela, the General of division, Lagrange, charged with the attack of Cascante, ordered his divisions to march by echelons, and put himself at the head of the first division, composed of the 25th regiment of light infantry, which fell upon the enemy with such impetuosity, that 200 Spaniards were killed in the first charge of the bayonet. The other echelons could not come up. This singularity spread consternation and disorder among the troops of Castanos. It was at this moment that General Lagrange, who was at the head of the first echelon, received a ball, which wounded him dangerously. At the 26th the Duke of Echlingin advanced by Tarracone to Borja. The enemy had destroyed 60 tumbrils which they had at Tarracone. Gen. Maurice Matthieu arrived on the 25th at Borja, pursuing the enemy, and every moment taking fresh prisoners, the number of which already amounts to 5000. They are all troops of the line. No quarter was given to any of the peasants who were found in arms. We took 37 pieces of cannon. Disorder and delirium have seized upon their leaders. Their first proceeding was a violent manifesto, in which they declared war against France. They imputed to her all the disorders of their court, the degeneracy of the race which reigned, and the baseness of the great, who, for many years have prostrated themselves in the most abject manner at the feet of the idol, which they load with all their rage now he is fallen. They have a very false idea in Germany, Italy, and France, of Spanish monks, if they compare them to the monks which exist in those countries. We find among the Benedictines, &c. in France and Italy, a crowd of men, remarkable in sciences and literature; they are distinguished by their education, and by the honour-

able and useful class to which they belong. The Spanish monks, on the contrary, are drawn from the very dregs of the people; they are ignorant and drunken, and can only be compared to people employed in slaughter-houses: they are ignorant, and have the very manner and appearance of it; it is only over the lowest classes that they have any influence. A citizen would think himself dishonoured in admitting a monk to his table. As to the unfortunate Spanish peasants, we can only compare them to the Fellahs of Egypt; they have no property; every thing belongs to the monks or some powerful house. The liberty to keep an inn is a feudal right; yet in a country so favoured by nature, we find neither posts nor inns. The taxes even are alienated, and belong to the Lord. The great have degenerated to such a degree, that they are without energy, without merit, and even without influence. We every day find at Valladolid and beyond it, considerable magazines of arms. The English faithfully executed that part of their engagement; they promised muskets, poignards, and libels; these they have sent in profusion; their inventive spirit has been signalled, and they have carried to a great length the art of spreading libels, as of late they have distinguished themselves by their fire rockets. All the evils, all the scourges, which can afflict mankind, come from London.

THIRTEENTH BULLETIN.

St. Martin, near Madrid. Dec. 2.—On the 29th ult. the head-quarters of the Emperor was removed to the village of Bozeguillas. On the 30th, at break of day, the Duke of Bellune presented himself at the foot of the Somosierra. A division of 13,000 men of the Spanish army of reserve defended the passage of the mountains. The enemy thought themselves unattackable in that position. They had entrenched themselves in the narrow pass called Puerto, with 16 pieces of cannon. The 9th light infantry marched upon the right, the 96th upon the causeway, and the 24th followed by the side of the heights on the left. Gen. Senarmon, with six pieces of artillery, advanced by the causeway. The action commenced by the firing of musquetry and cannon; a charge made by General Monthron, at the head of the Polish light horse, decided the affair. It was a most brilliant one; and this

regiment has covered itself with glory, and proved that it was worthy to form a part of the imperial guard. Banners, flags, muskets, soldiers, all were taken or cut to pieces.—Eight Polish light horse were killed by the cannon, and 16 have been wounded. Among the latter is Captain Dzievanski, who was dangerously wounded, and lies almost without hopes of recovery, Major Segur Marshal of the Emperor's household, charged among the Polish troops and received many wounds, one of which is very severe. 16 pieces of cannon, ten flags, thirty covered chests, two hundred waggons laden with all kinds of baggage, are the fruits of this brilliant affair. Among the prisoners, which are very numerous; are all the colonels or lieutenant-colonels of the corps of the Spanish division. All the soldiers would have been taken if they had not thrown away their arms and dispersed in the mountains. On the 1st of December, the head-quarters of the Emperor were at St. Augustin; and on the 2d the Duke of Istria, with the cavalry, commanded the heights of Madrid. The infantry could not arrive before the 3d. The intelligence which we have hitherto received, leads us to think that this town is suffering under all kinds of disorders, and that the doors are barricaded.—The weather is very fine.

SPANISH ACCOUNTS.

Dispatches from Lieutenant Gen. Don Joaquin Blake.

Aranjuez, Nov. 14.—The secretary of state for the war department has received the following dispatches from Lieut. Gen. Joaquin Blake, dated at Valmaseda, on the 7th and 8th inst.—

Most Excellent Seigneur—In order to secure the means of re-concentrating my forces, a matter of importance upon all occasions, and more particularly under the circumstances of my army being attacked by such superior numbers, and to approximate the only road, by which I could procure the means of subsistence, I determined on the 3d inst. to unite the different divisions, including that of the North, which had just reached the vicinity of the little town of Neva. All effected a junction, with the exception of the second division of Galicia, and a part of the troops of Asturias, forming a corps under the command of his excellency

Don Vincent Acevedo. This corps was attacked by the enemy, in superior force, on the 3d instant between Llameno and Menagarai; and the enemy, though vigorously repulsed, took a position between the corps under Señor Acevedo and the army, apparently, and according to the information I received, with the expectation of a reinforcement, in order to prevent Acevedo from effecting a junction with me. This information reached me on the morning of the 4th. I instantly saw the necessity of a decisive movement against the enemy, and accordingly gave orders that, the same night, the third division, commanded by Don Francisco Riquelme, with one of the corps of Asturias, under the command of field Marshal Don Gregorio Quiros, should proceed in quest of, and attack the corps of the enemy that intercepted the passage of Acevedo; that the 4th division and the advanced guard should march for Valmaseda, with the view of attacking whatever troops of the enemy they might fall in with; that the 1st and reserve should proceed, under my immediate command, to Gordejuela, to cut off the communication between the different French divisions; and, finally, that the corps of the North should remain posted at Berrón, as a general reserve.

At the very instant of commencing our march, I received advice that the corps of Señor Acevedo had been able to change its position, and had taken up a new and very advantageous one between Gordejuela, Valmaseda, and Orrantia; but that the enemy, in considerable numbers, were still occupied in watching its movements. This new disposition of Señor del Acevedo necessarily led to some alteration in mine. The troops under Señors Quiros and Riquelme were accordingly ordered to attack the enemy, which, from the indications they had shewn, and from the information of the peasantry, were supposed to be at Arciniega. Their main body was conceived to be at Orrantia, and I took upon myself the task of dislodging them, with the 1st, the advanced guard, and the reserve. The 4th, under the command, *ad interim*, of Brigadier Don Esteban Porlier, owing to the indisposition of Marquis del Pontazgo, pursued their original destination to Valmaseda, but

under a caution of not attacking, should they fall in with a superior force.

I am at a loss to what I should ascribe the resolution taken by the French to draw off their forces from the corps of Acevedo; but certain it is, that at Orrantia and Arciniega we met only with accounts of their retreat, which they had effected the same night; and thus the divisions, which it was our object to disengage, happily joined us. The 4th division, however, was more fortunate than the rest; for, reaching the environs of Valmaseda, where there were 7000 of the enemy, under the command of the general of division, Villat, they attacked them with the greatest impetuosity, drove them out of the town, and pursued them more than a league, when they halted, in consequence of night coming on. The enemy fled in the utmost disorder, having suffered a very great loss in killed and wounded. We also took 40 of them prisoners, among whom was an officer; and they left in our hands a four-pounder and two ammunition waggon, in serviceable condition; five baggage or provision waggons, some of them belonging to their general's establishment; papers also belonging to the latter, and an immense number of other articles of booty. What much contributed to decide this brilliant affair was the rapidity and ardor with which some corps of the Asturians, and of the 2d division of Galicia, descended upon Valmaseda, the instant they observed the contest which the 4th division was commencing. This and the above-mentioned corps have acquired an indisputable right to the esteem of their fellow countrymen, a claim which indeed belongs indiscriminately to all our inimitable soldiers, *who, continually in the open air since the 23d ult. during rainy nights and the most inclement weather, all without hats, and a great part of them without clothes, or even shoes or stockings, and, what is more, passing whole days without food, underwent with alacrity the greatest fatigues*, exhibiting not the smallest symptom of dissatisfaction under such extraordinary privations, and manifesting no other wish than that of destroying the enemy by the sacrifice of their own lives.

The above I have transmitted to your excellency, that you may be pleased to communicate the same to his Majesty.

May God preserve your excellency many years! JOAQUIN BLAKE.

Valmaseda, Nov. 7.

Most Excellent Seigneur.—Being without positive information of the force and situation of the enemy, which it was indispensibly necessary I should obtain, with a view to regulate my operations, I marched yesterday with the 1st. and 2d. divisions, in the direction of Guinos, and ordered the advance guard to proceed by Gordejuela, as far as Sodupe. The body of troops, under my immediate command, very soon fell in with four French regiments, forming an effective force of 8000 men, and a firing took place, which lasted the whole of the day, without any advantage on either side. Towards dusk, the enemy fell back a little, and we suspended the movements which we had begun to make from right to left, with the view of attacking them in a new direction.

We should have executed our meditated attack this morning, with every prospect of success, had not the extreme inclemency of the night, and the exhausted condition of the troops from want of food, and intolerable fatigue, compelled me to endeavour to procure for them some shelter, rest, and refreshment; I therefore marched them back to head quarters here a little before day break.

The force of the enemy has been ascertained by the declaration of some of the prisoners, and also that Marshal Lefebvre commanded in the action. I learn that the vanguard was attacked by 5000 men, and that, after maintaining their ground with their usual firmness, night also put an end to the conflict.

In communicating the above to your excellency, and requesting that you will have the goodness to submit the same to his Majesty's consideration, I cannot but mention, in terms of the warmest commendation, the gallantry, constancy, patience under fatigue and privations, and distinguished patriotism, manifested by the generals, officers, and soldiers.

I ought not to omit to state, that in the number of the wounded is Señor Birch, captain in the service of his Britannic Majesty, an officer of distinguished skill and cool resolution, who would not leave the field until he was carried off by the troops. I was also assisted by the Lieut. col. Señor Car-

rol, who, for three months, has been with his army in that capacity, taking a part in every engagement, and in all of them giving an example of valour.

May God preserve your excellency many years.

JOAQUIN BLAKE.

Head quarters at Valmaseda, Nov. 8.

Aranjuez, Nov. 22. General Don Francisco Xavier de Castanos reports, under date of the 26th inst. from Calatynd, that on the 21st he received intelligence of the enemy having advanced by Coria with 12,000 infantry and 4000 horse. This intention not remaining any ways doubtful, he immediately gave orders for the army to fall back, the same night, to a position extending from Tarragona to Tudela, the last point to be occupied by the troops of the army of Arragon, and the 5th division of the centre which was in Caparosa. When the order was received to retreat, the enemy was already in motion to attack his advanced parties, having advanced, in the course of the morning, against Calahorra with two pieces of ordnance, and taken post on the heights, within gun shot from Calahorra, which movement was undoubtedly made with the intention to commence the attack at break of day. Notwithstanding this movement, the army retreated in the darkness of the night, with much trouble, and the division reached their respective points, by marching that night and the following day; for some detention arose from the removal of the park of artillery from Cintruenigo; and on the 22d the four divisions of the army were in the positions which they had to occupy, without having sustained any loss. On the 23d the advanced parties reported that three columns of the enemy were marching in the direction of Tudela; the general was beaten, and while the troops of Arragon passed the bridge, the enemy occupied the points of attack, which began at eight o'clock in the morning; at ten o'clock the

whole line was engaged. Our troops maintained their position with the utmost valour, and the enemy was repulsed on all sides. He renewed the attack, and rendered himself master of an olive grove on the left, whence he descended, with a tremendous fire, but was so well received by our gallant troops, that, after a most obstinate conflict, he was compelled to retreat. While our troops were pursuing the defeated enemy on the left, another division of the enemy penetrated through Tudela on the right, and took our pursuing troops in the rear. This decided the fate of the day, and nothing was left for our army but to retreat to Borja. While this was going forward in Tudela, the fourth division, commanded by General Lapina, who was in Cascante, two hours march from the field of battle, and had received orders to attack the right flank of the enemy, found 3000 French infantry and 1000 cavalry opposed to them in the act of offering battle. Lapina immediately engaged, defeated, and pursued them to the heights of Tudela, where he was attacked by the enemy's troops, who occupied the heights. Lapina retreated to the position of Cascante, where he defeated the enemy, and at the fall of night began to fall back to Borja, according to the last order he received. On his retreat, he was again attacked by the enemy, but some troops checked his progress, and the four divisions reached Borja, whence they marched to Calatayud.

The forces of the enemy in the actions of Tudela and Cascante amounted to from 36 to 40,000 infantry, and from 6 to 7000 cavalry. Their loss has been very considerable; as has likewise ours in missing and prisoners; but the number cannot be accurately stated till the generals of the divisions have made out and delivered their lists.

In a letter of the 27th, General Castanos sends advice, that not having in Calatayud the means of subsistence, and having received notice that the enemy threatened to attack Somosierra, for these reasons, and wishing to be near the capital, in case the French should endeavour to advance to it, he had determined to go to Seguenza.

The major-general, Don Bertito S. Juan, posted in the Puerto, a pass of Somosierra, sends advices, in a letter of the 28th of this month, that at break of day that morning the division of troops under his command were alarmed, and immediately under arms, expecting to be attacked in force by the enemy, as all the advices received during the night concurred in stating, that in the morning of the preceding day, great numbers of the enemy's troops had defiled by Aranda de Duero, directing their march to the encampments of Boceguillas, and La Granja, with many pieces of artillery; and that during the whole day they were conveying artillery and other military stores. Accordingly, a little after six in the morning, were heard in the heights of Somosierra various discharges of artillery and small arms continually increasing, and all in the direction of the pass of Sepulvada, which left no doubt that an attack would be made, and though he could confide in the resistance of the brave garrison which had been reinforced the day before, (the 27th), with 1000 fusileers of the regiment of Jaen, the numbers of the enemy could not but excite solicitude, and from the moment of the attack, measures to send succours of infantry, artillery, and ammunition were taken; but without this assistance, he affected the complete defence of this point, notwithstanding the attack lasted more than four hours, the enemy having attacked with 4000 infantry, 1500 cavalry, and four pieces of cannon,

besides the reinforcements which were at hand to support their troops.

LETTERS

FROM BRITISH OFFICERS.

Extract of a Letter from an Officer in the 3d. battalion of the 1st regiment, or royals, to his Father in Paisley. Villa Franca. Nov. 28.

"I am afforded an opportunity of forwarding you this by the general's dispatches from hence. We left Corunna on the 3d, and arrived at Astorga on the 20th. a march of forty three Spanish leagues, upwards of 220 miles, halting one day at Bezancos, one at Lugo, and another here. It was originally intended we should proceed from Astorga to Burgos, to meet Sir John Moore's army on its march thence to Portugal; but the French having got possession of Burgos, altered that plan, and we remained three days at Astorga, till we could learn something both of Sir John Moore and of the enemy; but such is the total want of information, that neither of the one nor the other could we find any knowledge. Upon the 24th, it was reported that the enemy were pressing forward in great force to prevent our junction with Sir John, and to cut off our retreat. In this situation of affairs, Sir David Baird deemed it prudent to retreat; and, in a few hours, the whole of our troops who had advanced so far, evacuated Astorga, and the second day reached a place called Ben Bebere, where they are encamped.—The cavalry have since joined us, for the first time since their arrival from England, and we are under orders to be in readiness at an hour's notice (as we hope) to advance. Not a man is permitted on any account to undress himself. You will wonder what I am doing here. I left the regiment yesterday at Colonel Hay's request, to purchase as much flannel as I could procure here, for shirts for the men, which, for men sleeping on the cold ground under

canvas, at this season of the year, is absolutely necessary. I have bought all I can procure, and have been back a distance of 30 miles, in hopes to reach them before they move from Ben Bebere. The farther we have come, we have the more reason to be displeased with our reception from the natives. They call us heretics, and no christians, and in fact look upon us as enemies!

"They shut their houses upon us, and refuse to sell the men the common necessities of life. Their boasted armies of patriots are dwindled away, and scattered up and down the mountains in dismay, although the French must be very near us. We have not seen 500 Spanish soldiers in a body since we came here. In towns, our men are billeted in convents, but in the intermediate halts in barns and cow-houses. Officers are glad to put up with a corner of a hay loft as an upper apartment. I shall always write to you when I have an opportunity."

The following is an extract of a letter from an officer in one of the divisions of the army of General Baird:—Villa Franca, Nov. 29.

I can only tell you that I am quite well, and fare as well as circumstances will permit. I got to Astorga from Oviedo on the Wednesday evening, and on Thursday morning last, 23d inst. the army retreated, but advanced again on the Friday. A courier is going off to Lugo, by which I send this. You must not be alarmed at not hearing from me often, as it is impossible. The French are in great force, near 100,000 men, it is said, at Burgos, Valladolid, Villuven, and their cavalry at Rio Seco, and advancing about. The two English armies have not joined, and it is uncertain when they will. On Thursday last, 23d, I concluded we should have retreated much further. As it was, I had to march on a continuance about thirty miles; casks

of rum were stove at Astorga. &c. and every one thought the French to be very near; next day we advanced to our old positions. Blake's army, i. e. Romana's, has been completely defeated and scattered. There were only 3000 men at Leon a week ago, though the Spaniards would tell me every where that there were 30 or 40,000. If we cannot form a junction with Sir J. Moore, or he with us, which must be the case, as we cannot leave the road to Corunna open to the French, both armies must retreat *sur leur pas*. This is a wretched country. *I am sure the French would do them good, but as an Englishman I cannot wish them to gain a footing here*; though I am afraid they will eventually succeed. It is said, the French have pushed on a column to Oviedo to pass by Lugo, and intercept our retreat, but that is uncertain. *The Spaniards do not act with the spirit they might!*

Lisbon, Dec. 3.—Affairs according to appearances, are less favourable than we could wish; notwithstanding the disasters which have befallen the Spaniards their patriotism and enthusiasm appear here to be unabated, and while this is the case we ought not to despair of their cause. Ten thousand men are going from hence to Spain, under the command of General Miranda, but so slow are the movements of the Portuguese, that it would be hazarding much to say when they would set off.

The inhabitants of Lisbon (those who have property) seem to be unanimous in their determination to leave the country if the French return here; *it is not likely they will contribute much to its defence with their minds thus disposed, and to this is to be attributed the great indifference we witness.* The regency is disliked; nor is it so active as it ought to be.

An edict has been published here, calling on every person who has

horses to deliver them up for the service of the country, either gratuitously or at a valuation, at the option of the owner, under pain of imprisonment : whether these tardy measures of co-operation and assistance will be productive of good or not, time only can shew. The voluntary contributions are not great, and if the spirit of patriotism in this country, of which so much has been said, ever did exist to the extent described, be assured it has lost most of its force. The general hatred to the French is perhaps undiminished, but an indifference which may prove destructive to the best interests of the country has succeeded in the capital ; in the provinces we hear things have a more favourable appearance, and we are willing to hope it is the case.

The differences between the English and Portuguese troops at Oporto, it appears have been settled without bloodshed."

ORDERS

Of General Sir John Moore, to the British army, on its march from Lisbon to Spain.

The commander of the forces trusts that the troops, on their entering into Spain, will feel with him how much it is for their honour and advantage to maintain the high opinion, and cherish the good will, which that brave and high spirited people entertain towards the British nation.

The troops upon their march will generally be quartered upon the inhabitants. The Spaniards are grave and orderly people, and extremely sober, but generous, and warm in their tempers, and easily affronted by any insult or disrespect that is offered to them. They are grateful to the English, and will receive the troops with kindness and cordiality. Thus the general hopes will be met with equal kindness on the part of the soldiers, and they will endeavour to accommodate themselves to their manners, be orderly

in their quarters, and not shock, by acts of intemperance, a people worthy of their attachment, whose efforts they are come to support in the most glorious of causes, to free them from French bondage, and to establish their national liberty and independence.

Upon entering Spain, as a compliment to the Spanish nation, the army will wear the red cockade in addition to their own. Cocarde are ordered for this purpose for the non-commissioned officers, and more will be sent from Madrid ; but in the mean time, the officers are requested to provide themselves, and to put them on, when they pass the frontier.

SWEDEN.

Stockholm, Dec. 6.—The following report has been received from General Klercker, the commander in chief of the Northern Finnish army :—

" My last report was on the 1st of November, and was dispatched from Brahestad by Capt. Kerttunen.

Your Majesty's army which was under the command of General Pyhajocki and Yppiri, when the Russians made an attack on our rear, turned the left flank. Merrijärvi, advanced against Liskaski to take the army in the rear, and thus compelled the army to retreat back to Patjocki, and on the 21st a position near Sykajocki, and on the 22nd Paisola, was occupied by our troops ; but in consequence of the enemy's corps having been reinforced to 20,000 men, furnished with pieces of heavy ordnance, and our Majesty's army having been reduced to 7000 men, by losses in the field and sickness, it became impossible to maintain our position, and I thought it advisable to open negotiations for an armistice, the result of which was the convention which I hereby have the honour to lay at your Majesty's feet.

C. N. KLERCKER.

Memberg, Nov. 24.

CONVENTION.

Between the Royal Swedish army in North Finland, and the Imperial Russian army.

By virtue of the powers vested in us, we, the undersigned, have agreed and stipulated the following articles:—

1. The Royal Swedish army is, immediately after the notification of this convention, to take up a position along the frontiers of the district of Uleaborg, from Kerni to Porkawara. Kerni, in consequence, remains in the hands of the Russians.

2. The Swedish army is to evacuate the town of Uleaborg, within ten days next ensuing the date of this convention, and the Russian troops are to take possession of the said town on the 30th of November. The other parts of the country which are to be given up to the Russians, shall be evacuated according to the agreement yet to be concluded between the contracting parties.

3. The rear of the Swedish army shall retreat by the route agreed upon, and whatever cannot be removed by the Swedish troops in their retreat, shall be considered as a good and lawful prize.

4. The Swedish army binds itself neither to destroy, distribute among the inhabitants, nor sell the magazines which they shall be necessitated to surrender.

5. The Swedish troops are not to take either from Uleaborg, or other places to be surrendered, any civil officers, nor any articles or goods belonging to the provinces.

6. The Swedish army is to send back all clergymen, civil officers, and inhabitants of the places evacuated by their troops, provided it be done by the desire or with the consent of the said persons.

7. This convention shall be ratified by the respective generals in chief of both armies, and the ratifications exchanged to-morrow night.

Baron ALDERCRUTZ, Maj.-Gen.
Count KAMENSKI, Lieut.-Gen.

Olhjoeki, Nov. 7-18,

[Ratified Nov. 8-20.]

Count Buxhoevden, General in Chief of the Imperial Russian army, proposed additional articles of the convention, concluded between the Royal Swedish army in North Finland, and the Imperial Russian army.

Art. 1. The armistice concluded between the two armies is to continue one month next ensuing, the day on which the Swedish army crosses the district of the frontiers of Uleaborg, or until January 12, 1809, and notice of the cessation of the armistice shall be given at least fifteen days before hostilities are recommenced.

Art. 2. During the armistice, the Imperial Russian troops are not to cross the river Kerni.

C. N. KLERCKER.

Head-Quarters, Linnugo, Nov. 20.

GENERAL,—I have the honour to inform you, that the convention, which was yesterday concluded, has been ratified by his excellency General Count Buxhoevden, and I shall now transmit it to Count Potemkin, in order that the exchange of the ratification may be effected. With regard to the armistice in question, I have his excellency's command to acquaint you, that although he must decline the conclusion of a formal armistice, yet he engages his word of honour, that he will not recommence hostile operations against the Swedish army, before the expiration of fourteen days, after the Swedish army shall have taken up the position stipulated in the above convention, in hopes that no operations will be commenced on your part within the said time. I have the honour to be, &c.

Count KAMENSKY.

Brahesta, 8-20th Nov.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Downing-street, Dec. 13.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received by Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart, commanding his Majesty's forces in Sicily.

Messina, Sept. 29.

MY LORD,

Having been apprised that a large convoy of the enemy, consisting of a number of coasting vessels, said to be charged with contributions in

kind from the two provinces of Calabria to the Neapolitan government, were assembled at Diamante, near the gulf of Policastro, under the protection of four gun-boats and heavy batteries on the shore, I detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bryce, of the royal engineers, with the troops mentioned in the margin to co-operate with the commanders of his Majesty's sloops *Halcyon* and *Weazel*, and with a small naval equipment of his Sicilian Majesty in the endeavour to take or destroy them.

Inclosed I have the honour to transmit to your lordship the report of the above-named judicious officer, stating the entire success of the enterprize entrusted to his conduct.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. STUART.

Right Hon. Lord Castlereagh.

SIR, *Off Diamante, Sept. 8.*

I do myself the honour to acquaint you, that the detachment you were pleased to put under my orders has successfully executed the service in view, by capturing, in conjunction with Captain Pearce, of the royal navy, a flotilla of thirty-eight sail of the enemy's vessels, of which four are large gun-boats, under the town of Diamante, where they had been blockaded with much perseverance, by Capt. Prescott, of his Majesty's brig the *Weazel*.

We were baffled by calms during five days, on the passage from Milazzo, on three of which we must have been distinctly seen from the enemy's coast. And on examining the position taken here, I found it very respectable, as the town of Diamante, which covered the vessels, ranged on the right and left of it, stands on a peninsula nearly inaccessible on three sides, the fourth is protected by difficult inclosures, and

there is, besides, a building of considerable strength commanding the whole.

Under these discouraging circumstances, augmented by the non-arrival of the Sicilian gun-boats, and the absence of two of the transports, it required the fullest confidence in the conduct of Major Hammill, and the troops intended to be landed, to induce me to hazard an attempt on the town, without the possession of which I saw nothing effectual could be done. After the strong building above mentioned had been successfully cannonaded for several hours by Captains Pearce and Prescott of the royal navy, and the Chevalier de Balsamo, commanding a galliot of his Sicilian Majesty, who were indefatigable in their exertions, 250 men of the regiment of Malta, under Major Hammill, and 100 of the 58th regiment, under Captain O'Brien, were landed at daybreak this morning, about half a mile to the northward of the town, accompanied by an howitzer and two 3-pounders, commanded by Captain Campbell of the royal artillery. The enemy, who consisted of about 400 men of the civic guard, with a proportion of French troops, were gradually forced back through the underwood upon the town, which, however, they did not attempt to defend, but took to the mountains; and we were enabled to turn their batteries, of four heavy guns, on the beach to the southward of the town, without sustaining any loss, when the whole of their vessels fell into our hands. I beg leave to express great satisfaction with the judicious conduct of Major Hammill; and thanks are due to Captain Campbell, commanding the artillery, Capt. O'Brien, commanding the 58th, and Lieutenant Lawson of the engineers, who did me the favour to attend me on shore.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ALEX. BRYCE.

Return of Ordnance taken and destroyed at Diamante Bay.

Total—20 taken and destroyed. Total of shot, 170. Ten cwt. of gunpowder; one French flag.

DUGALD CAMPBELL.

A howitzer and four brass field pieces, dismounted, are stated to have been found after the above return.

* The regiment of Malta, commanded by Major Hammill; 150 rank and file of the 58th regiment, under Capt. O'Brien: a detachment of 50 men of the German legion; a detachment of artillery, with two six-pounders and one howitzer, under Capt. Campbell.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

THE LORD MAYOR, AND THE
LIVERY OF LONDON.

In consequence of the late refusal of the Lord Mayor to convene a Common Hall, a numerous meeting of the Livery was held on the 24th. ult. in the great room of the New London Tavern, Cheapside.

Mr. Deputy Goodbehere having been called to the chair, the following Protest, concluding with another Requisition for a Common Hall, was unanimously agreed to; and a Deputation of several Liverymen, with the chairman, appointed to wait upon his Lordship therewith.

MY LORD,

Having received your lordship's answer to the requisition dated the 2d. of November, 1808, and signed by a number of liverymen; requesting your lordship—

"To convene a common hall on an early day, in order to take into consideration the late convention in Portugal, by which the character, honour, and interest of the country have been so deeply affected, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed advisable :"—

In which answer you "decline to convene a common hall as requested," and assign as a reason that "Since the date of the requisition a court of inquiry has been instituted by his Majesty's command, for investigating the causes which led to the convention alluded to; that the court is now prosecuting such inquiry," and that you are "of opinion, that a meeting of the livery of London in common hall, on the subject proposed by the requisition, pending such public inquiry, will be highly unnecessary, unreasonable and improper :"—

We, the undersigned Liverymen, beg leave to observe—

That the right of the Livery of London to meet in common hall, to deliberate on matters of public grievance, has been ever exercised, with very few exceptions, and that such exceptions have been uniformly stigmatized with the reprobation of the livery :—

That if a chief magistrate is to grant such meetings only when they coincide

with his own views of the propriety and utility of the measures to be proposed, his conduct must amount to a violation of the most sacred rights of the subject, inasmuch as it necessarily deprives the people of the legal means of expressing their sentiments on all great questions affecting the common weal, and renders null the liberties so repeatedly asserted by their ancestors, and so clearly and emphatically declared by the Bill of Rights :—

That with respect to the date of the requisition, we beg to state, that it is subsequent to the appointment of the court of inquiry, and that other meetings have been held under similar circumstances, to which no such objection has been made :—

That since the sheriffs of counties, officers appointed by the crown, have not withheld from the people the exercise of the right in question under such pretence, we cannot forbear expressing our astonishment and displeasure, that the chief magistrate of the city of London should, by almost his first official act, deny it to those to whose good opinion, confidence and suffrages he has been indebted for his high situation :—

That without adopting your lordship's notions respecting what you term a "court of inquiry," we trust we may be allowed to exercise our own judgment as to the institution of a tribunal unknown to the laws of this country; appointed by the crown; unsworn; possessing no authority to compel the attendance of witnesses, to administer oaths, or to acquit or condemn the parties whose conduct is under investigation :—

That we cannot observe without real concern, the suspicion which your Lordship's answer evidently implies, that the great body of the livery of London, to whom is entrusted the choice of a chief magistrate, of sheriffs, of members of parliament, and other important officers, could so far forget themselves as to countenance, or adopt any proceedings incompatible with the character they have ever maintained, or repugnant to the pure principles of public justice :—

That we presume your lordship may safely confide these matters to the

livery themselves, who do not solicit your advice, but merely claim their undoubted right, and leave them to be the guardians of their own character and honour:—

That, as the only ground of objection (to put the most favourable construction upon your lordship's answer) appears to be a supposition, that since the date of the requisition, circumstances have arisen to preclude the necessity of such meeting, we beg to state to your lordship, that several of the names have been signed subsequent to its date; that the Liverymen who signed it were generally aware, that it could not be delivered until a late date, and no material circumstances occurred to cause a change in their opinion as to the propriety or necessity thereof. For the purpose, however, of obviating every difficulty in that respect,—

We, the undersigned Liverymen of the city of London, do hereby again request your lordship to convene a common hall on an early day, in order to consider of the late convention in Portugal, by which the character, honour, and interests of the country have been deeply affected, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed advisable.

Nov. 24, 1803.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, &c.

The above Protest and Requisition was signed by nearly one hundred Liverymen, and presented to his Lordship, on the 26th. ult. by Mr. Goodbehere and the Deputation. The following answer was returned the same day by the Lord Mayor:—

Mansion-house, Nov. 26.

“The Lord Mayor presents his compliments to Mr. Deputy Goodbehere. The considerations which induced the lord mayor to decline convening the livery of London in common hall, on the requisition before presented to him, for the purpose of considering, at this time, the late convention in Portugal, remain in full force, and induce his lordship again to decline convening the meeting requested by the renewed application, in the same terms, for the same purpose which has been presented by Mr. Deputy Goodbehere, this morning.

“The Lord Mayor greatly regrets to find himself obliged in the official exercise of his discretion, to differ from any

part of the respectable livery of London, on their view of the subject.

“Samuel Goodbehere, Esq. Deputy, &c. &c. &c.”

A numerous meeting of the Merchants, Bankers, &c. of London, took place on Friday the 2d, inst. at the New London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, for the purpose of opening a subscription to defray the expences of clothing, &c. the Spanish army. The Lord-Mayor was called to the chair, and several gentlemen addressed the meeting. A resolution was passed that books should be opened, and a committee was appointed to superintend the disposal of the subscriptions which, in one hour amounted to more than 10,000l.—The statement of the supplies afforded by government to the patriots in clothing, (read by Mr. Rowcroft) was as follows:—Suits of clothing and cloth for 241,400 men; great coats, and cloth for great coats, for 100,000 men; shirts for 35,000 men; sheeting 100,000 yards; calico 832,000 ditto; muslin 113,000 ditto; and shoes as many as can be procured.

Lord Manners, and the Liberty of the Press.

A motion was made in the court of chancery, Dublin, for an attachment against an attorney, for publishing in the newspapers the proceedings of that court in reversing the decree of another, as it cast reflections upon some of the parties, and introduced matter which was hurtful to their feelings. His Lordship said he was proud to find the proceedings of courts published; and he wished to see a great deal more of them, as they answered most salutary purposes. It shewed the people how to guide themselves when similar cases would occur; and, if judges acted from the proceedings ought to be published, for his part, wished every man to be had, or would make, was in the newspaper in the kingdom; if it was to be gagged, God knows it would end!

Such language drew much head and the heart of the learned Lord.—Motion denied.

Court of Sessions, Edinburgh.—On Tuesday the 6th, inst. the court determined a case of a very interesting nature. Mr. Donald M'Arthur, the pastor of a dissenting congregation at Port Bannatyne, in the island of Bute, brought an action against John Campbell, esq. of Southall, upon the ground that the latter gentleman, on the 20th. of October, 1805, while Mr. M'Arthur was celebrating divine service in the midst of his congregation, violently seized upon his person, forced him on board a vessel bound for Greenock, and having landed him a few miles from that place, had, after confining him in a small inn during the night, marched him along the road as a common felon, and delivered him to Capt. Tatham, the regulating officer, for that quarter, as a fit person to serve in his Majesty's navy. The officer, accordingly, (as the pursuer farther stated) sent him on board the *Touinterelle* frigate, which speedily conveyed him out of the jurisdiction of the Scottish courts. After being detained for five weeks on board different ships of war, and suffering, as he alleged, every species of indignity and hardship, Mr. M'Arthur was discharged by express order from the Lords of the admiralty, and furnished with a certificate, that he was never again to be impressed into his Majesty's service.

The summons concluded against Mr. Campbell for 2000*l.* damages, with expences.

Mr. Campbell, in his pleadings before the Lord Ordinary, denied several of the most aggravating circumstances of the case. In particular, he alleged that the pursuer was in the practice of preaching immoral and seditious doctrines—that he was a fit object of the impress, having been formerly employed in the herring fishery, and being consequently a seafaring man; and that under these circumstances, acting *bona fide* as a justice of peace, he conceived himself fully intitled to deliver him to Captain Tatham. The Lord Ordinary (Lord Meadowbank) pronounced an interlocutor of considerable length, finding, for the reasons therein stated, the whole proceedings scandalous and unjustifiable; repelling the defences, whether founded on the pursuer's having once been a seafaring man, or on the religious doctrines he is said to have taught, or on the seditious speeches which it is stated he uttered; and further finding the pursuer entitled to 105*l.* sterling, as a *solatium* for the wrong he suffered; together with indemnification of the expences incurred by him, personally or otherwise, in obtaining his deliverance, and expences of process.

ORIGINAL POETRY.

FAREWELL TO 1808.

Thou long, long year of massacre farewell!

With horror I retrace thy bloody reign,

For ah! of war's sad victims who can tell

The countless myriads in thy circle slain!

Pregnant with human ills of every name,

And all the plagues that desolate the earth,

I saw thee rise in war's destructive flame,

And pensive mark'd thy inauspicious birth.

At length thy reign thou year of blood is o'er,

And pleas'd, my muse shall sound thy parting knell,

Oh! could she still, as soon, the cannon's roar,

And bid with thee the trump of war farewell!

But Kings and ministers with madness fraught,

Resolve the trade of slaughter to pursue:

In spite of all by sad experience taught,

To soft humanity they bid adieu!

Lionsgate, Dorset, Dec. 26.

G. C.

THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST PRICE OF STOCKS FROM NOVEMBER 25, TO DECEMBER 24, 1908: inclusive.
By JOHN HEMMING, Broker, No. 3, Copel Court, Bartholomew Lane, London.

Days	Bank Stock.	India Stock.	3pr.Ct. Reduced.	3 per Ct. Consols.	4 pr Ct	5 per Ct.	Long Ann.	Omn.	India Bonds.	Exche. Bills.	Stocks shut and open.
Nov. 25	235	181½	65½	65½	81½	99½	17 13-16	1½ ¼d.	5. 7p.	5. 6p.	India Jan. 17. Cons. —20. 5 p.c.s. —20.
26	236	181½	65½	65½	81½	99½	15-16	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
28	235½	181½	65½	65½	81½	99½	15-16	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
29	236	181½	65½	65½	81½	99½	15-16	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
30	235½	181½	65½	65½	81½	99½	15-16	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
Dec. 1	235½	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
2	235½	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
3	235½	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
5	236	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
6	236	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
7	236	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
8	234½	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
9	234½	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
10	235½	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
12	235½	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
13	235½	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
14	235	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
15	236	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
16	236	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
17	236	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
19	234½	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
20	234½	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
22	234½	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
23	235	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	
24	235	Shut	65½	65½	81½	99½	13	1½ ¼d.	6. 7p.	6. 7p.	

N. B. The days omitted are Sundays, or Holidays. The blank spaces denote that nothing was done in that fund.
P. stands for Premium, and D. for Discount.

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